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FROM MENTAL REPRESENTATION TO SITUATED PERFORMANCE

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CHAPTER 3

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Transcription Notation

The transcription symbols used in Chapter 3 of this book are an attempt to capture something of the sound of the talk as it was originally spoken. The symbols derive from those developed by Gail Jefferson (see Atkinson & Heritage (Eds.) 1984).

(.)	Short hearable pause
(…)	Long pauses, over 1 second
nau-	A dash denotes a sharp cut-off of a prior word
no:	Colons show that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound
ale=	Equal sign indicates that the talk runs on
?	Question mark indicates a rising intonation
.	Period indicates a natural ending
,	Comma indicates a comma-like pause
CAPITALS	Capital letters indicate louder speech
((laughter))	Description enclosed in double parentheses indicates a non-speech sound
[translation]	Text enclosed in square brackets is translated from Polish into English

Introduction

The issue explored in this book concerns the ways in which the social and educational discourses have shaped the identity of the contemporary ESOL teacher in Poland. A key assumption of this study is that language, and conversation in particular, is of prime significance in generating meaning of teacher identity.

The theme of the book is a result of my long-running experience in teaching ESOL students, prospective TESOL teachers and a question that kept ringing in our mind for years, namely: why some of the students that come to the university courses to get a degree in TESOL become good teachers while others do not, despite similar instruction, practice opportunities and proficiency in ESOL. A potential solution and inspiration for this research came from a book by Jane Danielewicz in which she wrote:

> A good teacher (I have no specific practices or qualities of teachers in mind here) is an invested teacher, someone who identifies him- or herself as a teacher. To be effective, to be really good, to retain a vision of success and intellectual development for one's students in social climates not conducive to such endeavours, to persist despite the low regard our culture has for such work - then one must be a teacher, not just act like one (Danielewicz 2001: 3).

What Danielewicz claims is that being a good teacher cannot be accounted for by the personality, methodological background, or even the ideology of the trainee teacher. It requires engagement with identity, that is, the way individuals regard themselves. Similarly Kwiatkowska (2005:8) argues that:

> Modern positioning of a man in the culture, changed expectations of their profession, radically altered conditions of their labour, demand education organized not only by "cultural origin", but also, and perhaps above all, by "giving the intentions of his own body" (translation mine)[1]

Teaching, then, is a state of being, not merely a way of acting or behaving. Such a view of identity as unstable, ever-changing and interactionally accomplished induced my further query into the subject.

Human identity can be defined and researched in a multitude of ways; therefore identity research needs to be multitheoretical and multidisciplinary. A survey of theoretical approaches to the concept of human identity, teacher identity in particular is presented in Chapter 1. This selection of the theories has been steered by a number of interrelated issues that need to be addressed while discussing teacher identity.

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[1]Współczesne usytuowanie człowieka w kulturze, zmienione oczekiwania wobec jego profesji, radykalnie odmienione warunki jego pracy domagają się edukacji organizowanej nie tylko z „nadania kulturowego", lecz także, a może przede wszystkim, z „nadania intencji własnej podmiotu."

Firstly, the issue that surfaces in theoretical reflection on identity is its fixedness vs. its fluidity. Nowadays a prevailing view of identity concept recognizes it as non-fixed, non-rigid and always being (co-)constructed by individuals of themselves in the presence of others or ascribed by others. The post-structuralist accounts of identity stand in stark contrast to the humanist philosophy and cognitive theories of the positivist epistemological perspective that define identity as an internal psychological process isolated in the mind of the individual and largely free from the social and physical contexts within which it occurs. This dichotomy in understanding identity is neatly described by Norton (2001: 2) who argues that:

> In poststructuralist terms, a person's subjectivity [identity] is defined as multiple, contradictory, and dynamic, changing across historical time and social space. As such, subjectivity signifies a different conception of the individual than that associated with humanist philosophy, which presupposes that every person has an essential, fixed, and coherent core: "the real me".

Secondly, if identity is fluid and constructed within established contexts then it may vary from one context to another. Therefore, another question arises immediately; the question concerning the ways in which people position themselves and are positioned by others in socio-cultural situations through the instrumentality of language and with reference to all of those variables that are identity markers for each society in the speech of its members.

Thirdly, if the term "identity" means remaining the same over a period of time, while other things are changing, what is the point in using the term "identity" if this core meaning is expressly repudiated? (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 11).

Fourthly, having mentioned the two contrasting approaches to the problem of identity as well as the conflict inherent in the everyday usage of the word "identity", is there any middle ground position possible between substantialist understandings of groups and essentialist understandings of identity and a strong antithesis between positions that highlight fundamental or abiding sameness and stances that expressly reject notions of basic sameness.

The challenge that I take up in this book is to find a way of describing the influence of social factors on individual identity construction and performance while acknowledging the value of the core, psychological self which directs interaction with the outside world. Here I concur Wenger's (1998) opinion that "the concept of identity serves as a pivot between the social and the individual, so that each can be talked about in terms of the other" (p. 145). Thus, identity cannot be discussed without considering the social interplay between the individual and the larger environment or community.

Although researchers seem to agree that identities, including those of the teacher, are multidimensional or multifaceted, they hold opposing views with regard to whether the "sub-identities" (Mishler 1999: 8) could be "structured and

harmonized" (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop 2004: 122) or whether the construction of identity is a "continuing site of struggle" between conflicting identities (MacLure 1993: 313). This clash in views on teacher identity is reflected in the composition of this dissertation. Chapter 2 explores the issue from the "essentialist-oriented" stance whereby teacher identity is conceived of as a set of necessary and sufficient qualities or attributes that, when structured, yield a coherent, mental representation of an individual teacher identity. Chapter 3, in turn, examines the issue from the post-structuralist angle, whereby identities are multiple, fragmented and interactionally accomplished.

Before any consideration about particularities of identity issue is presented one needs to meet the challenge of defining what it is, which is imparted in Chapter 1. This is no small order for definitions of identity in linguistics and related disciplines are abundant and diverse. In order to limit the discussion, we will present two dominant approaches to identity in contemporary discourses on human identity. To one strand of them, identity is an "essential, cognitive, socialised, phenomenological or psychic phenomenon that governs human action". (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 3) An alternative understanding, commonly found in social sciences and humanities nowadays is as a public phenomenon, a performance or construction that is interpreted by other people. As Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 4) note:

> identity has been relocated: from the 'private' realms of cognition and experience, to the 'public' realms of discourse and other semiotic systems of meaning-making.

These two major conceptualisations of identity can be represented by adapting Sfard's distinction between acquisition and participation metaphors. (Sfard 1998; cited in Larsen Freeman 2010: 52) Sfard's binary distinction, albeit referring to language acquisition, can be successfully used to represent a range of approaches to identity. At one end of the scale there are theories that see identity as something that once acquired, every human being has for the rest of their life. Such "having identity" accounts are commonplace in Philosophy, Psychology and Linguistics. They represent identity as self-knowledge, that is, as a collection of context-independent symbols accompanied by rules that specify the relationship between them.

The conceptualisation of identity represented at the opposite end of the continuum can be called the "doing" perspective (Larsen Freeman 2010), because, according to theories that cluster at this end of the continuum, identity is not a commodity acquired as a result of a mental act, but rather identity is something that is performed by participating in a social interaction. This view rather than conceiving of identity as a mental construct involving acquiring entities, instead looks at it as an activity in which one participates, that is "the permanence of having gives way to the flux of doing" (Sfard 1998: 6). Unlike the acquisition metaphor, the participation metaphor rejects the idea that there is a clear endpoint to the process of identity construction.

As a many-faceted phenomenon, it would be quite impossible for one short book to deal with identity in anything but a cursory way. Some reasonable restrictions must be applied. Because the book's target is a legitimate account of the identity of a teacher of English as a foreign language the delimited range here is that which treats the language-identity relationship. In a way, of course, this is not really much of a restriction, since language itself is such a broad topic and since, as Joseph (2004: 13) has pointed out, language and identity are "ultimately inseparable". Indeed, since language is central to the human condition, and since it is argued to be the most salient distinguishing characteristic of our species, it seems likely that any study of identity must surely include some consideration of it.

Chapter 2 discusses the relationship between language and identity as conceived in a structuralist tradition whereby language has been considered a "marker" of identity at the individual level. Such a view relates to structuralist theory of language (Saussure 1916 [1983]) that conceives of signs as having idealized meanings and linguistic communities as being relatively homogenous and consensual. In this view, identity is a cognitive construct of the self - fundamentally relational and self-referential, that answers the question "who am I". Identity as a stable entity is accepted in mainstream Psychology whereby the self is a collection of personality traits primarily characteristic of the individual. This view has been frequently at odds with the observed behaviour of individuals in groups and therefore the concept of the social self emerged and was elaborated to explain observed differences in behaviour between the individual as a person and the individual as a member of a group (Abrams and Hogg 1990; Turner and Onorato 1999).

The link between the individual and the group starts with the idea of the self as a bounded cognitive schema – a sort of implicit identity. This cognitive schema is a structure of complex, rich, affectively charged, interrelated concepts about the self. Markus (1977) suggests that the self is a concept or a category like any other concept or category and that people form cognitive structures about the self just as they do about other phenomena. These cognitive structures are cognitive generalisations about oneself, derived from past experience that is, being stable organizations of knowledge they integrate and summarize an array of information and experience (Markus and Sentis 1982).

Given that a self-concept is constructed like any other concept, it is argued in Chapter 2 that people create identity categories and assign the same name (or label) to other people that are not exactly the same but similar. Such a view relates to prototype theory as put forward by Rosch (1973; 1978). She claims that an object is assigned to a category through comparison with its prototype object rather than a set of criterial features. Accordingly, it is assumed in Chapter 2 that teachers engage in a self-to-prototype matching process while developing their professional identities, that is, they compare and contrast their

selves with those that they find realized by other members of the category "teachers". In other words, as Markus (1977) argues, to process the vast array of self relevant stimuli routinely encountered, people construct knowledge structures about the self.

Because self-schemata are unique in that they integrate and summarize a person's thoughts, feelings, and experiences about the self in a specific behavioural domain, the participants in the experiment reported in Chapter 2 are predicted to develop varied schemata of the teacher depending on their personality traits, personal histories as well as cultural and professional discourses they have lived and experienced. To verify this hypothesis, a closed-ended type of a questionnaire was developed in which ESOL teachers from schools of various levels of education and with varying teaching experience, were asked to rate teacher descriptors according to how well they describe the teacher. This method of research was adopted in accord with the weighted attribute approach which draws on Rosch's prototype theory (1973; 1978). An underlying assumption in this study was that becoming a teacher involves the construction of a person's identity as well the transformation of this identities over time. The aim of the study was to yield a schematic image of the teacher and display possible variation in teacher identity constructs formed by teachers at different stages of the professional life-course.

An organisation of the study in Chapter 2 might suggest that the emphasis is on the variation of the teacher prototype in selected groups of population; yet, it concerns the experience, teacher identity itself, not its distribution in the population. It focuses on displaying the constituent and relational aspects that make up teacher identity. Findings from this study are expected to provide an enriched understanding of teacher identity itself rather than how different individuals or groups vary in their development and behaviour or how teachers vary in the number of years it takes to experience the achievement of professional identity.

Because the focus of this inquiry is on describing, understanding, and clarifying teacher identity, it requires collecting a relatively small series of full, and saturated descriptions of the experience under investigation. The reason for the use of multiple participants is to provide accounts from different perspectives about the issue of teacher identity. Such a design of the research enables one to notice the essential aspects that appear across the sources and to recognize variations in how teacher identity appears. In this sense, multiple participants serve as a kind of triangulation on the experience, locating its core meaning by approaching it through different accounts. Triangulation does not serve to verify a particular account but to allow the researcher to move beyond a single view of the experience. The use of multiple participants serves to deepen the understanding of the investigated issue.

Conceptualizing identity as a collection of cognitive structures has led to the identification of several new sources of individual variation that should be taken into account when considering behavioural differences among people. Markus and Kunda (1986), for instance, have conveyed the idea that only a portion of the self cognitions are active in working memory at any point in time and as a result, self-conceptions may fluctuate in their accessibility in response to the current social context. This conceptualization of the "working self-concept" (ibid.) as a context-dependent configuration of self-conceptions has important implications for considering the role of the self-concept in behavioural regulation. While a newly formulated self-schema of the teacher in student teachers may encompass their identity of students, a totally different array of selves may be activated in experienced teachers and still a different array of selves may be activated in the same students but in a different local context.

Moreover, by defining identity as "that part of the individual's self-concept which derives from his or her knowledge of membership to a social group (or groups) together with the value and the emotional significance attached to it", Tajfel (1981: 255) highlights the social-emotional aspect of identity. In addition, Tajfel and Turner (1979; 1986), note that the same individual can belong to a wide variety of groups and therefore one's overall self-concept is composed of multiple social identities.

For this reason, Rosch's view of categorisation as leading to the construction of mental entities in the human mind appears to be inadequate in handling the problem of the actual interactional use of the concepts in real life encounters. A central conclusion is that prototype structures can be considered as having a supplementary role to word meanings, yet do not form an adequate or non-problematic basis for their use.

The concept of identity, then, has several dimensions related to a single person, the individual identity, and the other with groups - the collective identity (Jenkins 2004). Therefore the schema theory of identity that understands it as a mental model of the self inherent in human conceptual system, but does not provide a sufficiently detailed and comprehensive account of possible variation of the construct, needs further revision in the research on their actual performance.

Chapter 3 aims at exploring the emergence of identities in interactional sites. Seemingly, the theoretical underpinning that informs this chapter as well as the adopted methodology stands in stark contrast to Chapter 2. In our view, however, the two chapters are complementary since, when taken together, they engender a complete account of teacher identity. As Wenger (1998: 149) claims, the personal and professional self of a teacher are "mirror images of one another". In similar vein, Derenowski (2008: 213-214) asserts that personal identity maintenance in the classroom positively correlates with teacher's motivation and efficiency of work while Gabryś-Barker (2009: 419) claims that

innate features of personality, like reflectivity which can be observed in an individual's daily life, "extend as well into a professional context".

By participating in a community of practice, a teacher is subject to the influences of this community on identity development. It might be expected that teachers with different degrees of engagement into community practices will occupy different positions in the community, while trainees, whose identities are only tentative, will particularly feel the impact of a community context and will need to be aware of the shaping of their own identities that will take place in this context. If we think about this in relation to becoming a member of the teaching community of practice, we can see that each teacher is faced with the challenge of, in a sense, creating a teaching identity for themselves in their current spatial and temporal context. But in working on this project of creating a teaching self they are not producing something out of nothing; they are not able to forge a new, situated meaning of teacher and teaching that bears no relation to meanings of teacher and teaching in the wider social and historical contexts and social discourses. Rather, they have to draw on pre-existing, discursive practices and meanings relating these to their own situated experiences and contexts.

All in all, the book is intended to show that identity can be viewed not just in relation to the cognitive dimension of the self, but also with respect to the profession itself: a professional (in this case, teacher) identity. Conceiving identity in this way suggests a focus on the professional aspects of teaching. The title of the book by Danielewicz "Teaching Selves" suggests something of this nature. Both ways of looking at identity, through the self and through the profession, can help us think more clearly about identity in terms of teacher development. Therefore a combined view of identity would seem to be important, provided a balance is struck across these personal and professional dimensions of teaching. Evidently, the inextricable link between the personal and professional selves of a teacher must be taken into account in understanding teacher identity.

This book is in part an investigation into shared understanding or intelligibility of language teacher identity. The complexity of the factors - change, variability, attitudes, identities, communities, behaviours, etc. - revealed in this investigation is a constant challenge to providers of language teacher education and its consumers, as the ground on which and the material with which, in large measure, they work. This book advocates for seeing learning to become a teacher as "the remaking of identity in a particular space, through the mediation of new discourses, and knowledge as the ability to use in practice" (Hawkins 2004: 89).

In a traditional university course room, teacher-learner identities are shaped and even assigned by the roles the educator assumes through setting up activities, the questions asked, the responses given by the students. It is argued here that opportunities for students to assert their agency should be provided to

enable them to remake their identities as they compete for access and control of the course room interaction. As Danielewicz (2001: 168) argues "the course room should be a site where teacher-learners create and experience different representations of themselves" and therefore their professional identity develops through creation of certain habits at the stage of professional training" (Gabryś-Barker 2009: 419) and through a process of constant reflection upon their own course room activities and behaviours. Altering the talk, the physical arrangements of people and spaces in the interaction helps redefine teacher and student roles and impact their teaching practices. Gee (1996) has pointed out that it is not enough for student teachers to learn relevant theories of learning and teaching nor is it sufficient when they take on the practices of the community (Wenger 1998) but they also need to participate in the the life of the teaching community.

CHAPTER 1

THEORISING TEACHER IDENTITY

1.1. Introduction

The concept of identity, being worthy and seemingly obvious to every human being causes a lot of controversy and hot debates across academic disciplines. Despite its complexity and probably because of its superficial transparency, the research on identity does not have a long history. According to Charles Taylor (1989), the concept of identity did not occur before the sixteenth century and early formulations of identity were based on philosophical reflection upon the nature of the world, the man and the world-man relationship. More recently the topic has fallen into the focus of popular science investigation, permeating everyday talk and practices as well as media and the Internet. Block (2006: 34) notes that ours is the age which is witnessing a "veritable explosion" in identity talk and research and Jenkins (2004), highlighting the multiplicity of potential meanings of identity, says:

> Identity, it seems, is bound up with everything from political asylum to credit card theft. And the talk is about change, too: about new identities, the return of old ones, the transformation of existing ones. (Jenkins 2004: 8).

Given the wealth of potential meanings and approaches to identity, it is impossible to give a comprehensive view of the theoretical work in all of these areas and of how it has shaped identity studies. Therefore, in this chapter, we survey the development in identity theorizing both in diachronic and synchronic accounts. We explore some of the major approaches to the problem, moving from introductory accounts that understood identity as the internal project of the self, to more recent treatments that posit identity as fluid, fragmentary and crucially constituted in discourse. The chapter aims to explicate the theories that provide explanation of how people orient to consistency in their accounts of themselves and others.

1.2. Development of approaches to the concept of human identity

The first recorded use of the word identity appears in 1570 referring to "the quality or condition of being the same in substance, composition, nature properties, or in particular qualities under consideration; absolute or essential sameness; oneness" (OED 2002). It appears, then, that the notion of identity as a unified internal phenomenon has its roots in the word's etymology whereas the

inquiry into the topic originates in the philosophical reflection and extends into the domain of social sciences and humanities.

Many of the difficulties of pinning down identity result from confusing different aspects of a very complex notion. Tallis (2010) observes that identity has subjective dimensions: my sense of who and what I am at any given time; and my sense of being the same individual over a period of time. What people are confronted with in this subjective dimension is a paradox of remaining the same person while changing over time. There are also the external aspects of identity: those characteristics by which, and with which, individuals are identified and classified by others and which count as objective criteria for their remaining the same person. The paradox that needs to be addressed within this objective dimension is an accomplishment of unity and wholeness of a person in face of diversity and fluidity of the external world.

Jenkins (2008), discussing identification, distinguishes the private, internal self from the public, external person. The self is the individual's private experience of herself or himself; the person is what appears publicly in and to the outside world. Acknowledging that some distinction between the internal and the external is unavoidable, he argues that selfhood and personhood are completely and utterly implicated in each other. Further he states that an equally plausible reason why selfhood and personhood are difficult to distinguish might be that "the 'internal' and the 'external' are, for each of us, inextricably entangled" (Jenkins 2008: 51). He insists, however, that in European tradition, two polar models of humanity prevail namely, "the 'autonomous' and the 'plastic'" (ibid.), each with its implicit model of the self. With the former, the emphasis is on the internal and the self is reflexive and autonomous, untouched by upbringing, knowing its own mind but little else. The latter is at the other end of the spectrum of humanity, "is an epiphenomenon of collectivity, determined rather than determining" (ibid). Here the emphasis is on the external and the self is unable to make up its own mind, take responsibilities, make choices or act creatively. Jenkins concludes that the entire point of the model of the internal-external dialectic of identification is to avoid privileging either side of that relationship; rather balance should be the target in any discussion of identity. Balance, however, rarely can be found in theories of identity, which indicates that the concept of identity, so tangible, valuable and essential to every human being, is, at the same time, so ungraspable and conflicting. Bendle (2002) notes:

> There is an inherent contradiction between a valuing of identity as something so fundamental that it is crucial to personal well-being and collective action, and a theorization of 'identity' that sees it as something constructed, fluid, multiple, impermanent and fragmentary (Bendle 2002: 1-2).

The inherent contradictions in valuing identity as such an important construct are emphasized by postructuralists (Giddens 1984; 1991; Hall 2000; Weedon 1997) who assume identity to be something constructed, fluid, multiple, impermanent

and fragmentary. They supersede structuralist approaches, which seek to establish universal laws of psychology or social structure to explain individuals' fixed identities. Kwiatkowska (2005) argues that the power of identity rests not so much on its stability or primacy of identity over otherness but rather on its enabling flexibility of making choices.

Even such cursory review of modern theories of identity shows that, regardless of whether the approach is philosophical, social or humanist, the issue is viewed from two contrastive perspectives, namely either dynamic or stable. The dynamic perspective contrasts with the traditional view of "stable" identity as unitary and enduring psychological states or social categories. The Freudian-influenced psychological perspectives understand selfhood as a pre-cultural object that resides in the individual mind and develops within the family and local environments, the broad outlines of which are thought to be similar across cultures. Such psychoanalytic definitions of identity, as Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 377) note, are often "overly deterministic and overly universalizing, and at best account for only a narrow set of the identities that emerge even in a single cultural context". Recently, new tendencies have occurred that consider individual subjectivity and social agency in the construction of selfhood (e.g., Ochs and Capps 2001; Wortham 2003) which are an important counterbalance to previous studies of social identity as largely monolithic.

Larsen-Freeman (2010), drawing on Sfard (1998), argues for a mediation between the polar views of human identity and proposes a middle-ground position inspired by a socio-cognitive theory. This position holds that identity is a complex adaptive system rather than a pre-established concept of the self. Every person is composed of multiple identities, which exist in volatile states of construction and reconstruction. As active participants in a variety of discourses, individuals have agency to shape their selves. On the other hand, discourses affect the development of their identities. Identities then are the result of dynamic interplay between discursive processes that are internal to the individual and external involving everyone else. As Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 4) note "[c]onstructionist approaches do not therefore simply replace an 'inner' self with an 'outer' one. Rather, it is the very idea of an inner self and its outward expressions that is constructed".

The roots of the contemporary theories of human identity can be traced back to Enlightenment rationalism and, as Kwiatkowska (2005: 11) argues, it connects with the idea of "Western individualism". Two philosophers that had the major contribution to modern understanding of human identity as "the project of the self" (ibid: 19) were Descartes and Locke. The former, associated with deductive rationalism, thought the self to be the project of pure reason. The latter, associated with inductive empiricism, believed that knowledge derives from experience and therefore the self is created by the accumulation of experiences (Benwell and Stokoe 2006). Such view of identity as an internal

construct though enriched with the Romantic conceptions of sensibility and feeling was imported by the early twentieth century psychoanalysts who added emphasis upon socialization processes within the family and their impact upon the psyche, with which a social element was brought into accounts of human identity. To sum up, the accounts of identity as a "project of the self" acknowledge the existence of the self as an "an 'essential', cognitive, psychic socialised, phenomenon that governs human action and, separates it from other selves and the world at large, and situates a man within some kind of social context. Personal identity, then, stems from aspects of our self-concept that we use to differentiate ourselves from others and provide a sense of uniqueness and unity. Still, interaction with others helps shape our sense of identity. There may be differences between how we see ourselves and how others see us; differences that are likely to permeate both the messages exchanged in social encounters as well as our own inner reflections on who we are.

Interaction is viewed as essential for the construction and performance of identity in all modern approaches to the issue. The major point of difference between them is how the concept of the self is grasped. The sociocognitive theory, the middle-ground position according to Larsen-Freeman (2010), acknowledges the existence of the self as a central representation or schema that organizes all personal experiences. According to van Dijk (2008), the existence of the self seems plausible, because people have unique personal experiences, even when partly shared with others. From these experiences, stored in the episodic (autobiographical) memory, a person, as a central participant of them, derives a more general and abstract representation of oneself, for instance in the form of a self-schema (Barclay and Subramaniam 1987; Markus 1977). The abstract self in the form of self-schema can be retrieved and instantiated or "applied" (van Dijk 2008) again in new experiences. The instantiated self that ongoingly represents the events in which the person participates, is neither always the same, nor static because it may be associated with many role-identities, and even if instantiated, it may be as dynamic as the models it is part of, that is the details of the self-representation in an interaction may change continuously. There is, however, "some form of *sameness*, *stability* or *continuity* that allows people to experience these various identities as being constitutive of, and embodied in, one and the same person, and as more or less stable across time and events, that is, as a constant with a specific name" (van Dijk 2008: 70). Such self plays a central role in the self-representation of communicative situations by the participants and enables the person to represent the current surroundings, the situation in which she is now thinking, acting, speaking, writing, listening or reading. Personal identity, then, is an interactional accomplishment, because in many explicit and implicit ways co-participants provide ongoing definitions and evaluations of others during conversation and

other discourses as well as the person herself reorganizes the self-schema and accommodates it to the needs of the on-going interaction.

Key theories of identity that have been developed within socio-cognitive tradition are social identity theory (SIT) and social categorisation theory (SCT) (see Tajfel 1982; Tajfel and Turner 1986). Within these accounts, social identity is defined by individual's identification with a group. This process is conditioned by the social-cognitive processes of membership and an emotional attachment or specific disposition to this belonging. The process of social categorisation is achieved cognitively by such operations as attribution and the application of existing schemata relating to the group therefore before social identification occurs, mental representations of social categories need to develop. Specific social identification categories are then activated in specific discourses, that is, identity is something that "lies dormant, ready to be 'switched on' in the presence of other people" (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 26). Social categorisation therefore is causally related to individual's actions and behaviour and identity is a cognitive, pre-discursive and essentialist phenomenon.

Along similar lines, as a pre-discursively constructed product, identity is viewed in sociolinguistics. Within this framework, identity correlates with, or even causes particular language behaviours. Being a woman, for instance causes, increased politeness and forms of solidarity in talk and being a man leads to, for instance a greater use of swear words. What these accounts aim at is viewing social categories as essentialist and monolithic that exert the same impact on their users regardless of the situational conditions.

The other theory that places emphasis on the individual subject based in social contexts is Goffman's "self presentation" approach. In his view the self is embodied and extended in an interactional space. Goffman's unit of analysis is the embodied individual, and "the embodied self has its territories, preserves of space that can be respected or violated" (Goffman 1971: 51-87 cited in Jenkins 2008: 91). The individual is a partly psycho-biological creature who presents itself on the stage to generate or produce relevant images of itself in the audience. As Goffman (1969: 223) puts it:

> Some kind of image, usually creditable, which the individual on stage and in character effectively induces others to hold in regard to him.

Identity, for Goffman, results from successful intentional performances or staging of the self, there is, however, a thread of consistency running from one stage to another, in the form of the performer, who is a psycho-biological embodied construct exerting impact on the character being performed. The interactional context or the stage is a world that is created and enabled by interactional routines, implicit and explicit rules that serve as resources for the actors to select and make use of them. The availability and the range of resources are constrained by the stage or "frame" Goffman labels it as:

> Specific settings are 'frames' – each with characteristic meanings and rules – within which interaction is organised. Individuals experience life as a series of different sets or stages, organised formally or informally. While each individual may have different understandings of these settings, and of what's happening within them, the shared frame creates enough consistency and mutuality for interaction to proceed (Jenkins 2008: 92).

So the world is rule-governed, scripted or ritualised but it provides individuals with resources that are possibilities or "enabling conventions" (Goffman 1983: 5) rather than determinants of behaviour. Many interactional settings are observant of rules and conventions. On the other hand, much of what people do is necessarily either habitual or improvisational and rules can never be sufficiently flexible or comprehensive to deal adequately with the variability and unpredictability of life. Individuals, then, perform their identities through calculating the setting and the resources and by momentary selection of them to accomplish an intended target. The targeted identity will vary dependant on the audience. "Others don't just perceive our identity, they actively constitute it. And they do so not only in terms of naming or categorising, but in terms of how they respond to or treat us" (Jenkins 2008: 96). Hence individuals present an image of themselves to others using their interactional competences within situational routines and the others receive this presentation by either accepting it or not. Goffman views identity as an interactional performance shaped by the demands of the setting and the addressee and constructed to maintain a mode of presentation consonant with participants' goals. In this way, identity for Goffman is a discursive process contingent upon the interactional context in which it occurs. With this approach the emphasis is on an agentive performance of identity "premised on a rational, intending self able to manage carefully an often idealised, consistent persona or "front" in order to further his or her interpersonal objectives" (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 34).

This theoretical perspective has been further developed in more radical, socially-oriented postmodernist accounts of identity in which the self comes to be defined by its position in social practice. Moreover, "the poststructuralist turn has resulted in the dismantling of essentialist notions of identity" (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 28). It is now recognised as non-fixed, non-rigid but unstable, fluid, fragmentary and always being (co-) constructed by individuals of themselves (or ascribed by others), or by people who share certain core values or perceive another group as having such values.

Less radical poststructuralist approaches point to the influence of social structures on individuals, not in terms of essentialised social constructs but as participation in communities of practice, such as family, colleagues at work, social activities and so on. By participating in a number of different communities of practice, each with their own goals and patterns of behaviour, individuals construct identities in their relationships within these communities. For example,

Lave and Wenger's (1991) Communities of Practice Theory views identity as rooted in social practice and talk, rather than pre-given and essential. Individuals are not only members of a singular group, but rather "actors articulating a range of forms of participation in multiple communities of practice" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 490). Identity thus becomes something which is a mixture of individual agency and the influence of social structures of various types. It is constructed within established contexts and may vary from one context to another; and that these contexts are moderated and defined by intervening social variables and expressed through language. The assumption is that there exist links between specific linguistic forms (pronunciation features, grammatical and lexical items) language users adopt in varied social contexts and social categories. Jenkins (2006) argues that the role of language choice in establishing and maintaining identity within communities can be easily discerned in small speech communities that share particular characteristics but this should be redefined for the community of speakers of English as a second language since it is extremely widely distributed geographically and also very numerous. In general, identity is understood as unstable and fluid because it springs from the individual's desire to belong to a group which is distinct from and perceived in a more positive sense than other groups. Since language users have an agentive power in selecting the language variety they use, identity becomes an outcome of language use rather than its determinant. Besides, more than one identity may be articulated in a given context, in which case there will be a dynamic of identity shifts and possible conflicts between competing identities. Still language is only one amongst a number of potential markers of identity, such as gender, religion, job, personality, social class, etc. over which individuals may not always have control. In other words, individuals are capable of choice and change, but they are also shaped by the social context in which they find themselves.

More radical postructuralist theories of identity view it as an "inscription in discourse" (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 29), and therefore of itself, prescriptive, limiting and unselective, rather than something empowering. Hall (2000 cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 29) recognises that ideology and hegemonic practices impose order and stability upon the indeterminate play of signifiers in the discursive field: "The unity, the internal homogeneity, which the term identity treats as foundational is not a natural, but a constructed form of closure". Individuals are no longer self determined and self-constructed agents but subordinate subjects produced via a set of identifications in discourse. In Foucault's account (1972), identities are regarded as the product of dominant discourses that are tied to social arrangements and practices. In this account, the development of the individual becomes a process of acquiring a particular ideological version of the world, liable to serve hegemonic ends and preserve the

status quo. “Identity or identification thus becomes a colonising force, shaping and directing the individual” (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 31).

Foucauldian account, in which subject is treated as a mere effect of discourse and ideology rather than an initiator of action, has prompted some challenges. On the basis of its criticism, positioning theory (Bamberg 1997, 2005a,b; Davies and Harre´ 1990; Harre´ and van Langenhove 1999; Hollway 1984) developed a view of agency as bidirectional. On the one hand, dominant discourses or master narratives position speakers in their situated practices and construct who they are without their agentive involvement. On the other hand, speakers position themselves as constructive and interactive agents and choose the means by which they construct their identities. Positioning theorists argue for the constitutive force of discursive practices that lies in their provision of subject positions. A subject position incorporates both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire. Once having taken up a particular position as one’s own, a person inevitably sees the world from the vantage point of that position. In other words, what people do is, on the one hand intentional, and on the other, normatively constrained, which means that subjects, performing their identities, are liable to such assessments as correct/incorrect, proper/improper and so on. In this way positioning analysis offers another line of reconciling the contradictions between the two views of the person as interacting with the world: one as agent, the other as patient. Bamberg (2000) argues that these are “two rather distinct views of two separate centres of construction and motivating forces and two very different directions of fit (“person to world” and “world to person”)”. In this way positioning analysis presents a compromise between two opposing views of identity, that is, one relying on a notion of the unitary subject as ground, the other on a subject as determined by outside (mainly social and biological) forces. As Butler (1990: 33) argues “subjects may enjoy performative agency through the repetitive ‘iteration’of signs or acts” (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 31). By this she implies that there exist historical and cultural conditions that restrain identity performance but at the same time the very repetition that inheres in the performance of identity guarantees the possibility of change. Therefore each new performance may entail the introduction of new elements and subsequently identity change.

The questions that have not been addressed yet are: how exactly identities are discursively produced or performed and how discursively accomplished identities come to be recognised as stable, life-long enduring selves. The former is addressed within linguistics that views language practices as enabling devices of identity construction and performance. The latter finds its resolution in the idea that narrativity is a cognitive resource that enables people to reassemble experiences and organise them into a coherent structure. Carr (1986: 218) argues

that "personal identity is just that identity presupposed by the unity of the character which the unity of a narrative requires".

1.3. Identity and language

1.3.1. Approaching language-identity relationship

A relationship between language and identity is by no means as straightforward as the idea that language is a marker of identity. Nevertheless, individuals perceive language as a "central feature of human identity. When we hear someone speak, we immediately make guesses about gender, education level, age, profession, and place of origin. Beyond this individual matter, a language is a powerful symbol of national and ethnic identity. (Spolsky 1999: 118).

Given the variety of contexts in which language is used and given that identity is not stable but situated and performed, the relationship between the two cannot be either simple or transparent. Joseph (2004) sees language as playing the central role in both interpreting and proclaiming identity whereas Jenkins (2008: 5) argues that "identity is the human capacity – rooted in language" and Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 369) add that "among the many symbolic resources available for the cultural production of identity, language is the most flexible and pervasive". Therefore the dynamics of language repertoires matched by a range of speech styles and behaviours in monolinguals and different languages in multilinguals predisposes the multiplicity of identities. All in all, language appears to be both an essential tool for identity construction and comprehension as well as a flexible device of its expression.

The earliest linguistic accounts of identity are built on structuralist theories of language, associated predominantly with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure ([1916]1983). For structuralists, the linguistic system guarantees the meaning of signs and each linguistic community has its own set of signifying practices that give value to the signs in a language. Language practices are homogenous for a given community regardless of contexts of use and each linguistic sign has specific idealised meaning. Hence acquisition of a given linguistic system leads to development of a unique identity inscribed in the language practices. Such identity will be shared by all the members of the language community. Being a member of a community determines our identity once and for ever and our identity can be recognised by the language we use. In this view, within each community of practice, defined by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999: 185) as groups "whose joint engagement in some activity of enterprise is sufficiently intensive to give rise over time to a repertoire of shared practices", certain linguistic (among other) practices are understood by the members to be more appropriate than others.

As Higgins (2010) claims, much scholarship until the 1980s relating, for instance the sex of speakers to language variation was based on essentialism, which would describe the members of a group as similar in their attributes and behaviour due to shared cultural and/or biological characteristics. Male or female sex was treated as an independent variable and was used to study linguistic variation such as pronunciation or grammar differences. Along these lines, variationist sociolinguists explored, among others, the issues of how a speaker's male or female status relates to the use of post-vocalic /r/ (Labov 1966) or multiple negation in American English. The purpose of this research has been to understand how social class structures such as gender, class, and race are related to linguistic forms, and to provide socially based explanations of linguistic variation and change. Much research in the variationist paradigm has treated variables such as sex or race of the speaker as the cause of variation rather than investigating why it is that men and women choose to speak the way they do. Similarly to structuralism that could not account for struggles over the social meanings created in situated contexts, variationist theories of identity could not account for the multiplicity and fluidity of identity. Variationist studies have been critiqued for what has been called the 'correlational fallacy' (Cameron 1997: 59), that is, the failure to fully explain the distribution of socially structured linguistic variation.

As a response to variationist work, social constructionism that views language as a product of social relations rather than their cause developed. It is argued to originate with seminal works of Lakoff (1975) and Tannen (1990). In contrast to other variationist accounts, they both treated "men's and women's speech as the result of societal relations and socialization processes" (Higgins 2010: 373) and thus language was seen as an outcome of social relations rather than their foundation. Social constructionism, despite providing a richer insight into identity issue, has been seen as limited since it generally treats social categories such as men and women as relatively homogeneous and stable, therefore it cannot account for the creation of temporary, fluid identities.

Both the approaches, variationist and social constructionism alike, can be encompassed by the acquisition metaphor (Sfard 1998) that construes identity as the accumulation of a body of facts or items of knowledge of oneself and others that are abstracted and generalised. The process may involve either reception or development by construction, but the focus is on "gaining ownership" (Sfard 1998: 5) or possession of something. Identity, then, is a product that once acquired, every human being has for the rest of their life. It is self-knowledge, that is, as a collection of context-independent symbols accompanied by rules that specify the relationship between them. In this sense language is not only a means of identity expression but also an epistemological tool for its construction.

This framework takes into account the intentions of the speaker while neglecting the role of the hearer. As Spolsky (1999) implies, language is not

only a means for us to present our own notion of "who we are," but it is also a way for others to project onto us their own suppositions of the way "we must be." Conflict arises when the hearer has a different understanding of the speaker's identity than the one the speaker desires. The tension is further compounded when the hearer is in a position of power and can not only misinterpret the desires of the speaker, but can actively impede this expression, forcing the speaker into an entirely different, perhaps unwanted, identity.

The emphasis on the role of "the other" and the setting in identity construction has led to a research shift away from social constructionism towards a post-modern perspective. Within this approach or rather range of theories, neither identity nor language use is a fixed notion; both are dynamic, depending upon time and place (Norton Pierce 1995). How we perceive ourselves changes with our community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998), allowing us multiple identities over the years or even within a day. Because "social life is messy and speakers' memberships shift depending upon the specific contexts in which they are engaged" (Moore 2010: 133), therefore identities are not stable but fluid and prone to change with changing contexts. Thus the postmodern theories of identity based on poststructuralist theories of language view identity as discursively constructed rather than essential, fixed or predetermined.

A spur for this postmodern understanding of identity has been given by the work of Erving Goffman (1983) whose premise has been that identity is constructed entirely through discourse, making our language choices of paramount importance to our identity construction. In fact, he states that personal identity is defined by how others identify us, not how we identify ourselves. The speaker can attempt to influence how others perceive them, but ultimately it is the hearer who creates the speaker's identity. If the speaker is not allowed any influence on their own output, then the hearer is able to construct an identity for the speaker which may be entirely disparate from the speaker's desired identity. This allows the hearer an inordinate amount of power, and diminishes the self-sufficiency and independence of the speaker. As Duranti notes: "One can be oneself only against the background of identities, expectations, and practices sustained by the presence and by the actions of others, linguistic activities included" (Duranti 1997: 335).

Goffman's theatrical viewpoint, in which performances on stage are employed as a metaphor with which to analyse social interaction in everyday life, provides a range of useful concepts for examining identity. This perspective, while not denying social or psychological influences on our sense of self, does view the individual as a very active creative agent in a dynamic and ongoing process of constructing a sense of self; a process that is seen to be sensitive to context and the expectations of others. It casts light on "the interplay between the personal and the social" (Woodward 2002: 16) in an individual's

identity. Identity, whether it is on an individual, social or institutional level, is something which we are constantly building and negotiating all our lives through our interaction with others. It is also multifaceted: people switch into different roles at different times in different situations, and each of those contexts may require a shift into different, sometimes conflicting, identities for the people involved.

The poststructuralist approaches to identity focus on contexts in which participants have to choose between languages or varieties of a language and in which an individual's identity orientation may shift from moment to moment. In this sense, many of more than one identity may be articulated in a given context, in which case there will be a dynamic of identity shifts and possible conflicts between competing identities. Omoniyi notes that:

> the identity category that is perceived from, or projected through, language behaviour is the consequence of moment-by-moment factor-driven decisions about appropriateness and position of that category in a hierarchy of identities". She however, admits further that identities are not only shaped in immediate interactional contexts since people are, at any moment of their life, being engaged in varied cultural domains "laden with meaning within established social systems (Omoniyi 2006: 13).

People forging their identities reach beyond the immediate situational contexts and make connections with wider systems of meaning-making. As Gee argues in the use of language, people rely on two distinct "grammars". "Grammar 1" is "the traditional set of units like nouns, verbs, inflections, phrases and clauses" (Gee 2005: 41). The other "grammar is the "rules" by which grammatical units like nouns and verbs, phrases and clauses, are used to create patterns which signal or "index" characteristic *whos-doing-whats-within-Discourses*" (ibid.). Grammar 1 is the system of language that, on the one hand, provides users with resources that enable them to produce identities they desire but, on the other, it restrains them in their actions and possible meanings they can express. With grammar two, the emphasis is not so much on the linguistic devices that are at users' disposal but rather on the users' ability to select appropriate resources they wish to use to agentively shape their identities. The distinction between the two grammars resonates, to some extent, with the distinction between capital "D" (Discourse) and small "d" discourse dichotomy (Gee 2005; 2010). Language as a system (Grammar 1) is a part of capital "D" discourses that:

> circle around and form the kind of thought systems and ideologies that are necessary for the formation of a consensus that extends into what is taken to be agreed upon, what is held to be aesthetically and ethically of value, and what is often simply taken to be true (Bamberg et al. 2011c: 180).

In contrast, "grammar 2" is employed in "local in situ contexts within which subjects "find themselves speaking" (Bamberg et al. 2011c: 181).

So individuals are always positioning themselves in specific situations while being positioned by Discourses (Bamberg 1997; 2005a, b; 2006; Bamberg et al. 2011c) and identity construction is a bi-directional process. On the one hand, historical, sociocultural forces position speakers in their situated practices hence reduce their agentive involvement in the process. On the other hand, speakers position themselves as constructive and interactive agents by selecting the means with which they construct their identities against the backdrop of dominant discourses as well as other interactants. In similar vein, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 19) observe that identities are "social, discursive, and narrative options offered by a particular society in a specific time and place to which individuals and groups appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterize, and to claim social spaces and social prerogatives", which points to the significance of the temporal and spatial dimension in the construction of identity.

An individual's identity options are co-present at all times but each of them is loaded with varied language possibilities and necessities, that is, in any moment of identification an individual has a pool of language repertoires available but the choice is constrained by general cultural models (Discourses) that underlie and provide the context for the interpretation of locally displayed identities. In other words, identity options vary as the amount of salience and availability of discourses associated with them fluctuates from moment to moment. As Reynolds and Wetherell observed:

> People's discourse tends to be highly variable and inconsistent since different repertoires construct different versions and evaluations of participants and events according to the rhetorical demands of the immediate context. This variability allows for ideological dilemmas to arise as people argue and puzzle over the competing threads and work the inconsistencies between them (Reynolds and Wetherell 2003: 496-7).

Viewing identity as a participants' concerted accomplishment and situating it within social action reaffirm the significance of the relational factor. Multiple situated identities are enabled by the practices of others in the community. Presenting and enacting particular identities, individuals take into account both the objectives of interactional practices, and the constraints of institutional structures, that are in play when people communicate with each other. Identity, then as a result or a conclusion of interactional negotiation exists only in interactional settings. Hadden and Lester note that identity is "the set of verbal practices through which persons assemble and display who they are while in the presence of, and in interaction with others" (Hadden and Lester 1978: 331).

People in any interaction aim at creating or maintaining a positive image in others, which is a result of the need to maintain control over their social environment. Thus, human beings use language to present themselves in such a manner as to exert influence over others.Tedeschi puts it as follows:

> Self-presentation is a form of social influence in which actors attempt to control the identities audiences attribute to them. We have seen that a desire to control the actions of others motivates the individual to invest time, energy and resources in constructing identities that enhance the ability to influence others (Tedeschi 1990: 313).

Individuals are not independent in their efforts to produce positive self-images, though. Mutual recognition between self and other has been a feature of theories of subjectivity. In 1807, Hegel argued in the Phenomenology of Mind that "the Other is essential to the realization of self-consciousness" (Hegel 1977: 153-78). This idea fed directly into twentieth-century phenomenological and existentialist approaches to the individual, identity and subjectivity, which also inform commonsense assumptions about the self. Within linguistics the existence of the other in identity construction is obvious "precisely because language presupposes the interlocutor and is iterable, thereby describing multiple instances, the talk of identity cannot reveal what is singular about the experience of a person" (Roth 2010: 115). Although individuals have considerable autonomy and agency to use language and its resources to perform their identities, this language is that of the other. As Roth (2010: 134) notes "a language that has come from the Other, is produced for the Other, and, in so doing, returns to the Other". Who one is, therefore, is always already in the image of the other, from whom the language resources derive. Not only language itself comes from the other but also the kinds of texts people produce, the genres, their constituents and structures (e.g., narrative, plot, and character), the living or dead metaphors, and so forth. The other, then, can equally well be recognized as dominant discourses that have been operative in cultural and social histories of an individual. In language use there has always been present its "inherent passivity" (Roth 2010: 135) that comes when we speak a language that never is our own, and which therefore constrains individuals in their telling/constitution of themselves, who they are with respect to themselves and to the other.

This brief venture into the relationship between language and identity makes it clear that one cannot exist without another. Both are complex but tangible entities that cannot subsist independently of each other but are intertwined within society. One may say that human identity, in fact, does not exist unless it is presented or enacted with a system of signs. The phenomena of identity, identification and dis-identification, or the experience of who I am and with whom I affiliate all have to be theorized in terms of the experience of language available to the speaking subject who is subjected to language it uses. The peaking subject subject is semi-independent in language use since s/he can select appropriate resources out of the pool of available language repertoires.

1.3.2. Identity in FL settings

The intimate relationship between identity and language is most acutely felt by those with skills in more than one language and by those who suffer from language deficits or depravation due to cognitive or social factors. Grosjean (1982) writes of the change in personality that bilinguals often experience when using different languages in different environments whereas Burck (1997) recognizes the distinct "individual identity" associated with each language because

> languages have embed cultures with very different constructions of self...bilinguals may hold considerable contradictions in their experiences (Burck 1997:74).

That the self is highly influenced by culture has been acknowledged many a time so far (Bamberg 2004a; 2005b; Bruner 1990; Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Byram 1995; Gee 2005; 2010; Jenkins 2008; Kwiatkowska 2005; Miller 1999; Tajfel 1981; 1982). In particular, perceptions of right and wrong, positive and negative, appropriate and inappropriate are formed from the time of birth through a child's interaction with his or her cultural environment. As culture defines the child, so does the child define him/herself? When that child then encounters a system of norms that evaluates and values the world differently, perceptions of reality are disturbed and the culturally defined self must adapt accordingly. The mental representations of reality that are provided to us through our own culture thus become challenged in the new one. People who travel abroad to learn a new language and new culture suffer from culture shock since their selves constructed in the mother culture become inhibited or restrained by a communicative barrier or incomplete language. Larsen and Smalley (1972) refer to the resulting identity crisis as "culture stress," a disorientation that occurs within an individual whose social position or role in the foreign culture has shifted in comparison to that of her native culture. Such stress may reduce the success of second language learning (Schumann 1975; Jensen 1995) by draining energy from the task at hand to the preservation of the self. It happens because cultures may hold different views of the nature of the self.

Culture influences individual identities because meanings are created within social settings. As Goffman (1971) argues people can understand and organize environment only because they are capable of forming schemata on which the mind works. Because these schemata are organised within socio-cultural contexts, members of a culture will share them but this cultural framework will differ from that of visitors to that culture. Cultural and linguistic settings affect the self by changing the framework within which the self is to be perceived. Language and culture also create social bonds among those who share them.

Entering a new society instigates a learning process for an individual. Initially, an individual has to adapt to the society into which they are born, and a process of enculturation takes place that establishes their place in a familiar world. They become, as a result, cultural insiders. When an individual enters another culture their original cultural adaptation may well be thrown into doubt. New learning, acculturation, has to take place and, at the same time, unlearning or deculturation. As these processes continue over time, the individual, initially a stranger, will experience an internal transformation that will, in the long term, result in the assimilation of the individual into the new society, thereby completing the journey from cultural outsider to cultural insider. Adaptation to a new culture is an active process that:

> occurs in and through communication. Just as natives have acquired their cultural patterns through interaction with others, strangers over time acquire the new cultural patterns by participating in the host communication activities (Gudykunst and Kim 2003: 361).

Giddens (1991: 53) completes the above view by observing that although concepts of what a person is may vary across cultures "The capacity to use "I" in shifting contexts, characteristic of every known culture, is the most elemental feature of reflexive conceptions of personhood." Our sense of identity is shaped by our personal experiences and personality traits that may contribute to the notion of a personal identity as well as our interactions with others. There may be differences between how we see ourselves and how others see us. These differences, however, permeate both the messages exchanged in social encounters as well as our own inner reflections on who we are or where we are at in the development of a sense of self.

Scollon and Scollon (2001) say that the concept of culture is too broad a social organization to be very useful in the analysis of either discourse or identity because in the contemporary world, virtually every culture can be shown to consist of a number of internal, cross-cutting, and overlapping discourse systems, such as those of generation, ethnicity, and gender. In addition to these discourse systems, virtually all cultures participate in the worldwide economic system. Therefore in order to understand how individual members take on their identity, Scollon and Scollon (ibid. 182) suggest sketching discourse systems within which identities are performed. They argue that most of professional discourse takes place within five major types of discourse system: (1) the corporate culture; (2) the professional group; (3) the Utilitarian discourse system; (4) the generational discourse system; (5) the gender discourse system.

The first two of these will become a focus of further analysis in this book since they are particularly relevant in the study of language teacher identity performance. As Scollon and Scollon (2001) note the corporate culture and the professional group are voluntary or goal-directed discourse systems in the sense that they are motivated by a goal-directed ideology and participating in them

comes to be the overriding factor in understanding ordinary communication among their members. In the sections which follow, descriptions of the two separate discourse systems with connections to language teacher identity will be provided. In doing so, we will bring out crucial points which such discourse systems raise for our overall understanding of identity construction and performance.

1.4. Identity in educational contexts

1.4.1. Identity and language in FL education

The use of language to construct identity has been explored in education to great extent (Adger 1998; Block 2006; Bucholtz 1999; Cazden 1988; Joseph 2009; Kramsch 2009; Miller 2009; Pavlenko 2006; Toohey 2000). Different researchers investigate into various aspects of the issue, which is reflected in the multiplicity of perspectives employed to tackle the problem. The most frequently taken approach is the one whereby students' construction of multilingual identities is explored (c.f. Kramsch 2009; Pavlenko 2006; Pavlenko and Norton 2007; Zavala 2000). Other perspectives that have become increasingly popular with the rise of research into corporate identities is to either attend to classroom discourse practices where identities of students and teachers are constructed vis-à-vis the other party in the classroom or see the classroom as an institution or a workplace, whereby teacher professional or corporate identities fall in the focus of investigation (Danielewicz 2001; Scollon and Scollon 2001).

Cazden (1988) argues that certain features of schools make verbal communication central to a greater extent than it is in other social institutions. First, in schools spoken language is the medium of instruction and testing. Hence students rely on language while learning and use it while demonstrating what they have learned. Secondly, unlike other social institutions, teachers control much of that talk, both to "avoid collisions" (Cazden 1988: 3) and enhance learning. Thirdly, spoken language is part of the identities of all learners and the differences learners and teachers bring to the classroom can impair or enhance learning.

Willis (2002) notes that the talk in a language classroom is more difficult to analyse than the talk in other subject matter classrooms because of the dual role language plays in a language classroom: it is both a medium and an object of instruction. Drawing upon Sinclair and Brazil's model of language use in language classroom she distinguishes between the "Outer" and the "Inner" language structure as follows:

> The 'Outer' structure is a mechanism for controlling and stimulating utterances in the 'Inner' structure which gives formal practice in the foreign language". (Sinclair and Brazil 1982: 23, quoted in Willis 2002: 163).

Widdowson (1980) claims that this "Inner" discourse is "pedagogically processed" as opposed to "natural" language since the structures that are presented as a learning target are devoid of their normal communicative value and are seen as samples of language. Therefore, identities occasioned in a foreign language classroom will differ from the identities that are targeted at in natural bilingual contexts. In addition, because the two structures are used in the classroom for different purposes, varied positions will be occupied by the participants depending on whether the prevailing form of talk is either the "Outer" or the "Inner". The "Outer" structure provides the framework of the lesson, the language used to organize, explain and check, and generally to enable the pedagogic activities to take place. The "Outer" is more frequently associated with the role of the teacher therefore local positions that can be realized with this structure are activity initiator, instructor, and evaluator. Only the "Outer" is used when the focus is on the topic and information conveyed, rather than the language itself, which happens when classroom discussion is organized and then the context is more interactive with the teacher becoming a chairperson rather than an instructor per se.

The "Inner" pattern consists of the target forms of the language that the teacher has selected as learning goals. These are generally phrases, clauses or sentences, presented as target forms, quoted as examples, repeated and drilled or otherwise practiced by the class, often as discrete items. The focus is on the language, drilling or other ELT practice techniques in action as well as activities which are of a non-interactive nature sometimes described as 'mechanical'. In this use, a clear exclusive distribution of classroom roles, teachers and students, along with the positions associated with them reveals a traditional learning situation with a master who is a source of knowledge and disciples whose desire is to acquire the knowledge dispensed by the master.

Rarely, is the classroom discourse so neatly organized, though; rather switches from the "Outer" to the "Inner" and back are commonplace. Stretches of the "Inner", for instance, are in use, together with the "Outer" in controlled but interactive practice where the teacher makes odd correction or suggestion for a word or phrase. Mainly the "Outer" with the brief passages of the "Inner" is used in the occasional teacher correction or the supplying of an appropriate word or phrase when the emphasis is on the topic and the teacher is acting in the role of a linguistic adviser as well as chairperson. This would also be the pattern if a teacher is explaining or talking about a comprehension passage with the focus mainly on the meaning.

Seemingly the deployment of the distinction between the "Inner" and the "Outer" classroom language pattern works efficiently in characterizing SLA classroom discourse. Nevertheless, as Willis (2002) notes no matter how free the interaction gets during the course of an activity, the teacher is always empowered to terminate one activity, and to start another. Teachers can regain

control by introducing Follow-up moves of an evaluative nature, in situations like discussions or team work or student-to-student exchanges. This shows that classroom discourse is a type of institutional discourse with an unequal distribution of power reflected in the language used and affecting the identities performed in these contexts.

1.4.2. Institutionalised EFL teacher identities

Identities are not only socially and culturally moulded but also institutionally assigned, which is clear in educational settings, where institutions, society and social and cultural practices produce the discourses within which institutionalised identities are constituted. Some discourses, and the subject positions and identities that they constitute, have more power than others. Such asymmetrical discourses produce subjects within relations of power that potentially or actually involve resistance (Foucault 1981). For example, in the language classroom the teacher is assigned an identity of authority, which underlines both the possession of the theoretical subject content and pedagogical knowledge as well as practical. The students are allocated with subjectivities of the resistant party. The same teacher, in the same class, on the same day, can dramatically change the pedagogical experience by shifting relations of power between teachers and students, opening up spaces for increased engagement and interaction. Shifting relations of power may be a little unsettling for the teacher but the result can be a significant learning experience for both the teacher and the students. Pennycook (2007) drawing on Foucault (1980), notes:

> Taken-for-granted categories such as man, woman, class, race, ethnicity, nation, identity, awareness, emancipation, language or power must be understood as contingent, shifting and produced in the particular, rather than having some prior ontological status (Pennycook 2007: 39).

It appears, then, that the relationships between speakers change, together with shifts in relations of power. Institutions however are argued to have their own organizational culture that, as Mumby (1988) argues, constrains their members with their structural symbolism. As Wodak (1997: 336-7) argues institutions have their "own internal life, their own rules and rituals, inside jokes and stories", that is, symbols through which their organizational power is represented and created. By symbols Wodak (1997) means whichever myths that are regarded to be relevant, and whichever ideologies, standards and values are suggested, they all apply directly to the groups in authority and to their interests.

1.4.3. Ideologies in EFL teaching

In the case of EFL teacher discourse, two often conflicting ideologies can be noticed. They stem, as Scollon and Scollon (2001) argue, from two opposing

views on foreign language teacher competences that can be derived either from practice or formal schooling. About thirty years ago, an emphasis was on socialization, that is, learning through teaching experience in the classroom. Nowadays the value of education, that is, formal learning through coursework has been highlighted. What has been observed for the last three decades is a shift from a more occupational status, with its informal processes of socialization through experience, to professional status of EFL teachers with the emphasis on their formal preparation and qualifications. This shift of ideological paradigms is by no means limited to discourses of schooling. Duszak (2005: 70) observes that similar tendencies can be noticed in the late 20th century academic community in Poland. She argues that political, economic, social, and cultural changes that started in Poland in the last decade of the 20th century brought in two polarised systems of values, beliefs and behavioural patterns. One based on the old cherished values of academia: "that of autonomy of science, of the community and its institutions", that of the mission. The other based on marketing ideologies, the idea of competitiveness and accumulation of wealth, that of the trade or craft rather than devotion.

Within the community of foreign language teachers the gap between the two polarised ideologies became even deeper with a shift in the conceptualisation of teacher knowledge. The two ideologies of teacher knowledge have always been combined with a strong and long-lasting commitment to the idea that a very good command of the target language is essential in a foreign language classroom. Yet, the discourse of what command of English refers to has also shifted away from the one equating knowledge of language with linguistic competence to those associating it with communicative competence. From the former ideology benefited teachers who had been in the teaching profession for a long time and as a result had acquired practical pedagogical knowledge along with the linguistic as well as metalinguistic competence they needed to effectively pass on the content knowledge in the classroom. The latter ideology privileges those teachers who might not have been in the profession for a long time but have possessed both the pedagogical and the content knowledge through formal schooling. On the other hand, as Scollon and Scollon (2001: 212-213) note that "there remains a strong ideological commitment to practice in the field, to actual teaching over research, to action over theory, which continues to set them apart from other full members of the institutional discourse systems in which they are employed". What this means is that the occupational discourse system of ESL teachers is now being transformed into full professional discourse combined with the corporate one.

Nowadays EFL teachers are taken to have an equal status with teachers of other subjects because education, extra training and diplomas have come to predominate over socialization in membership and identity. In other words, modern ESL teachers have continually been upgrading their competence in

instruction, pedagogy and language through formal education such as new training programs and degree courses in which they can receive more advanced formal credentialisation. Miller notes:

> Where teachers were once viewed as technicians, defined by particular behaviours, knowledge or language teaching methods in classrooms characterized by identifiable variables, teachers and their work are constructed in increasingly complex ways in recent research. Current work on teacher identity highlights that language teaching cannot be separated from social language use in classrooms, and the centrality of situated meanings within repertoires of social practices, involving specific social and institutional contexts and memberships (Miller 2009: 173).

Teacher identity is powerfully influenced by contextual factors outside of the teacher. These include institutional practices and workplace conditions (Flores 2001), curriculum and foreign language policy (Cross and Gearon 2007; Varghese 2006), cultural differences (Johnson 2003). The effect of the above mentioned factors is that EFL teacher identity combines an identity in the corporate discourse system, in which the EFL teacher finds himself or herself employed and an identity in the occupational discourse, in which the teacher has socialised. Therefore, within modern EFL discourse, teacher identity understood with an acquisition metaphor (Sfard 1998) whereby teachers, through accumulation of experiences, construct who they are, becomes insufficient since it does not account for complementary identifications of individuals with different discourse systems. Individual teachers can simultaneously be members of many often conflicting discourse systems and in some cases membership in one system will tend to undercut or call into question full membership in the other system. Moreover in the career of a single teacher there are often periods of greater or lesser identification with professional goals and of corresponding identification with corporate goals. Individuals may also differently position themselves vis-a-vis these systems. Some for instance, will see themselves primarily as English teachers and pay little attention to the goals of the school in which they are currently employed; others will come to work primarily on behalf of the school with relatively little concern for their sense of professional membership (Scollon and Scollon 2001). Therefore EFL teacher identity can be characterised neither by accounting for their language competence nor their teaching experience alone.

What gives EFL teachers a sense of being members of the same discourse system is this common experience of participation in the community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). The EFL teachers are more likely to be accepted as full members because their qualifications and credentials are more like those of other members of these institutional discourse systems. On the other hand, there remains a strong feeling within the EFL discourse system that no amount of research and analysis can replace classroom experience. Johnson (2006) reports an interview with an experienced teacher who has employed a

rotary hoist metaphor to explain what a notion of good teacher meant to her. The clothes hoist analogy offers the view that the more experience you have, the more clothes (knowledge) you can peg on them. This rotary hoist analogy for effective teaching and learning practice is contrasted with the metaphor of "old grandma's clothesline" that stands for the linear, more traditional, less effective, unconnected methods of (bad) teaching and learning. This example shows that any single community of practice must be seen as "operating within a system of distinction, rather than as an isolated social unit" (Moore 2010: 125).

Another issue that this example illustrates is that teacher identity and practices are subject to change over time. Moreover, teachers are continually fashioning and refashioning their identities, which is reflected in the view of teacher thinking as "a mélange of past, present, and future meanings that are continually being negotiated and renegotiated through social interaction" (Miller Marsh 2002: 6). However, this process of fashioning and refashioning does not represent the free creation of individuals but it is constrained by social contexts and conditions, which include social organisations such as schools, and cultural products, including language and knowledge (Layder 2004). Understanding how social structure is intertwined with individual activity requires that the processes of identity construction be seen as the interdependence of individual creative input and pre-existing institutional or social features of society. Teacher identities are cross-cutting in various discourse systems (professional and corporate are majors) and may lead to conflicts and confusion. It is important to recognize that such cross-cutting identities exist and will be operating in communications which take place either among professional colleagues or among members of the same corporate structure.

1.4.4. FL teacher identity

Language teacher identity theme was virtually absent in the study on language teacher education and development before twenty first century. The beginning of the new century became a turning point in the study of the issue, which might have occurred for different reasons. In our view, the identity turn in TESOL was caused by postmodern views of language that began to be recognized not as a neutral medium of communication, but as the one that takes on different meanings when the relationship between speakers change, together with shifts in relations of power. Moreover, as mentioned above (cf. Pennycook 2007), well-established social roles came to be understood as shifting and situationally produced subjectivities. Therefore a formulation of a compelling definition of teacher identity appears to be a risky venture.

According to Beauchamp and Thomas (2009), investigating teacher identity

> one must struggle to comprehend the close connection between identity and the self, the role of emotion in shaping identity, the power of stories and discourse in understanding identity, the role of reflection in shaping identity, the link between identity and agency, the contextual factors that promote or hinder the construction of identity, and ultimately the responsibility of teacher education programs to create opportunities for the exploration of new and developing teacher identities (Beauchamp and Thomas 2009: 176).

These internal and external influences on how identities are shaped reflect the discursive nature of identification (cf. Turner et al. 1987; 1994; Turner and Onorato 1999). For instance, teachers might be considered as part of a group of people or as an organisation. According to Jenkins (2008: 184), groups and organisations strongly influence identity because they are

> networks of reciprocal identification: self-definition as a member depends upon recognition by other members… [M]embership must at least be registered by those who are authorised to do so.

Moreover, identification is hierarchical; those with authority (whether formally or informally acknowledged by a group) have substantial influence on who or what contributes to important characteristics of group identification, and who or what is recognised as being "worthy" of group identification (Gee 2001). Therfore identity provides us with the means of answering the question "who am I?" with regard to our personality as well as the attributes we share with other people but it also implies a degree of agency on our part. We may be characterised by having personality traits, but we have to identify with – that is, actively take up – an identity.

Identity provides a link between individuals and the world in which they live. It involves the internal and the subjective, and the external. This dual or conflicting nature of identity is reflected in the way it is theorised. In the psychologically oriented view, identity is understood as a set of relatively permanent characteristics, which, once constructed, is susceptible to little change throughout lifetime. In the socially oriented approaches identity is deemed to be fleeting, processual and open to contextual influences. It seems that each theoretical perspective allows us to investigate different substantive and theoretical aspects of identity and a language teacher identity in particular.

Within the psychologically focused paradigm, teacher identity, understood as the internalization of social positions and their meanings as part of the self structure, has been explored in such a variety of ways as the constant reinventing of themselves that teachers undergo (Mitchell and Weber 1999), the narratives that teachers create to explain themselves and their teaching lives (Connelley and Clandinin 1999; Sfard and Prusak 2005), the metaphors that may guide or result from a teacher's understanding of the role (Hunt 2006; Leavy, McSorley and Boté 2007), and the influence of a wide range of contextual factors on teachers and their practice (Flores and Day 2006).

In earlier literature (e.g., Erikson 1968), the concept of identity was often vaguely described in terms of "the self" and one's self-concept (e.g., Mead 1934). From this perspective, identity of the self is seen to be established and maintained either through negotiation within social situations, or through social roles that are internalized by the individuals. These internalizations can take shape of a prototypical self in the form of an image or a self-schema or as a set of attributes. If the teacher identity is to be represented as a prototype, it can be viewed as a category that is structured by the similarity of teachers to one another rather than by a set of necessary and sufficient features. A convenient way of thinking about such categories is in terms of a central exemplar (Rosch 1978). Even if such view is adopted, as Taylor (1989) argues, the meaning of prototype can be interpreted as a schematic representation of the core of the category that is used on different occasions. Hence "the internal representation of the prototype is in any case schematic" (Taylor 1989: 60).

Such a view of the prototype as being a schematic representation of one's qualities was adopted by Sternberg and Horvath (1995) who, by proposing a prototype view of expert teaching, made an attempt to account for teaching expertise. They tried to define the specific features that make up the prototype of the expert teacher. They suggest there are three basic ways in which experts differ from trainees in their domain of expertise: (1) experts bring knowledge to bear more effectively on problems than do trainees, (2) experts solve problems more efficiently and do more in less time, than do trainees, and (3) experts are more likely to arrive at novel and appropriate solutions to problems than are trainees. These three features, knowledge, efficiency, and insight, form the base upon which a prototype of the expert teacher should be founded.

Another way of thinking about professional identity is that it involves a network of self-schemata, rather than a single one. In a way, people are different when they are in different contexts because they make different assumptions about themselves, and they attend to different aspects of what is going on. Markus (1977) suggested that the self is a concept or a category like any other category and that people form cognitive structures about the self just as they do about other phenomena. These cognitive structures, called self-schemata, are cognitive generalisations about oneself, derived from past experiences. They organize and direct the processing of information relevant to the self. People hold self-schemata for particular domains, domains that are personally important, for which they have well-developed self-concepts. The self-schemata that are derived from experience and our interpretation of experiences vary in content and in how elaborate they are. Some are interrelated (teacher and care taker) and others are seemingly separate (teacher and infant). Also, they vary in their temporal focus (past, present, future) and in the extent to which they are congruent or discrepant from each other.

Not only may people have distinct self-schemata in different contexts, but self-schemata may vary in another way. Markus and her colleagues (e.g., Markus and Nurius 1986), suggest that people develop images of selves they would like to become, selves they are afraid of becoming and selves they expect to become. With this they clearly point that not only is the self schema crucial for who one is or thinks he is, but they also emphasise the impact the external contexts have on identity construction.

For this reason, most recent theorization of identity rests on reconceptualisation of the self as a category. Modern psychology, especially in the United States has viewed the self "as a property of the individual, firmly located within the mind and abstracted from experience and interaction with others" (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012: 156). Such view has given rise to a pervasive dualism in which oppositions are set between the individual and the group, and which has permeated not only psychological theories of the self but also cognitively oriented ones. Perhaps the clearest example of these approaches is the Social Categorisation Theory (SCT) (Turner et al. 1987). SCT is concerned with group membership as a members' concern, a matter of how people categorize themselves, rather than something imposed on them by other people. For Turner self-categorisations are subjective, private, mental processes that exert influence on thought and behaviour. SCT is based on Rosch's (1978) work on natural categories in which category formation is driven by perceptual processing of real life data. Turner, however, assumes that categories are not only conceptual but also verbal, which means that they are used in interactions whereby they are subject to alternations. Moreover SCT assumes that identity categories, being psychological structures, also "have a social reality by virtue of their relation to social groups" (Widdicombe 1998: 193). It is argued that individuals are born into a society, upon which they are ascribed specific social categories. With time they develop awareness of these social categories and they may become aspects of their self-concept. In this way, identity acquires a real psychological reality and becomes an aspect of the self-concept.

Within literature that is targeted at the problem of the relationship between the self and identity, a number of authors consider the self to be a key component of the shaping of teacher identity. Borich (1999), drawing on Mead's (1934) ideas, discusses a number of aspects of the teacher self that have a bearing on the effectiveness of a teacher's actions; Hamachek (1999) emphasizes self-knowledge as key to a teacher's successful practice and development; Lauriala and Kukkonen (2005) recognize identity and self-concept as the same and explain that the term identity has been more commonly used with respect to teachers, and the term self-concept with respect to students. Rodgers and Scott (2008) note that the external aspects (contexts, participants and relationships) and internal aspects (schemata, cognitions, stories and

emotions) interact to yield a contextually appropriated identity. They all arrive at the following definition of the self in relation to identity:

> Self, then, might be thought of as the meaning maker and identity as the meaning made, even as the self and identity evolve and transform over time… *self will subsume identity(ies) and will be understood as an evolving yet coherent being, that consciously and unconsciously constructs and is constructed, reconstructs and is reconstructed, in interaction with the cultural contexts, institutions, and people with which the self lives, learns, and functions.* (Rodgers & Scott 2008: 739, emphasis in original)

Self-schemata, being the cognitive residual of a person in interaction with the social environment (Cantor & Kihlstrom 1987; Markus 1977) influence pursuit of a desired goal, shape and organize the enacted behaviours (Inglehart, Markus, & Brown 1989). Therefore they are critical to developing a full picture of identity to acknowledge the connection between psychological constructs of self-efficacy and self-concept and agency.

While the foregoing discussion of psychological theories of teacher identity has noted some of the complicating factors in understanding of what identity is and how identity may be expressed and shaped, a further notion, that of agency, is crucial to creating a full picture of the phenomenon. Sfard and Prusak (2005: 15) note that "human beings are active agents who play decisive roles in determining the dynamics of social life and in shaping individual activities". With regard to teacher identity, it means that teachers, while interacting within various settings, can exert influence on these environments by being involved in the maintenance or further shaping of them. Coldron and Smith (1999), for instance, made arguments for providing trainee teachers with as wide a range as possible of situations in which they can interact, develop and become aware of their possible identities. Beauchamp and Thomas (2009: 184) claim that "the school environment, the nature of the learner population, the impact of colleagues and of school administrators can all be influential in shaping a student or new teacher identity".

Wenger (1998) posits that there are close links between identity and practice. They are hypothesized to be "mirror images of one another" and the same five characteristics apply to both, namely: (i) identity is the negotiated experience of the self, (ii) involves community membership, (iii) has a learning trajectory, (iv) combines different forms of membership, (v) presumes involvement in local and global contexts (Wenger 1998: 149). By participating in a community of teaching professionals, a teacher identity is subject to the influences of this community. It might be expected that new teachers, whose identities are only tentative, will particularly feel the impact of a community context and will need to be aware of the shaping of their own identities that will take place in this context and a full identity will develop only through the adoption and expression of a professional identity through the self.

Within the psychologically-oriented theories of teacher identity, a shift can be observed from the view of the self represented as self-schemata to the one that considers identity as a product or outcome of an interplay of internal and external variables. Self-schemata are the organizing framework that gives meaning, form, and direction to the event (Cantor and Zirkel 1990). Teacher behaviour and practice are substantially influenced by teachers' thought processes. These studies are expected to lead to understandings of the uniquely human processes that guide and determine teacher identity.

More recent sociologically-oriented approaches to identity (Norton 2000; Gee 2001; Pennycook 2001; Morgan 2004; Varghese 2006; Miller 2009) have conceptualized it as a process of continual emerging and becoming. The unitary label of the self-schema has been replaced by notions of fluid, shifting, conflicting or contingent identities. Although competing theories and frameworks around the notion of identity have been developed (McNamara 1997), the general move has been away from identity in terms of psychological processes towards contextualized social processes.

Miller (2009: 174) presents a number of definitions of identity within the field. The one standing in stark contrast to the aforementioned psychologically-oriented definitions has been presented by Gee (2001: 99) who argues that "identity is connected not to internal states but to performances in society". More specifically, he claims, the "kind of person" one is recognised as being at a given time and place, can change from moment to moment in the interaction, can change from context to context, and, of course, can be ambiguous or unstable. Identity in his view therefore is recognised as a certain kind of person in a given context, and in that sense all people have multiple identities, "connected to their performances in society" (Gee 2001: 99). Further he admits that "identity is an important analytical tool for understanding schools and society (ibid).

Other discourse-centred definitions of teacher identity require that we look the individual teachers in more complex ways incorporating their own teaching practices and ideologies as well as dominant discourse ideologies and relations of power within society, profession and situational contexts. Morgan (2004: 173), for instance, argues that identities are "instantiations of discourses, systems of power/knowledge that regulate and ascribe social values to all forms of human activity" while Varghese (2006: 212) defines teacher professional identities "in terms of the influences on teachers, how individuals see themselves, and how they enact their profession in their settings" (cited in Miller 2009: 174).

These contemporary theories of identity have "abandoned structure" as a mental representation of the self in "favour of agency" (Block 2006: 37) and reframed identity work in terms of participation in communities of practice (e.g. Lave and Wenger 1991; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992; Wenger 1998). Identities emerge in mutual endeavours and engagement in community practices

and can be conceptualized as modes of identification or "ways of doing things, ways of thinking, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations - in short practices" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464). That is, teachers have a repertoire of resources they can deploy while doing things in the classroom, the resources that (re)shape their professional identities in various social and institutional contexts. Miller (2009: 175) states that teacher identity should be viewed as a "resource in process". Different researchers emphasise different resources that are deployed in the process of identity performance. Miller (2009) distinguishes three major categories of the resources that teachers draw upon while building their identities, namely knowledge, practice and language. In similar vein, Varghese et al., (2005) posit that research of teacher identity will ultimately depend upon studies that account for conceptions of identity in relation to both practice and discourse. Specifically they note:

> In "identity-in-practice," teacher agency is seen as action-oriented and focusing on concrete practices and tasks in relation to a group and mentor(s). In "identity-in-discourse," agency is discursively constituted, mainly through language …. there needs to be recognition that in language teacher education we must incorporate simultaneously a focus on shared practices in communities as well as individual "meta-awareness". (Varghese et al. 2005: 39).

These sociological or discourse perspectives on identity are useful to map a resource system of teacher identity as well as to interpret teacher classroom behaviours and practices.

1.4.5. Resources of FL teacher identity

Foreign language teacher identity can be viewed not just in relation to the personal dimension of the self, but also with respect to the resources that teachers find available in their classroom practice. By conceiving identity in this way, I suggest a focus on the professional aspects of teaching, i.e., the professional knowledge teachers need to possess and act on: subject matter knowledge, pedagogical knowledge and didactical knowledge (Beijaard, Verloop and Vermunt 2000).

What constitutes knowledge of a foreign language teacher has been characterized, both historically and institutionally, in a number of distinct and often disconnected ways. In part, knowledge about language has been prioritized that is, "if you can speak the language, you can teach it" (Johnson 2009: 41). From this perspective, knowledge of language has been frequently associated with Chomsky's notion of linguistic competence possessed by native speakers. That is a competent FL teacher should be, first and foremost, naturally competent in the language he or she teaches.

With regard to knowledge of a feoreign language, two broad classes of EFL teachers can be distinguished: those who are native speakers of English

from the English-speaking countries of North America, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand and those who have learned English as a second or schooled language within a largely non-English speaking culture. Although Firth and Wagner (1997: 292), while advocating a wider and more complex framing of identity, wrote, "The fact that NS [native speakers] or NNS [non-native speakers] is only one identity from a multitude of social identities, many of which can be relevant simultaneously, and all of which are motile... is, it seems fair to conclude, a non-issue in SLA", I argue that experiences of these two groups are rather different and they should be treated separately. Medgyes (1994) also advanced an assumption that NS and NNS English teachers are "two different species" (p. 25). He hypothesised that the NS and NNS teachers differ in terms of (1) language proficiency, and (2) teaching practice (behaviour), that (3) most of the differences in teaching practice can be attributed to the discrepancy in language proficiency, and that (4) both types of teachers can be equally good teachers on their own terms. The focus of this book is on non-native EFL teacher identities; therefore EFL native teacher identities that go beyond the scope of the research will not be considered.

The mentalist-individualist approaches to language analysis and learning have heavily influenced the knowledge-base of L2 teacher education (Johnson 2009). The profession has long assumed that L2 teachers need to have a theoretical understanding of the syntactic, phonological, and morphological rules of a language, and that once they have consciously acquired that knowledge they should be able to help L2 learners acquire it. Unfortunately, the effectiveness of providing L2 teachers with knowledge about the formal linguistic properties of language and then assuming that such knowledge would directly inform L2 teachers' instructional decisions found rather discouraging results (Bartels 2005). Despite the fact that L2 teachers receive extensive instruction about the formal aspects of the language they are to teach, this knowledge appears to have little impact if any on how they actually teach second languages. In earlier studies (Johnston and Goettsch 2000) very little evidence of theoretical linguistic knowledge in teachers' instructional practices was found but, instead, extensive evidence of focusing much more on intention and meaning than on structural or even functional rules. Thus, Johnston and Goettsch (2000) believe that the knowledge-base should reflect the "highly process-oriented" nature of how teachers dialogically engage with their students as they walk them through "the gradual acquisition of understanding rather than in terms of the transfer of information" (p. 466). It appears that the disciplinary knowledge that has emerged out of the fields of theoretical linguistics and SLA is not the same knowledge that teachers need to teach L2, nor is it the same knowledge that students need in order to learn L2 (Freeman 2004 cited in Johnson 2009).

Norton (2000), drawing on poststructuralist theory, argues the teachers' pedagogical practices to be of far greater importance than their knowledge of the

linguistic system per se. Poststructuralist theory challenged positivistic conceptions of knowledge as residing in the mind and contributed to the epistemological shift in approaching teachers knowledge. The dominant discourse on teacher knowledge has focused on teacher cognition that surfaced in his or her classroom decision making and behaviours. The teacher has come to be presented as "a thoughtful knower, whose knowing could be found in his or her doing" (Golombek 2009: 156). Teacher knowledge has been described as a dynamic and complex kind of knowledge developed in natural educational contexts and termed teachers' "personal practical knowledge" (PPK) (Clandinin 1992).

Golombek (1998) notes that PPK serves as a kind of lens through which teachers make sense of their classrooms. On the one hand, it is consequential of knowing and on the other it results from real classroom practice. It does not mean, however that L2 teachers, equipped with PPK, do not need to know about the structural properties of a language. Having a meta-language about these properties may in fact offer useful psychological tools that teachers can use to make students aware of the various linguistic resources that are available to them as they begin to develop the capacity to function in the L2 world. But what is different about this perspective is that, instructionally, the point of departure is no longer the discrete form or communicative function but the conceptual meanings that are being expressed that denote ways of being in the world. The focus of L2 teaching shifts towards helping L2 learners develop the capacity to interpret and generate meanings that are appropriate within the relevant contexts. As Wright (2002: 115) observes:

> a linguistically aware teacher not only understands how the language works, but understands the students' struggle with language and is sensitive to errors and other interlanguage features. The linguistically aware teacher can spot opportunities to generate discussion and exploration of language, for example by noticing features of texts which suggest a particular learning activity.

Hence a separation of disciplinary knowledge of language from practical knowledge, i.e. the dynamics of thinking, speaking, writing and acting appears to be artificial and fails to recognize an inherent dialectic in teaching and learning. Moreover, current work on language teaching highlights that "language knowledge cannot be separated from social language use in classrooms as well as the centrality of situated meanings within repertoires of social practices involving social and institutionalised contexts and memberships" (Miller 2009: 173). Therefore to address the issue of an EFL teacher identity, such questions as nature of learning and teaching, pedagogy, language ideologies and discourses that marginalise or empower speakers have to be explored in specific sociocultural contexts.

Varghese et al. (2005) stress that teacher identity is both an individual and social matter, which implies the necessity to be aware of the effects that contexts

might have on the shifts and changes in a teacher's identity. The school environment, the nature of the learner population, the impact of colleagues and of school administrators can all be influential in shaping a teacher identity, as of course are their own experiences as learners in schools. As well, affective factors like feelings and emotion brought to the context and those generated by the context will affect this identity. Beauchamp and Thomas (2009: 184) claim that "[i]t is the exposure to these formative contexts that results in important confrontations with one's identity as a teacher". Drawing on Coldron and Smith's (1999) research on teacher identity development, they argue for providing as wide a range as possible of situations in which teachers can interact, develop and become aware of their possible identities.

Teacher identities are also powerfully influenced by factors outside of the immediate instructional settings. These include curriculum policy (Cross and Gearon 2007), social demographics of school, institutional practices, and access to professional development, cultural differences (Johnson 2003), and bilingual language policy (Varghese 2006). Moreover, because of the role that English plays in the era of globalization, additional layers of complexity arise and therefore a consideration of teacher identity must take into account such issues as the role of discourse in self-representation, ethnicity, nationality, native/non-native distinction and beliefs about standard language. Duff and Uchida (1997: 451) have neatly characterized all aspects of teacher identity as follows:

> Language teachers and students in any setting naturally represent a wide array of social and cultural roles and identities: as teachers or students, as gendered and cultured individuals, as expatriates or nationals, as native speakers or non-native speakers, as content area or TESL/English language specialists, as individuals with political convictions, and as members of families, organizations, and society at large.

This implies that teacher identity cannot be viewed as an internal psychological construct or even a process isolated in the mind of the individual and largely free from the social and physical contexts within which it occurs. The fundamental premise is that individual teacher identity does not exist as separate from the cultural, institutional, and historical situations in which it occurs. Instead, individual identity comes into being as a result of engagement in the social world. The activities of L2 teaching and learning to teach are not neutral but instead are embedded in and emerge out of the broader social, historical, political, and ideological practices that constitute L2 teachers' professional worlds. Recognizing how the individual teacher is both shaped by and shapes that social world creates a point of departure for the research presented in this book.

CHAPTER 2

MENTAL REPRESENTATION OF SELF AND IDENTITY

> Considered as a unitary object, the self is full of apparent contradictions. It is simultaneously physical and mental, public and private, directly perceived and incorrectly imagined, universal and culture-specific. Although there is nothing with which we are more familiar, we are often enjoined to know ourselves better than we do. One way to clarify this puzzle may be to consider what makes it possible for individuals to know themselves at all, i.e. to analyze the information on which self-knowledge is ultimately based (Neisser 1988: 35).

2.1. Identity in cognitive sciences

The notion of cognition has been bound up with the study on identity since the work of two philosophers: Rene Descartes and John Lock. Descartes was the philosopher whose contributions shaped modern thinking about the nature and role of cognition whereas Locke extended his views onto the realm of language. By addressing epistemic issues of truth and knowledge, Descartes implied the existence of the "I" who is doing the thinking. As he put it

> It was absolutely essential that the 'I' who thought this should be somewhat, and remarking that this truth 'I think therefore I am' was so certain and so assured (Descartes ([1641] 1970: 101).

Descartes succeeded in delineating the "I", whether true or illusory, and the outer world that comes to be known to the "I" in the process of mirror reflection. If "I" is able to reflect upon the outer world and is conscious of this process then "I" must know itself. Descartes, then, implicitly elaborates on identity as an idea of self. The self in the Cartesian perspective is made up of a set of internal, private cognitive processes that are separated from the objective world of culture. The self is lodged in the private realm of the body and the individual, as the subject, becomes his own primary object of thought. This self becomes permanently subjectified and thus every thing that there is in the external world becomes an object of the knowing and thinking subject.

Locke ([1690] 1999) viewed ideas as basic units of thinking whereas language was understood as a conduit for communicating ideas from one mind to another. For Locke, words are secondary to ideas but they perform two important functions; (i) they allow for the recording of thoughts; (ii) they allow for the communication thoughts. Language then becomes an aid in thinking as well as an imperfect way of transmitting ideas.

Drawing inspiration from the thought of the two aforementioned philosophers, Baron-Cohen (1995) argues that people must have a theory of mind that would enable them to understand other minds. Working with autistic children he further elaborates on his proposal and assumes that autistics do not develop the ability to model other minds, which results in their misinterpretation of other people's behaviour, hence they are unable to enter the social world.

The notion of an agent as a living, self-propelled, goal-directed object appears to be a key notion in the theory of mind. Baron-Cohen (1995) argues that the major feature of an agent is intentionality, which models goal-directedness in terms of a hidden, invisible mental state. Intentionality could be principally inferred on the basis of motion; however, the introduction of the term "mental state" presupposes some degree of interiority. What follows is that a fully-fledged theory of mind requires not only a representation of other agents as moving in a self-determined and goal oriented fashion but also a representation of other agents' motivational and emotional states.

Identity understood as a metaphorical model of the self inherent in human conceptual system has also been tackled by George Lakoff. Drawing on his earlier "Projectible Subject Model" (1968) as well as Fauconnier's "Mental Spaces" (1985), Lakoff (1992) developed a model of the "Dualistic Person". The concept of the "Dualistic Person" is based on the unconscious metaphorical model of a person that comprises a physical entity that is the body, and a non-physical free entity that is the soul/spirit/mind. Lakoff (ibid.) claims that the person is split between a non-physical centre of consciousness, will and judgment referred to as "Subject" and the remainder of the person, i.e. the body, referred to as "Self". He argues that there are at least two general types of models of the person and they concern different issues: one is called the Consciousness-and-Control Model and the other the Possession Model. In the former the person is portrayed as having normal consciousness and being in normal control when the Subject is located with the Self, and as having non-normal consciousness and control when the Subject moves away from the Self. In the latter the normal state of consciousness and control again occurs when the Subject and the Self are located in the same place, but the difference is that the Self is seen as an object in the possession of the Subject. Non-normal consciousness and control occurs when the Subject and the Self are separated but the separation is conceptualized as a loss of Self by the Subject.

Lakoff's model views the person as the only organizer and interpreter of the information about self and the world. Here Lakoff echoes Cartesian idea of the self composed of a set of internal, cognitive processes that are separated from the objective world but subjected to individualised thought. A cognitive conception of identity implies the ontological endorsement of the issue. The representation of the person is created in an individual mind and revealed

through language. A question that emerges is how the brain can handle and coordinate the multiple selves to form a unitary image of the person.

2.1.1. Self as divided

The pervasiveness of the concern of who we are has made the topic a central question in Theology, Philosophy as well as the human sciences. The origins of the concept of identity lie deep in our cultural history, including notions of soul, self, body, and social belonging.

2.1.2. Two selves

One of the persistent dilemmas with which researchers in the human sciences are faced when investigating the issue of identity is to understand the phenomenological and ontological status of the self and the way it relates to the concept of identity. Currently there is no agreement about whether the self has an experiential reality or whether it is merely theoretical fiction. In the traditional view the self is taken to be "a distinct principle of identity" (Gallagher and Zahavi 2008: 200) that stands above the flow of changing experiences and which is able to structure it and give it coherence. This means that experience is always lived by a certain unchanging subject. It is the subject of experience rather than the object of experience.

The existence of the self can be inferred but it cannot be experienced. Wittgenstein (1958) writes that in using the first-person pronoun I cannot be mistaken in regard to whom it refers. If I say "I think it will rain today", I can be wrong about the rain, but I can't be wrong about who is doing the thinking. In this case the "I" acts not only as the subject of the sentence but also as the thinker of the thought. There is another aspect of self – the self as object when we contemplate ourselves. The distinction was introduced by James (1892) and it has been guiding academic thinking ever since. The other constitutional feature of self, introduced by James, is self-as-knower which organizes and interprets experience in a purely subjective way. The self-as-knower corresponds to Wittgenstein's thinker of the thought.

Gallagher (2003) argues that the distinction between the I-self and the me-self can be maintained when proprioception is not understood as a form of perception. Adopting Shoemaker's model of object perception (1994), Gallagher claims that object perception involves an experience that is directed at the object. The relation at stake here is called an "intentional relation" (Gallagher 2003: 4). For perception it is not enough that objects are in the appropriate objective proximity with the perceiving organism. Perception is in some sense directed at an object. It is possible to have an awareness of the body with perceptual content that references the body as an object. This may be the result of a perceptual act

that attends to the body as its explicit object, as in a reflective self-examination. This kind of perception identifies the body out as the object on which to focus, and in so doing it explicitly discriminates between the body and other objects in the environment. This kind of bodily awareness does identify the body, or part of the body, as an object and in this sense it is perceptual.

In contrast, Gallagher (2003) treats proprioception as an entirely sub-personal, nonconscious, somatic function. In this sense, it delivers information about body posture and limb position, generated in physiological proprioceptors located throughout the body. When a person is engaged in the world, they tend not to notice their posture or specific movements of their limbs. In its most typical form proprioception provides a non-reflective awareness of the body. In this sense, proprioception is not a form of perception. It is possible, however, to transform proprioception into an attentive reflective awareness in which a person turns their attention to some particular part of their body. They can attend, for example, without vision or any other sense except proprioception, to the position or movement of the foot. Sacks (1985/2007) describes a case of a 'disembodied' woman who lost her proprioception and could neither feel nor monitor her body until the proprioceptive image of the body was substituted or compensated for with the brain's visual model of the body. Nevertheless, Sacks admits that:

> forever she remains defective and defeated. Not all the spirit and ingenuity in the world, not all the substitutions or compensations the nervous system allows, can alter in the least her continuing and absolute loss of proprioception – the vital sense without which a body must remain unreal, unpossessed (Sacks 1985/2007: 58).

It is evident, then, that proprioception can function as a non-perceptual or non-observational self-awareness (Shoemaker 1984), and as such it might be regarded as a more immediate and reliable form of awareness than object-perception.

To sum up, Gallagher maintains that we can consciously approach our body as an object and then we are investigating our me-self, yet the knowledge of the I-self which is implicitly given is phenomenally present in any act of perceiving.

2.1.3. Self - embodied or disembodied

> It is not enough to say that the mind is embodied; One must say how (Edelman 1992: 15, cited in Gallagher 2005).

What all humans possess is their body and the brain that can become subjects of empirical investigation and the mind whose presence and qualities can be inferred from overt human behaviours rather than examined with empirical methods. Different schools of thought prioritize either the mental and implicit, or the physical and explicit.

Descartes privileged the mind over the body. One of the reasons he supposed the mind to be essentially non-physical (incorporeal) is that he found himself able to doubt the existence of all physical objects (even his own body) but was unable to doubt himself as a thinking being. By using his thinking being as the foundation for all further conclusions, Descartes made a clear distinction between the thinking substance that distinguished him as a man and the matter that made up the physical universe including his own body. He defined this matter in terms of two properties only - extension in space (length, breadth, depth) and motion. All other apparent properties depend on the perceiver and are the result of the impact of physical objects on the sense organs.

Extending the argument, rationalists assume that people are comprised "as minds because reflexivity is privileged as the primary mode of engagement with the world" (Shilling and Mellor 1996: 2). Through this engagement with the choices and options, "the body becomes the material through which and upon which the mind acts and, by effectively placing the body outside the actor, the actor becomes a thinking and choosing agent" (Turner 1992: 87). This overemphasis on processes of reflexivity produces an "actor whose mind takes over the body" – this leads to a view of the individual as disembodied (Shilling and Mellor 1996: 4), a reflexive self but not an embodied self – a disembodied consciousness (Turner 1992).

In modern times, one can observe a shift in views on the body-self relationship, from the emphasis on the self to the preoccupation with the body. Scholars focus on two aspects of the relationship: first, they aim to delineate the bodily basis of the self and second, they view the body as the site of social practices. The term embodied self accentuates the understanding that the self is not an idea but rather a lived experience. Materialists consider the self as a mental object, a physical entity which is likely to manifest itself in terms of brain processes that are revealed through either overt behaviours or verbal productions. Landau et al. (2011), for instance, examined the embodiment of the self in terms of physical expansion and noted that people often describe the self as a physical entity that can expand or contract (e.g., "let me inside of your head," "I want to grow inside"). They reasoned that exposing people to an image of an expanding figure (e.g., squares becoming larger) versus a static or fragmented figure would lead people to feel more self-actualized because a "growing" self is a self-actualizing self. Furthermore, they predicted that accessibility of the concept of expansion (e.g., thoughts like "grow" and "broaden") would mediate the effect. Indeed, participants exposed to an expanding physical image perceived themselves as more self-actualized. These experiments point to the fact that people are conscious of themselves as subjects of experience and they do not have problems verifying the hypothesis of their continuous experiences across space and time, which is manifested in their verbal productions.

Another trend in modern studies of the body-self relationship, sees the body as an agent for physical action. The body gains central importance to the theorization of the relationship between agency and social structures because the regularized control and reflexive monitoring of the body by the knowledgeable agent is a necessary condition for action. Giddens (1991) argues that in late modernity, a prevalent view of the relation between bodies and selves is the one whereby the body is intrinsic to the reflexive project of self-identity. Beyond this fundamental relationship, however, Giddens suggests, "reflexivity is accelerated such that the body, once a given aspect of nature becomes a project increasingly open to human intervention and, like nature, is colonized and made subject to constant revision" (Giddens 1991: 218).

Such views of the body as an event or practice deem the body that we experience and conceptualize to be always mediated by constructs, associations and images which work to enjoin a particular relation between the self and the body to culture and society. These views undermine the taken-for-granted "naturalness" of the body, which has served as a justification for natural difference between the sexes and subsequently led to gender inequality. The body comes to acquire meaning in particular social-cultural realities which are discursively mediated. The body-self unity is not essential but constituted by coherent, yet continuously revised discourses that can be expressed in biographical narratives. As Budgeon (2003) claims, the body is constituted by more than the capacity to be a sign or image via the internalization of distorted exterenal representations. Rather, the body is a site of practices, comportments, and contested articulations.

The complexity of embodied identity transcends the mind/body binary, though. The problem that remains to be solved is how to undertake an analysis of embodiment and subjectivity that can transcend a mind/body dualism and acknowledge irreducibility between mind and body, subject and object, culture and nature and so forth. Accordingly McNay argues:

> As the point of overlap between the physical, the symbolic and the sociological, the body is a dynamic, mutable frontier. The body is the threshold through which the subject's lived experience of the world is incorporated and realised and, as such, is neither pure object nor pure subject. It is neither pure object since it is the place of one's engagement with the world. Nor is it pure subject in that there is always a material residue that resists incorporation into dominant symbolic schema (McNay 1999: 98).

To sum up, by theorizing bodies and selves as ongoing, multiple, processes we can begin to understand how each is implicated in the other and how human embodied identity is "the outcome of an individual's interaction with her body and through her body with the world around her" (Davis 1995: 169). Body-self interactions should be viewed in the context of the discursive practices which act upon human bodies and are incorporated in the self-concept.

2.1.4. Embodied self

> Biological brains are first and foremost the control systems for biological bodies. Biological bodies move and act in rich real-world surroundings (Clark 1999: 506).

The central claim of theories of embodied cognition is that an organism's sensorimotor capacities, body and environment not only play an important role in cognition, but the manner in which these elements interact enables particular cognitive capacities to develop and determines the precise nature of those capacities. It is argued that we have evolved from creatures whose neural resources were devoted primarily to perceptual and motor processing, and whose cognitive activity consisted largely of immediate, on-line interaction with the environment. Hence human cognition, rather than being centralized, abstract, and sharply distinct from peripheral input and output modules, may instead have deep roots in sensorimotor processing.

Embodiment encompasses three points: first, that the kind of experience we get from the environment depends upon the sensorimotor structure and capacities of our organism, second, that these capacities are themselves embedded in an external biological-cultural world and third that we are engaged as agents coping with things. What such a view of embodiment implies is the existence of a pregiven world whose properties can be recovered by an independent perceptual centre. Thelen et al. (2001: 1) further clarify that:

> cognition depends on the kinds of experiences that come from having a body with particular perceptual and motor capacities that are inseparably linked and that together form the matrix within which memory, emotion, language, and all other aspects of life are meshed.

In essence, it means that low-level actions and movements are viewed as necessary for higher cognitive capacities to develop.

Cognition as related to knowledge of the self may be initiated by an individual as an observer of herself and be self-directed or by another individual who observes another one from a distance, hence we may talk of either "self-cognition" or "other-cognition". In each case, cognition is embodied action, articulated in the interrelations of the percepts and signals, transmitted within and among the organism's cognitive, affective, motor and intentional subsystems (Simon 1995; Varela 1999; Varela Thompson & Rosch 1991) and embedded in an external environment. A type of mutual specification occurs between the organism and its environment, so that the way the world looks and the way in which the organism can interact in the world is primarily determined by the way the organism is embodied. So, an observer-independent world can be granted, but embodied cognition theorists claim that an organism will understand this world in terms of the unique sensorimotor relations it experiences. These fundamental sensorimotor experiences achieved through acting in the world are actively constructed to facilitate concept formation. For instance, we view our

bodies as having distinct fronts and backs. Due to the characteristics we associate with each of these bodily spatial relations, as Lakoff and Johnson (1999) argue, we also characterize objects in the world according to these assignments (i.e., go to the front of the house, that is the back of her shirt, etc.). This process is considered to be constructive because we project these characteristics onto the world.

Likewise Varela and colleagues building on Merleau-Ponty's work, developed a model of cognition as "embodied action: a process they call enactive" (Varela et al. 1991: xx). They concur with the principle that cognition is embodied and factor in the wider "biological, psychological, and cultural context" (Varela et al. 1991: 173). By emphasizing action, they highlight that cognition is an aspect of the sensory body (Varela et al. 1991: xx) and that "knower and known, mind and world, stand in relation to each other through mutual specification or dependent coorigination" (Varela et al. 1991: 150). The enactive approach to cognition "is based on situated, embodied agents" (Varela 2001: 215).

In similar vein, Johnson (1987) concludes that the way we conceptualize and reason depends on "the kinds of bodies we have, the kinds of environments we inhabit, and the symbolic systems we inherit, which are themselves grounded in our embodiment" (Johnson 1987: 99) In short, reason is embodied (Johnson 1987:100) and grounded in an environment that includes "our history, culture, language, institutions, theories, and so forth" (Johnson 1987: 207).

Consequently, if we were embodied differently, we would not see the world in this particular way, but in terms of our new set of defining bodily characteristics. However, by taking into account the bodies that we do have, our actual projected spatial assignments can be traced back to sensorimotor experience, which enables the formation of spatial schemata that are projected onto a scene to facilitate reasoning without the use of deductive logic. These schemata are constructive because they do not mirror what exists in the world. Instead, these schemata structure elements within the world in such a way that the individuals can understand their environment quickly. Given this, it should not be surprising that one way for an organism to interpret its environment and itself is in terms of something it already knows well: its own bodily interactions.

The issue of interaction brings another aspect of embodiment into focus: the practical activity of an agent, and its relation to thinking, problem solving, and symbol grounding. According to Anderson (2003: 17), activities of the agent aim at getting the relevant information from the environment. This information enables the agent to solve a problem and eventually make sense of the world. The cognitive strategies employed are constrained and shaped by the performance characteristics of our body as a whole in the given circumstances, and also by our brain's limited computational resources.

Moreover, cognition is not only bound up with the shape, size, and motor possibilities of the body as a whole but also relies on the possibility of repeated interactions with the environment. Thus, we uncover yet another level of connection between cognition and physical embodiment, a level where practical activity plays a role in giving meaning to the particular experiences of, or perhaps the representations generated by a given individual agent, i.e. a level where an agent grounds its own symbols. Hence practical activities such as tool use or movements of limbs or even putting things into the mouth have significance in the construction of a self-schema. Therefore the way we perform certain activities contributes to development of a self-referential schema and has impact on our self-efficacy and general feeling of self-worth.

The sense of self must incorporate what is true not only of our bodies at specific points of time but also information that would be readily used in unspecified future events. A crawling child, for example constructs a body schema that assimilates limbs moving in a definite order. Later in life these movements will enhance such activities as swimming, cycling or writing. Awareness of body parts and of their orientation in space, i.e. front-back, up-down and left-right are at heart of our thinking and provide us with analogies and tools for understanding other domains, as shown by the efficacy of diagrams or evocativeness of place in memory or pervasiveness of spatial metaphors in everyday language. Any animal needs to relate what its ears, eyes and limbs tell about the immediate structure of the world around it, yet only humans use this sensory information to develop higher-level cognition, spatial knowledge and consciousness. Spatial thinking is crucial to almost every aspect of our lives; it is involved in many different abilities from shape recognition to a sense of where the parts of our body are with respect to one another, from navigation to gesture. Still there are significant cross-cultural differences in this domain that are usually reflected in languages people use to express spatial relations.

It would be a mistake to assume that individuals can depart from cultural convention in infinite ways. Rather, it is an essential premise that individual action is constrained by culture as much as it is enhanced by it. Ultimately, existing cultural discourses are seen to constrain variation in individual action within a particular cultural community, while simultaneously individual agents shape, alter and reproduce such discourses for present and future action.

The conclusion is that embodied cognition is always situated but not so much in immediate micro contexts as in larger environmental and cultural contexts. This means at least two things: (1) the interactions can take place not just with individual objects or artefacts, but also with persisting structures, which may be cultural and social, concrete and abstract (2) actions themselves can have not just immediate environmental effects, but social or cultural ones. In this way, individual epistemic activities, come to have social meaning, and agency takes place within a web of cultural structures not directly under the control of the

actor. The forces that drive cognitive activity do not reside solely inside the head of the individual, but instead are distributed across the individual, the immediate situation and the larger cultural context as they interact. Therefore, to understand cognition we must study the situation and the cognizer embedded in a macro socio-cultural discourse together as a single, unified system. Self-cognition is not an activity of the mind alone, but is instead distributed across the entire interacting situation, including mind, body, and environment.

It appears that the self must be understood in the context of its relationship to a physical body that interacts with the world. Despite the fact that we have evolved from creatures whose neural resources were devoted primarily to perceptual and motor processing, our cognitive activity does not rely exclusively on the immediate interaction with the environment. As the aforementioned studies have demonstrated, it must have its roots in sensorimotor processing and at the same time be embedded in socio-cultural systems.

2.2. The subject-self schema

It is notable that although theorists in Psychology and Cognitive Sciences have developed accounts of how people understand and represent information about the world, individuals and groups (e.g., Anderson 1971; McConnell, Sherman, and Hamilton 1994), our understanding of how self-relevant knowledge is acquired and organized is far less developed. Most view self-concept as the content of what people believe to be true about themselves (Baumeister 1998; Forgas and Williams 2002). A great deal of research examining the self in the psychological literature views it as a relatively unitary entity (Kurzban and Aktipis 2007), although many researchers offer prefaces to the contrary, that is, they propose that people possess multiple selves (e.g., Higgins 1987; Markus & Nurius 1986; Neisser 1993). Others have posited that a number of facets compose the self beyond just social roles. For example, some have focused on specific facets of the self, such as one's academic, social, and emotional self-concepts (e.g., Marsh & Craven 2006). Others, however, have emphasized the private, public, and collective aspects of the self (e.g., Breckler and Greenwald 1986; Triandis 1989). Similarly, Brewer and colleagues (e.g., Brewer and Gardner 1996; Sedikides and Brewer 2001) propose that the self has personal, relational, and collective levels.

More broadly, recent research has focused on the interplay of social identities and the self, with perspectives ranging from viewing social identities as relatively independent of the self (e.g., Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty 1994) to seeing them as infused into the self-concept (e.g., Deaux 1993).

The view of the self that is advanced in the current chapter relates to the self-schema theory (Markus 1977; Markus and Nurius 1986) whose major tenet is that the self is a category like any other mental category. It means that people

form cognitive structures about the self just as they do about other phenomena. These cognitive structures, called self-schemata, are cognitive generalisations about oneself, derived from past experience. Our self-schemata organise and guide the processing of self-related information. Self-schemata, like other schemata are in control of whether information is attended to and how easily it is recalled, thus making it easier to encode and remember things that fit into it. Packages of self-knowledge derived from experience and our interpretation of experiences (I'm friendly, I'm sociable, I don't trust others, I'm shy) vary in content and in their degree of elaboration, some are interrelated (woman-mother) and others can be separate (woman-coal miner). They also vary in their temporal focus (past, present, future) and in the extent to which they are congruent or discrepant from each other.

The self is a complex entity because it involves a network of self-schemata, rather than a single one (cf. Lewandowska Tomaszczyk & Tomaszczyk 2012). In a way, I am a different person when I am in different contexts because I make different assumptions about myself, and I attend to different aspects of what is going on.

Not only may people have distinct self-schemata in different contexts, but self-schemata may vary in another way. Markus and her colleagues (e.g., Markus & Nurius 1986), suggest that people develop images of selves they would like to become, selves they are afraid of becoming and selves they expect to become. Other selves that have been suggested include the disliked self (Oglivie 1987) and the selves you think you ought to be (Higgins 1987, 1996). These various possible selves can be used as motivators, because they provide goals to approach or to avoid. Schemata are usually assumed to include information about specific cases or exemplars as well as information about the more generic sense of what the category is.

Humans see themselves as complex personalities with diverse traits, yet also as unitary whole beings, as single entities, distinct from others and organised in a coherent whole. They seek and hold onto such a unity even if they might have apparently contradictory characteristics, such as being both orderly and open to novel events which disturb old patterns – highly curious people for example are both open and orderly. They hold traits together, sometimes in tension, in ways that make sense in their own understanding or who they are. Such a sense of unity is a personal gestalt that is seen as a figure that stands out from a background. Although not a simple figure, this gestalt of personal identity, or whole self-image perceived as a unit, makes sense to people as a single entity which is different from the sum of its parts.

Sacks (2007: 123) has reported a case of a woman who managed to identify people on the basis of a single feature that was attracting her attention on a specific occasion and therefore, on a different occasion her doctor gained a different identity.

> 'Yes, Father,' she said to me on one occasion.
> 'Yes, Sister,' on another.
> 'Yes, Doctor,' on a third. (...)
> 'What am I?' I asked, stung, after a while.
> 'I see your face, your beard,' she said, 'I think of an archimandrite priest. I see your white uniform – I think of the Sisters. I see your stethoscope – I think of a doctor.'
> 'You don't look at all of me?'
> 'No I don't look at all of you.'

Such instances of metonymies are argued to be grounded in our experience and sanctioned by our general knowledge and beliefs. One may argue, however, that certain specialized situations permit use of referring functions which are not sanctioned outside those situations. A well-known example given by Taylor (2003: 125) "The pork chop has left without paying." illustrates a reference to the customer through the name of the dish. Many a time people use such expressions in every day interactions. These examples suggest that people establish connections between entities which co-occur within a given conceptual frame. Moreover, individuals often highlight different aspects of entity constitution. Langacker (1990) refers to this as an active zone phenomenon; certain facets of the entity are more active in a conceptualization than others. In the example above, however, the old lady refers to the neurologist with various names in exactly the same contexts. This suggests that neither situational nor cultural discourses alone should be held responsible for reference function. Cognitive processes, part-whole relationship perception in particular, come into play in identification of objects and persons.

The contextually constrained view of the self has recently been advanced by McConnell (2011) in the Multiple-Self-Aspects Framework (MSF). The foundational principle of the MSF is that the self-concept is a collection of multiple, context-dependent self-aspects. Self-aspects are associated with personal attributes, which become more accessible when the self-aspect is activated and vice versa. At any given moment, a variety of contextual inputs (e.g., environmental settings, social interactions, mental simulation) serve to activate relevant self aspects, which in turn organize ongoing experiences of a person and direct her actions. That is, "self-aspect activation results from the dynamic inputs and constraints of one's goals, actions, and cognitions as the self moves through the environment" (McConnell 2011: 5). Furthermore, self-aspects vary in their accessibility, with some self-aspects being more accessible (and thus, more likely to guide behaviour) because of recent or frequent use (ibid.). The self-aspects reflect meaningful contextual aspects of the person's life and are idiosyncratic in nature.

In the case of a teacher, they include roles (native/non-native language teacher, head teacher; trainer; mentor; coach), social identities (e.g., being Polish/English, being female/male; being married/single, being parent), and

social relationships (e.g., John's daughter/son; my mother/father; our friend). For other people, self-aspects might also consist of goals (e.g., who I want to be), affective states (e.g., being moody, empathetic), and behavioural situations (e.g., meeting new people). Thus, "self-aspects are broad organizing concepts, capturing roles goals, private and public selves, and relational and collective identities" (McConnell 2011: 5). Their idiosyncratic nature reflects one's experiences (e.g., influence of meaningful others, immersion in cultural contexts, experiences in the environment), and these self-aspects function to guide one's understanding and behaviour.

While seen as a whole, the self-schema encompasses various components corresponding to different aspects of individuals as persons. People may have cognitive schemata representing their emotionality, intelligence, social preferences and life style, indeed a wide range of traits, which they think of as typical and perhaps essential to understanding who they are, and these schemata will be organised into a meaningful whole in their perception of themselves.

2.3. Prototypes versus possible selves

Dominant personality models of the self conceive of it as a relatively stable cognitive representation. The self-schema controls how we process self-relevant information across a myriad of situations. In folk understanding it is an individual's image of the typical person who belongs to a group or engages in certain behaviour (Ouellette et al. 2005; Barton, Chassin, Presson, & Sherman 1982; Cantor & Mischel 1979; Gibbons & Gerrard 1995). The images are usually distinct and have a number of different attributes associated with them. The question that arises is how the self-images are mentally represented, namely as prototypes or schemata.Taylor (1989) states that the term prototype has two senses: (a) an exemplar (b) a schematic representation of the core of the category. Further he notes that even in the former, one needs a kind of mental schematic representation of the prototype on different occasions. Hence "the internal representation of the prototype is in any case schematic" (Taylor 1989: 60). What follows is that prototype of the self is instantiated via schematic identification based on individual knowledge, belief and situated context.

Glover (1995), following Levinson (1979: 368) notes that prototype is a social construct which can be defined as:

> Fuzzy category whose focal members are defined, socially constituted, bounded, events with constraints on participants, setting, and so on, but above all on the kinds of allowable contributions (Levinson 1979: 368).

Within any social group the norm is a relatively fixed, established feature. The groups, however, consist of individuals who both perceive contexts and conceive of objects and events in a unique way. Glover (1995) labels these person's

conceptions of objects, activities or events as “context prototypes”. He assumes that these are schematic representations of an expected or typical situation. The context prototype is derived from a culturally and socially defined notions since a speech community will agree upon norms and conventions associated with an event. For example, in western cultures a typical “school teaching” activity will be associated with a formal classroom setting where a teacher and students and the appropriate language are present. Each element of the school teaching activity will be further schematically represented with appropriate features derived from culture and individual’s experiences contributing to the overall schema structure.

Prototypes must be sufficiently represented and realized by the participants in interaction; however, their interactional behaviour will be coordinated by their attitude toward a prototypical norm. Hence cultural-social variations in realizations of prototypes as well as individual adjustments to situational demands are a common. Glover (1995) suggests that speech community will generally agree on context prototypes of a particular object, event or identity yet different realizations will result from individual perceptions and conceptualisations and communicative styles.

When we refer the concept of context prototype to self-perceptions, it becomes evident that set of self-cognitions available to an individual for thinking about the self at one point can be quite different from the set available in the next hour. In the proper supportive environment the individual may be able to maintain a particular working set of positive thoughts about herself or himself, but in a different context it may be difficult to hold these same thoughts in working memory. It appears that the self-concept, which is typically assumed to be a fairly stable, generalized, or average view of the self, is not so constant and unitary. Rather, it is a subject to developmental and situational change. As Markus and Nurius note:

> To suggest that there is a single self to which one "can be true" or an authentic self that one can know is to deny the rich network of potential that surrounds individuals and that is important in identifying and descriptive of them (Markus and Nurius 1986: 965).

The prototypical self as an organizer of behaviour is always anticipating, always oriented to the future (Stryker 1980). As Mead argues (1934), having a self “implies the ability to rehearse possible courses of action depending on a reading of the other person’s reactions and then being able to calibrate one’s subsequent actions accordingly” (cited in Markus & Nurius 1986: 956). Whenever individuals engage in this type of role taking, they are in the process of creating potential selves, and there can be as many of these selves as there are times when the self is the object of definition, expectation, or evaluation.

The idea of possible selves contributes to the fluidity or malleability of the self. Possible selves are differentially activated by the social situation and

determine the nature of the working self-concept. At the same time, the individual's hopes and fears, goals and threats, and the cognitive structures that carry them are defining features of the self-concept; these features provide some of the most compelling evidence of continuity of identity across time.

Ouellette et al. (2005) propose that a possible self is an image one has of oneself in the future. A possible self is an individual's idea of what they might become, including what they want to become as well as what they fear becoming (Markus & Nurius 1986; Markus & Ruvolo 1989). Possible selves can be viewed as the future-oriented components of the self system. They are the manifestations of one's goals, aspirations, motives, fears, and threats (Markus and Ruvolo 1989). Ouellette et al. (2005) argue that possible selves are important because, among other things, they function as motives for future behaviour - in effect, they are images of the self to be approached or avoided.

According to Markus and Nurius (1986) possible selves function to provide an evaluative and interpretive context for the now self. The meaning given to a particular self-relevant event depends on the context of possibility that surrounds it. Thus, an individual's failure to secure a desired job will be much more than a single stroke of bad luck if the event activates an 'unsuccessful professional' possible self. The failure may be temporarily devastating if this possible self comes complete with thoughts of not deserving the job because of underlying incompetence, images of being pitied by associates, or fears of never getting a job at all or of working somewhere quietly and bitterly as an insignificant clerk. Given this context of negative possibility, the individual is likely to experience at least momentary feelings of low self-esteem. For a period of time some behavioural outcomes will seem more probable (e.g. not getting another job), whereas other outcomes and the behavioural paths leading to them will seem less likely and perhaps impossible to pursue. For instance, actions that require a self-presentation as competent or confident are difficult to negotiate when behaviour is mediated by a working self-concept that features the "unsuccessful professional"possible self as a focal point.

Prototypes and possible selves are distinct images. Prototypes are interpersonal - they represent images we have of the typical other (e.g., the typical smoker). Possible selves, on the other hand, are intrapersonal - they represent images we have of ourselves in the future (e.g., what I will be like if I smoke). Thus, they differ on both a temporal and interpersonal level. That is, prototypes are images of others in the here and now, whereas possible selves are images of the self in the future. Markus and Nurius (1986) expand the scope of the self-concept to include possible selves, which allows them to account for both situational and temporal malleability of the self and for its overall stability. The now self, the self that is very much a part of the public domain may remain basically stable. This stability may be a result of invariance in social feedback, in the targets of social comparison provided by the environment, or a result of

individuals' needs to present themselves in a consistent fashion. However, because possible selves are less tied to behavioural evidence and less bounded by social reality constraints, they may be quite responsive to change in the environment and may in fact be the elements of the self-concept that reflect such change. It is likely, however, that these images are not equally influential on behaviour for everyone. Individuals might differ in respect to an orientation toward comparisons with others versus an orientation toward temporal, or future, comparisons and that these individual differences might be useful for understanding the impact of images on behaviour. Hence the distinction between the now self and the possible selves enables one to elucidate the self as a dynamic process, rather than mental constructs or "knowledge structures developed by individuals to understand their own social experiences" (Markus & Sentis 1982: 45), the structures that may be relatively unresponsive to changes in one's social circumstances.

2.4. The divided self and personal identity

The question that arises in the discussion of the self-schema is how it relates to identity and where, if at all possible, the demarcation line between the core self and identity should be drawn. The considerations above suggest that people have natural tendency to perceive themselves as wholes, yet they are able to delineate various aspects of themselves as persons relying on a variety of criteria such as subject vs. object of experience (James 1892; Wittgenstein 1958), me vs. others (Gibbons & Gerrard 1995), time (Ouellette et al. 2005), group membership (Gibbons & Gerrard 1995; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk and Tomaszczyk 2012). In all instances, however, individuals perceive themselves as possessing the core element that remains a relatively stable entity, that is unchanged across time and space, that provides them with unity, that allows for the separation of "I" and "the other".

In the traditional philosophical view the self is taken to be "a distinct principle of identity" (Gallagher & Zahavi 2008: 200) that stands above the changing experiences and which is able to structure it and give it coherence. In similar vein, psychologists (Baumeister 1998) define personal identity as a unitary and continuous awareness of who one is. People understand themselves to have a continuing identity through time, and some contemporary philosophers and psychologists have attributed a personal sense of identity primarily to just that quality of continuity.

Proponents of Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory (Burke 1980, 1997; Stryker 1968, 1980, 1987; Tajfel 1981; Tajfel and Turner 1986) while reflecting upon social identity, accept Mead's claim that "self reflects society", which implies that the self is multifaceted, made up of interdependent and independent, mutually reinforcing or even conflicting, parts. They thus adopt

James' (1892) vision of persons having as many selves as groups of persons with which they interact. In their view, the term identity is used by individuals to refer to each group-based self, which means that persons have as many identities as distinct networks of relationships in which they occupy positions and play roles.

In these theories, the self is reflexive in that it can take itself as an object and can categorise or classify itself in particular ways in relation to other categories. This process is referred to as categorisation in Social Identity Theory and identification in Identity Theory. Through these processes identity is formed. In Identity Theory, the core of an identity is the categorisation of the self as an occupant of the role and subsequent incorporation of the role expectations into the self. The theory asserts that role choices are a function of identities so conceptualized, and that identities within self are organized in a salience hierarchy reflecting the importance of hierarchy as an organizational principle in society. In Social Identity Theory, identity is a person's knowledge that he or she belongs to a social group. Through a social comparison process, persons who are similar to the self are categorised as in-group members and persons who differ are categorised as out-groups. Despite the fact that people derive their identities from the social groups with which they identify, each person can be a member of a unique combination of social categories; therefore the set of social identities making up that persons self-concept is unique and prone to contextual influances and alternations. The consequence of this social comparison and self-categorisation process is accentuating certain aspects of the self-schema and downplaying others. The aspects that are accentuated become landmarks of identitfication and thus are more salient than others that are backgrounded.

Although social identities deal specifically with group memberships, they can also be conceived as one specific type of self-component composing the global self (Deaux 1991). Social identity can be defined as "that part of the individual's self-concept which derives from his or her knowledge of membership to a social group (or groups) together with the value and the emotional significance attached to it" (Tajfel 1981: 255). Because the same individual can belong to a wide variety of groups (Tajfel & Turner 1979, 1986), one's overall self-concept is composed of multiple social identities. To organise these multiple social identities cognitively, people turn to schemata. Self-schemata are defined as hierarchical knowledge structures about the self that organize and guide the processing of self-relevant information (Markus 1977). Self-schemata are organized hierarchically, with more specific elements subsumed under more inclusive elements (Kihlstrom & Cantor 1984) and they are capable of both short-term situational activation and long-term structural changes (Markus & Kunda 1986).

If identity salience is defined as the probability that an identity will be invoked across a variety of situations, or, alternatively, as the differential probability across persons that an identity will be invoked in a given situation, then the question that arises is what accounts for this selective activation of certain aspects and why identity salience may change over time (e.g., Stryker 1968; Wells and Stryker 1988).

Identity Theory hypothesized that the higher the salience of an identity relative to other identities incorporated into the self, the higher the probability of behavioural choices in accord with the expectations attached to that identity. Such a conceptualisation of identity salience implies that persons are more likely to define situations they enter, or in which they find themselves, in ways that make a highly salient identity relevant, thus enabling them to enact that identity (Burke and Franzoi 1988). But situations involve relations to others, and the extent to which persons can verify their identities depends on the identities of those others and how they respond to identity claims, as well as on whether behaviours that could alter the situation to align standards and perceptions of self-meanings are in fact viable (Riley and Burke 1995).

The above arguments also imply that our self-concept contains cultural elements that may be regarded as essential to an identity, but are not derived directly from our personal histories or experiences. Genealogies and origin myths, hopes and shared cultural capitals are powerful identity symbols which can be merged with contemporary and recent images of who we are. These are part of our conceptual selves, but integrated in ways that make our personal identity part of a larger group identity: family, institution, social class, language community and nation. Looked at in this way, group identifications are part of our personal identity. It is obvious then that to get a complete representation of identity we need to take social identity into account together with the personal one.

In line with these views, we propose that the self provides a core structure within which social identities can change, develop, and become integrated intraindividually. From a social cognitive point of view, the manner by which the various self-components are organized structurally within the self determines their integration. When multiple identities become integrated in the self, they are organized within the global self-structure such that they can be simultaneously important to the overall self-concept. When this occurs, connections and links are established between these different self-components so that they do not feel fragmented. As a consequence, the self feels coherent rather than conflicted.

Hence, the natural tendency to perceive oneself as split between a stable continuous core entity and fluid, fragmentary, public manifestations of the core has to be rendered in a scientific exploration of the issue; otherwise, it will receive partial and incomplete coverage.

2.5. Identity and EFL teacher profession

In line with the foregoing discussion, identity formation in teaching professionals can be conceived as an ongoing process that involves the interpretation and reinterpretation of experiences as one lives through them. Nias (1989) argues that people feel threatened when they face changes that influence their self-image and, consequently, their personal identity. To cope with such changes, people often develop strategies as a protection against being forced to perceive themselves in another way. Nonetheless, people are able to further develop, adjust, or even radically change their self image. There are no reasons to assume that teachers are exceptions to this rule.

Therefore becoming a teacher means that an individual must adopt an identity as such. Identity rather than role should be used in this context because the process of teaching involves the self-network becoming salient to different degrees in different situations. Teaching demands nothing less than identity and this is more than just playing a role. In 1970s, reflecting on the nature of teaching Shulman and Elstein defined teacher's role as follows:

> The teacher role can be conceptualized like a physician's role – as an active clinical information processor involved in planning, anticipating, judging, diagnosing, prescribing, problem solving. The teacher is expected to function in a task environment containing quantities of different kinds of information that far exceed the capabilities or capacities of any human information processor. Many of the research strategies [we have] discussed above can be used to understand how teachers cope with that overload while somehow responding, diagnosing, judging, making decisions, and taking actions (Shulman and Elstein 1975: 35).

A decade later Clark and Peterson (1986) noted that one of the most dramatic sets of conceptual developments in research on teacher thinking relates to changes in how we have come to think of the context of teaching. Earlier teachers were seen as "physicians" in diagnosing and solving problems whereas in the late 1980s teachers were more of the "construction workers" whose actions were embedded and recognized within the contexts of schools and classrooms. Early in the 21st century the emphasis has shifted to fluidity and the momentarily nature of a teacher's identity rather than their role. Szempruch (2010: 97) claims that subjectivity, which enables specific identity, is an attribute of a contemporary individual, by which she means that "an individual is a part of reality on which he/she can exert conscious and intentional influence and can express individuality and autonomy based on the value system".

Britzman (1991) has gone even further in describing the qualitative difference between achieving an identity and playing a role:

> The newly arrived teacher learns early on that whereas role can be assigned, the taking up of an identity is a constant and tricky social negotiation (Britzman 1991: 54).

Roles are superficial, temporary and easily adopted or discarded. They seem to be whole and finished. A teacher wouldn't be a very good teacher if they felt they were playing a role, and neither would their students. Identities require the dedication of the self in a way that acting out a role does not. Danielewicz (2001: 10) notes "a teacher must rise to the occasion time after time; the self goes on the line every day".

Teacher identity, then, is the understanding of who an individual is and of who s/he thinks other people are. Furthermore others react to and recognize individuals, not only by how they look but also by who they are depending on or who depends on them in specific contexts.

According to Côté and Levine (2002), a person constructs an individual view of reality through internal processes and, in the case of teacher identity, a person constructs an understanding of becoming and being a teacher the same way. Internal processes are bidirectional. On the one hand, a person filters and internalises an influential outcome of interaction with others on the grounds of one's own needs, liking, core beliefs, and personal tendency (Walkington 2005). Personal motives and student backgrounds situational demands amongst others pave the way for the internalisation process. In addition to the internalisation of external impacts, the aim of teacher identity formation is that one comes to "feel that s/he is a teacher" and identify oneself with being a teacher, distinguishing between a role as a teacher and professional identity. On the other hand, a person constructs a self-presentation based on previous internalisations (Côté & Levine 2002), which is a suitable impression for others to recognise at the level of personal identity. A person constructs a personal understanding of being a teacher through lived experiences within particular spatial and temporal contexts.

The teacher identity view that is advanced in the current chapter is based on the aforementioned theories of the self that see it as a relatively stable construct and where identity is represented as a network of distributed aspects and attributes. The self-aspects in case of a teacher will include social roles and social relationships as well as goals, affective states, cognition, and different types of knowledge. According to McConnell (2011) self-aspects are associated with personal attributes, which become more accessible (salient) when the self-aspect is activated and vice versa.

Further he proposes that each self-aspect is associated with a number of attributes in the network of self-knowledge. The attributes can include traits (e.g., shy), behaviours (e.g., submissive), physical characteristics (e.g., tall), affect (e.g., proud), skills (e.g., managerial), cognitive abilities (e.g., creativity) and social categories (e.g., female), among others. Attributes can be quite idiosyncratic and derived from numerous sources, including culturally transmitted knowledge, feedback provided by others inferences drawn from one's own behaviour experiences, moving through one's environment and

physically experienced or simulated bodily states (McConnell 2011). Although self-aspects reflect organizing contexts that are extrapersonal, attributes are the descriptive features exhibited by the individual in those contexts that are intrapersonal. The attributes exist in an associative system, forming a broad, intricate network of self-knowledge. Although any concept in theory could serve as a self-aspect or as an attribute depending on how it is construed by the individual, McConnell views attributes as representing descriptive information about the individual and self-aspects as representing the context binding that individuating information together.

So identities are the ways people relate to and distinguish individuals (and groups) in their social relations with other individuals or groups, as well as the ways we are recognized and distinguished by others. Although identities are constructed through social interaction, they are attached to individuals and their physical bodies. Every person is composed of multiple, often conflicting, identities, which exist in volatile states of construction or reconstruction, or erosion, addition or expansion.

Identities, then, are the result of a dynamic interplay between discursive processes that are internal (to the individual) and external (involving everyone else). This means that students are making themselves into teachers, for example, by taking education courses, and that students are being made into teachers by virtue of the effect these courses have on them. It is the interplay of internal and external forces in the midst of social interaction that allows for the construction of identities. Danielewicz (2001: 19) says that her own appraisal of what comes through in teaching goes in a train of thoughts like:

> I am a romantic, prone to fusions of thought and feeling, to rapture even, certain there is more to life than has been presented, even though such details and situations as I can apprehend appear perfectly solid and without anything missing (ibid.).

It appears that personality traits, the innermost features are intertwined with what is performed and publicly displayed. Classroom context is not immune from the personality of the teacher, nor from the characters of the students who diversely and deliberately inhabit the classroom space. Teaching entails an investment of self, which does not occur spontaneously, but rather with extensive feedback and social interaction.

Another conviction about the relationship of the self and teacher identity is that language in its many forms is determining. As individuals, we use language to represent thought and to make meaning, but language is not an individual's universe since it exists exclusively in a social context. Its form is derived through interaction between individuals. This reciprocal action, that we make language and language engages us, determines what gets learned, how much, and by whom. Participating in multiple discourses, as we all do simultaneously, (on the streets, in classrooms, at home, in churches) alters not

only the individual but also the social communities within which we are always situated. Each student and teacher occupies regional and national positions; every one of them exhibits gendered behaviour which may or may not be conventionally consistent with visible physical characteristics; their sexual preferences (while often private) exist nonetheless and affect their personas; all have grown up as members of racial and/or ethnic groups their relation to which is not reliably observable; many profess religious affiliations; each person exists in a matrix of familial connections, immediate or widely branching: child, grandchild, sibling, niece or nephew, wife or husband or parent or even grandparent; they have all been shaped by the social class background and economic conditions of their families. These existing identities affect, influence, interact with, and often conflict with an individual's attempt to become a teacher, to develop a professional identity.

2.6. Identity of an EFL teacher as a conceptual category

2.6.1. Social-cultural background of the study

In this book, our concern is with a country that has experienced rapid transformation in its educational systems, following political transition from authoritarian rule to democratic government. Fifty years of communist rule have left a legacy of social, political, economic and educational problems in Poland as well as in other central and eastern European countries. The process of transition from the old, highly controlled education system into a more democratic one has proven difficult and at times painful and, no doubt, it has exerted its impact on the identity of the foreign language teacher identity. In the communist era, a foreign language meant the language of oppressors, and the identity of teachers of Russian seemed highly conflicting. On the one hand, they were empowered and glorified by Soviet-dependant authorities, on the other, they were loathed and despised by the general public. Therefore, the foreign language teacher's position has been subject to the most profound change in the course of last decades since Europe confronted the termination of communism and the turn of post-communist states to democracy accompanied by the opening of these nations to western culture and the values that paralleled the growing use of English as a global language.

Upon the introduction of new educational programmes, the status of a foreign language teacher, especially the EFL teacher, has transformed from the marginal to the most required and sought-after. EFL teachers have become a privileged and highly evaluated professional group. Their advantageous position derived from the knowledge of English that enabled them firstly, to communicate with modern western civilizations, and so they could seize the opportunity to become scholarly, erudite, and widely read. Secondly, they took

financial advantage of their knowledge, since the FL teacher was most required occupation in the beginning of the transition period, which was reflected in the competitive, highly motivational salaries and benefits offered. Werbińska (2010: 21) argues that in addition to benefits EFL teachers experienced negative effects:

> It can be said that a lot of foreign-language teachers fall victim to the times in which they live. On the one hand, they have become infected with the greed for earning money because they have more opportunities than teachers of other subjects. [...] On the other hand, many teachers are striving to increase their teaching effectiveness through indiscriminate assigning of grammar tests. [...] Using this approach, the teacher hopes to be less exhausted by her regular work at school and reserves energy to conduct interesting and activity-demanding tasks during her afternoon private jobs.

Such social positioning of EFL teachers in the period of political and social transition frequently led to neglect of ethical issues in the classrooms where teachers were sole educational autocrats who determined learning directions and methods of content delivery. Because this "shift from industrial to informational civilization occurs in a climate characterized by a clash of different systems, hierarchies of values and various human competences" (Szempruch 2010: 43), similar patterns of change in teacher social positioning are reported to be found in many other countries that faced the challenges of the deep economical and political transformation at the turn of the 20th/21st century (cf. Muthukumar 2007; Strugielska & Siek-Piskozub 2007; Szempruch 2010).

Scollon and Scollon (2001) argue that globalisation and spread of English as a global language encouraged the rise of the professional discourse system of EFL teachers which is shared by the teachers of English throughout most of the world. Since Poland opened its borders to the western culture, the professional discourse of EFL teachers has also infused the Polish system of education. In most countries all over the world the tendency has been to abandon the previous discourse of teaching as a "socialisation into the occupation" in favour of a new discourse that stresses "formal education into the profession, schools, corporations" (Scollon and Scollon 2001: 212). Individuals who find themselves caught between the discourses and ideologies experience conflicting professional identities. We might think of that as an internal problem, in that it is an individual person who needs to resolve how he or she is going to deal with this conflict in personal values and belief systems, teaching and learning ideologies as well as relationships and attitudes to learners. But "[t]he problem which arises ... is rather different; it is an external problem of communication with those who are members of a different discourse system" (Scollon and Scollon 2001: 238).

In her research on language teachers ethical dilemmas in Polish educational environment, Werbińska (2010) found that teacher – superior (school principal) relations were seen as major problems in teacher's work. The

respondents in the survey mentioned such problems as restricting teacher's autonomy in learner's evaluation (raising learner's grades), in selecting methodology or a coursebook or in urging teachers to work overtime. Other school colleagues can also be members of different discourses due to their age, socialisation into the profession or executive functions they have in the institution. Scollon and Scollon (2001: 241) argue that communication between generations in institutions is a particularly acute problem because

> Each [generation] is using its own discourse system to interpret the discourse exchanged between them. "Support" for the older generation is interpreted against a background of a desire for total freedom and independence, for total self-control – something which has eluded most members of this generation. For the younger generation, the word "support" is interpreted against a background of a desire for involvement, creativity, group interest, and the approval of one's seniors.

Commenting on the patterns of communication, Werbińska (2010) states that in Polish schools in cases of miscommunication or conflict, young teachers tend to display attitudes of subordination and submissiveness and "exhibit lack of courage to oppose the evil openly" (p. 27). Therefore, the issue of whether such miscommunication occurs in a cross-generation interaction and how participants tackle the problem of the internal-external identity conflict in a real-life situation will be presented in Chapter 3.

Another problem that teachers face in post-transition years is the need to accommodate to the requirements of the newly-restructured Polish school. As Szempruch (2010: 41) argues:

> Teachers hold the responsibility for preparing students to ask questions, identify and solve problems, exercise self-control, reflect on own actions, plan the future and learn to cope with stress and failures.

To comply with the requirements of the reformed educational programmes and to meet the demands of the new generation of learners, EFL teachers should possess not only an excellent command of the language and subject knowledge as well as first-rate teaching skills and expertise in IT, but also the ability to exchange knowledge and experiences between different institutions and improve school management by opening it to the local community and collaborating with parents. All these aforementioned requisites lead to a redefinition of teacher identity across professional contexts.

In particular, the contexts of classroom learning and teacher competences have been affected profoundly. In post-transition years, the social contexts of being a teacher of EFL have advanced an altered image of an EFL teacher as similar to teachers of other academic subjects. They are no longer teaching autocrats; rather they are expected to be facilitators of learning. With the changing ideologies of learning, the discourse of teaching as well as views on teacher roles have altered.

Current emphasis is on instructional settings, where the locus of learning is focused on learners and the way they learn. As a result the contemporary vision of learning is one where learners are empowered because their autonomy is preferred and they take large degrees of responsibility for their own learning progress.

The empirical study of identity formation calls us to consider the rich complexity of individual lives in specific socio-cultural contexts. Thus, the problem of identity is deeply connected to questions of personal and social meaning. The issue of pertinent concern is the attributes of the role played by teachers in these new instructional environments and the resultant impact on the teacher's identity. The question that arises is whether teachers who operate in new, innovative learning environments need to reconceptualise their traditional instructional roles and identities in order to meet the functional demands of these milieus. If so, to what degree do they have to adapt their instructional roles and strategies to be able to effectively discharge their teaching responsibilities? Another issue is the influence that these shifts in teacher's identity exert on students' self concept and an image of an ideal, efficient teacher they form. Particularly engaging, becomes the identity of the post-transformation student teachers who were both subject to traditional schooling system with autocratic teachers spoon-feeding information to students and learner-centred instructional practices where students take charge of their own learning and teachers function as cognitive coaches or facilitators.

2.6.2. Research hypothesis

The present study concentrates on teachers' knowledge of their professional identity, i.e., how they perceive themselves as teachers in relation to their self and what factors contribute to these perceptions. An assumption is that student-teachers as well as in-service teachers of EFL engage in a self-to-prototype matching when reflecting upon their professional identity. Furthermore, it is assumed that identity schemata develop and change because identity construction is temporally constrained, developmentally driven and socially/culturally shaped (cf. Kwiatkowska 2005:129). Given attention to the processes involved in prototype construction and assuming that identity construction is restrained by the above factors, the present study will focus on how the individual's concept of a prototypical teacher of EFL might differ with regard to:

1. Teachers' personalities and self-perceptions across a variety of educational contexts,
2. Subjective social-cultural experience which will vary with the participants' age,
3. Subjective experience of the participants as students,

4. Amount and quality of subject-matter knowledge,
5. Amount and quality of pedagogical and didactical knowledge,
6. Subjective professional experience which depends on the amount of real classroom instruction given by the participants,
7. Socio-cultural dominant discourses,
8. Institutional discourses.

To find out the extent to which these factors influence prototype construction, a survey was carried out whose results were scrutinized with regard to the participant's age and teaching experience. My hypothesis is that both the chronological age and teaching experience would be crucial to the process of schema construction, its content and structure. In other words, teachers are argued to have developed varied schemata of a teacher, dependant on their past experiences with professional discourses that are always grounded in broad socio-cultural discourses.Calderhead notes:

> Research on teachers' cognitions has highlighted the complex array of factors that interact in the processes of teaching and learning. In particular, research has pointed to the elaborate knowledge and belief structures that teachers hold, to the influence of their past experiences, even experiences outside of teaching, in shaping how teachers think about their work and to the diverse process of knowledge growth involved in learning to teach. Research also has begun to unravel some of the pedagogical processes involved in classroom teaching and the different types of knowledge that teachers draw on in their efforts to help children to learn and understand (Calderhead 1996: 721).

Research has shown (Berliner 1988; Kagan 1992) that teacher cognitions underlying trainee and expert performances in the field of teaching differ in: (1) the way a teacher monitors classroom events; (2) the degree of conscious effort involved in classroom performance; (3) the degree to which performance is guided by personal experience and the degree to which the teacher can predict events accurately; and (4) the teacher's focus, as student work and academic tasks become the major organizing framework of instruction. Teaching experience then appears to be crucial for teachers' pedagogical and subject matter knowledge bases as well as for their diverse performance in the classroom.

Most of the comparative studies assume that experienced teachers are at least to a large extent also expert teachers. On the basis of this assumption Beijaard et al. (2000) conclude that the knowledge of experts is: (1) specialized and domain-specific, (2) organized in more encompassing knowledge units (e.g., metaphors, images, illustrations, etc.); and (3) to a great extent implicit. In addition they say that expert knowledge is more extended and better organized in memory than knowledge of a trainee; in doing tasks, an expert needs less cognitive exertion; an expert is better able to retrieve relevant information from memory in order to solve a problem, to combine information needed for solving

the problem, and to use this information for solving problems in other contexts (Sternberg & Horvath 1995).

Powell (2000) examined the business excellence model on which school self-assessment in the UK is largely based. She has claimed that teacher's professionalism is realised not by managing change but when "teachers themselves become the originators of change and professional learning" (Powell 2000: 47). Earlier Hargreaves (1997) in a review of the concept of professionalism defined four historical ages of professionalism:

- the pre-professional age,
- the age of the autonomous professional,
- the age of the collegial professional,
- the post-professional age.

Further, Hargreaves argues that there is a need to construct a postmodern view of teachers' professionalism for a post-professional age. This postmodern view has to take into account social factors (consumerism, shifting social and economic patterns, and changing relations with government) because schools are more market orientated, pupils come from more diverse family structures and traditional neighbourhoods have broken down. Moreover, accountability operates at a variety of levels, requiring from teachers new communications skills with parents and others. There are specific areas of public controversy such as discipline and assessment.Hargreaves observes that:

> So we are now on the edge of an age of postmodern professionalism where teachers deal with a diverse and complex clientele, in conditions of increasing moral uncertainty, where many methods of approach are possible, and where more and more social groups have an influence and say (Hargreaves 1997: 108).

What is clear from the quote is that the processes described by Hargreaves are not myth: every teacher of sufficient age could exemplify these movements in professionalism from their own experience. While these "ages of professionalism" overlap to a degree, it is possible to argue that the two key factors that contribute to differences in teacher's view on teaching are chronological age and teaching experience.

2.6.3. Data collection

The data for this part of the study was collected from questionnaires administered to trainee and in-service teachers from schools of various levels of education in central Poland in the year 2009. The majority of the respondents were participants of extramural courses in EFL teaching either at the University of Lodz or Academy of Management in Lodz. They varied with their teaching experience, from pre-service teachers to teachers that had been in the profession for more than 10 years and who had been obliged to complete their degree in EFL teaching under the regulations of the Education System Reform initiated in

1999 and enforced throughout the following years. The in-service teachers either did not have M.A. degree in EFL teaching, which had come to be required of secondary schools teachers, or they had been pedagogically qualified to teach other school subjects (Russian as FL, Polish or Chemistry) but did not hold a B.A. in teaching EFL. All these respondents were asked to complete a questionnaire while attending their regular university course in methodology of teaching EFL. Among them there were very few teachers with teaching experience exceeding 15 years. Therefore older generation teachers were usually contacted individually and asked to complete the questionnaire. In total, about 500 questionnaires were distributed while 300 were finally considered to have all the three groups of teachers equally represented. Most difficulties were encountered when collecting surveys from the oldest group of teachers, with over 15 years of teaching experience. Therefore, to have all age groups represented with an equal number of surveys, the questionnaires completed by younger teachers and students, whose total number exceeded 350, were selected at random. In the end, a pool of 100 questionnaires represented each group of participants.

A major hurdle in the questionnaire design was an open-ended list of features that could enter into representation (Murphy 2002: 216). To limit the number of possible features that could be included, a pilot study had been conducted, in which a total of 80 male and female university students had been asked to write a 250 word descriptive essay to characterise an ideal teacher.

Based on their responses, a questionnaire consisting of two parts was developed (see Appendix). The first part encompassed general questions about background variables of the participants: sex, age, prior teaching experience, school subject taught, years of experience as a teacher, and level of education they teach at. In the second part of the questionnaire, 140 features derived from the pilot study and organized in seven groups were listed.

The attributes were arranged in the following categories: (1) physical descriptors, for example, long-haired or fragile; (2) personality qualities typically found in self-concept inventories, for example reserved or conscientious; (3) behavioural possibilities such as submissive or independent; (4) system of beliefs and ideals, for example, religious or nationalist; (5) general abilities, such as creative, reflective; (6) skills, for example, argumentative or self-presentation; (7) gadgets that is requisites typically found in educational contexts, such as blackboard or book as well as more idiosyncratic ones, such as laptop or cup of coffee. The respondents were presented with negative, positive and neutral features of teachers to moderate the tendency to establish either the most positive or negative images.

The respondents were asked to describe a typical teacher by selecting five most relevant features in each of the seven lists of twenty items and awarding from 1 (least important) to 5 (essential) points to each selected item. Eventually

a pool of 210 (70 pieces in each age group) correctly and fully completed questionnaires was considered for further analysis.

2.6.4. Participants

The respondents whose questionnaires had been selected for the analysis were divided into three equally-represented groups according to the criteria of age and teaching experience. The two seemingly distinct criteria are covered by a superordinate category of time. Time is not a consciously recognised category that might exert impact on an individual's life. Yet it "ongoingly does something with the man, brings obligations or independence"[2] (Kwiatkowska (2005: 130). Therefore, an application of the category of time appears to be well justified while discussing professional identity prototype development within a group of teacher professionals.

One group (students) was composed of people who were not older than thirty and had no professional experience in teaching. Another group consisted of fully qualified teachers with up to fifteen years of professional experience and the third embraced teachers who had been in the profession for more than fifteen and were not younger than forty five years.

Most studies make a more general distinction between pre-service and in-service teachers acknowledging that the criterion of time and involvement of teaching in terms of years play a crucial role in the development of a teacher professional identity. Others use more specific criteria to characterise different teacher groups. Hargreaves (1993), for instance, stresses that individuals contribute to the shape of the group identity since they bring their own personalities and experiences to the profession, which reflect not only their own personality but also the social and cultural contexts in which they grew up and learned. Lortie (1975), in turn, conceives of the two groups as occupying distinct spaces in the classroom, namely that of the teacher and learners who are specifically referred to as "apprentices of observation". Gabryś-Barker (2012), drawing on the analysis of teachers' narrative essays, makes a strong claim that the two groups can be distinguished for the reason of qualitative differences that occur in their reflection on their own classroom practices and experiences.

Nevertheless, many researchers that draw on Mok's assumption that development is "successive, linear, hierarchical and progressive, with higher stages being more advanced than lower stages" (Mok 2005: 56) distinguish more stages in teacher development and therefore delineate numerous teacher categories along different dimensions. Mok himself, taking into account the period of involvement in teaching, describes teacher development in three stages: (i) one: 1-5 years of teaching; (ii) two: 6-10 years of teaching; (iii) three:

[2] ustawicznie czyni coś z człowiekiem, do czegoś obliguje i z czegoś powoli zwalnia

11-24 years of teaching. Each stage varies with the focal concerns teachers express about teaching. Stage one is concerned about issues related to classroom management and class discipline as well as teacher abilities, skills and their own performance evaluation. Stage two is about teaching for students' learning and developing the teacher's own teaching style. Stage three revolves around issues of student's learning and performance as well as prospects of the teacher promotion. In a similar vein, Appel (1995), drawing on his own experiences in teaching distinguishes between three stages that he labels as "survival, change, routine" (Appel 1995 cited in Gabryś-Barker 2012: 17).

In the light of the aforementioned studies, grouping the participants of the survey into three sets appears to be justified if the following criteria are considered: (a) participant's teaching experience measured in years of involvement in teaching; (b) the influence of prior learning experience on teachers' cognitions; (c) teachers' beliefs about teaching; (d) cognitions in relation to teaching experiences; (e) teachers' instructional decision-making and practical knowledge.

Because this study is concerned with EFL teachers in Poland, the country that has undergone major political and economic changes, my deep belief is that the impact of socio-cultural and political environment in which the participants grew should exert impact on their views and attitudes to teaching.

The impact of external conditions on human learning is a well-documented phenomenon in cognitive sciences and is claimed to follow from a more general principle of "extended cognition" (Clark and Chalmers 1998). As Clark (2001: 142) further notes, environment is a part of cognition itself, that is:

> The naked biological brain is just a part (albeit a crucial and special part) of a spatially and temporally extended process, involving lots of extraneural operations, whose joint action creates the intellectual product...the brain and body operating within an environmental setting.

Therefore, the delineation of the three groups of respondents seems to be validated when one considers the socio-cultural contexts of identity construction. Persons are born in and for a community and a personal being is relational. A person is always someone's son or daughter, mother or father, brother or sister, neighbour, student, teacher and friend. The term community does not simply denote an collection of individuals but a unity of persons. Any investigation of the community of persons cannot simply posit an objective reality that affects every member equally, but must make a point and focus on the consciousness and personal experience of the members individually. That is the reason why the impact of external factors in constructing a prototype of teacher identity cannot be excluded from the participants' group profiles. Teacher identity means "constantly becoming in a context embedded in power relations, ideology and culture" (Zembylas 2003: 213).

Furthermore my conviction is that the potential to participate is essential to the self. This potential, obviously, has to be activated, formed, and cultivated in order to be brought to its fullest realization. The process of identity construction represents the link between self and society. This claim is by no means novel. As Kumaravadivelu (2006: 44) argues "it is impossible to insulate classroom life from the dynamics of political, educational, and societal institutions". In other words, the experiences participants bring to the classroom are shaped not only by the learning and teaching episodes they have encountered in the classroom, but also by a broader social, economic, educational, and political environment in which they grow up. These experiences have the potential to affect classroom practices in ways unintended and unexpected by policy planners or curriculum designers or textbook producers. As a result, the interrogation of identity provides a direct access to the process of social change.

2.6.4.1. Student teachers

Student teachers are reported to be a fairly homogeneous group of professionals-to-be across different academic disciplines (Appel 1995; Gabryś-Barker 2010; 2012; Nias 1989). First, the quality they share is a lack of teaching experience that results in the construction of teacher prototypes as images of other teachers from the past or from the here and now. One way of approaching this task is that of reflecting upon their experiences with other teachers and imagining themselves differently or in accordance with these images. As reported:

> ...all my teachers, through their daily acts and their demonstrations of self, helped define who I am, made me aware of preferences and talents of which I was previously unconscious, reminded me of life's limits, and directed me by way of example to either accept selflessly or to wholeheartedly work against the daily impediments I was certain to encounter. Both models were important. Against the conservative ones, I rebelled and discovered who I did not want to be. On the other hand, the imaginative teachers made agency viable: they showed me that it was possible to think and to speak and to act, to be someone (Danielewicz 2001: 2).

Individual experiences with various teaching personas enable students to decide upon the kind of a professional they want to become:

> Part of the reason I want to become a teacher is that I went through high school thinking, 'I can do this better! (Danielewicz 2001: 164).

Their own experiences as learners allow them to judge the appropriateness of teaching methods, strategies and materials.Whether they accept or reject the content of their teacher preparation courses appears to be conditioned by their prior formal and informal learning experiences. As Johnson (1994) argues:

> The most striking pattern that emerged from these data is the apparent power that images from prior experiences within formal language classrooms had on these

> teachers' images of themselves as teachers, and their perceptions of their own instructional decisions (Johnson 1994: 449).

Moreover, identities are made in the dialectic between internal states and external contexts. This conception of a teaching self entails much more than simply playing a role, taking up a profession, or accepting a job in a school system. As persons in the world, teachers are continually engaged in becoming something or someone, such as an instructor, caregiver, friend, white person, old person, and colleague. Stetsenko and Arievitch (2004: 475-476) argue that the research on the self has evolved toward "viewing the self as being embedded within sociocultural contexts and intrinsically interwoven with them" and therfore "human development is located not "under the skull" but in the process of ongoing social transactions". From this perspective, human activities, learning and development, the way individual subjects act have to be accounted for in a complex system of actions, tools, members, rules and a community (Engeström 1991). Schools and classrooms can therefore be seen as activity systems that are connected to other systems, within each of which there are tools and contexts that subjects can agentively use to create their identities. This implies that teacher identity derives from multiple lived experiences and sociocultural histories that converge. In this sense, although as individuals teachers have to take up identities actively, those identities are necessarily the product of the society in which they live and their relationship with others. Identity provides a link between individuals and the world in which they live. Identity involves the internal and the subjective, and the external. It is a socially recognised position, recognised by others, not just by an individual. The concept of identity encompasses some notion of human agency, however limited.

No doubt past experiences exert crucial impact on the construction of professional identity in student teachers but the ultimate question for them is who they will become. At this point, they can be fascinated with investigating other possible forms their life could take. The contents of the future-oriented component of self-concept have been termed possible selves (Markus & Nurius 1986). As Markus and Nurius (1986: 954) suggest, possible selves refer to people's mental imagery of "what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming." These possible images of future selves are likely to stimulate people's desire for goal accomplishment and to initiate motivating behaviours to become their possible selves.

According to Higgins' (1987) self-discrepancy theory, it is human nature to approach pleasure and avoid pain by bridging the gap between current self-states and desired end-states. Therefore, among many possible selves held by the individual, the ideal self and the ought-to self function as the most influential future self-guides. Motivation and action can grow and empower to progress towards what one wishes to become. Higgins (1996) suggested that the ideal self with a promotion focus (e.g., advancement, growth, accomplishment) involves

internally-driven motivation and self-regulation to achieve positive outcomes as the valued reference point. In contrast, the ought-to self with a prevention focus (e.g., safety, security) aims to avoid matches to undesired results through more externally regulated duties, obligations, or necessities. Therefore, the ideal self of student teachers is reflected in their own future self-images, whereas the ought-to self represents the hoped for end-states others (parents, co-teachers, mentors, tutors) have for the individual.

The student teachers' possible selves are the selves they believe they might become in the near and the more distal future and are therefore important in goal setting and motivation. Focusing on the future, possible selves allow for self-improvement, malleability, and personal growth. They provide a chance to experiment with and try on various potential futures. It seems that discovering themselves is what drives students. Very often they believe that teaching is a helpful experience in this regard: as a process it "shapes them as a human being, it is a milieu that enables identity development in the broadest sense" (Danielewicz 2001: 106).

The development of possible selves is visible in their content, which reflects developmentally relevant self-tasks. During the school years, these tasks focus on being competent in school, being connected to others, and developing a sense of self. Not surprisingly, common possible selves are focused on school, relationships and avoiding becoming off-track such as by using drugs or becoming pregnant (Oyserman and Fryberg 2006). With development, the focus of these tasks evolves. College students and young adults are focused on occupational, educational, and interpersonal possible selves (such as getting married).

Possible selves are also influenced by others' expectations and by historical and sociopolitical contexts. Self-discovery as well as the increasing pressure to focus on students, and the frustrations adhering to a mandated curriculum with limited resources may turn students away from teaching. At this point of development, they do not know whether or not they will reconcile themselves to these circumstances and issues or how they will affect their teaching identity. They "present themselves as idealistic and carrying out a mission, which is not however always very well-grounded in their own individual teaching contexts" (Gabryś-Barker 2012: 68).

Therefore through practical experiences in the period of practicum, through trial and error, students can discover what teachers they want to be. During this period they try out their theoretical knowledge and when it is found unsatisfactory, they frequently discard it and built their own expertise on a more experiential basis. It seems that another, yet complementing way to construct a schema of a teacher is to develop personal theories of action, i.e. how one might act if he or she were teachers and how they might embody the theories in classroom practice.

Creating action theories before students have had the opportunity to practice in the field has several benefits. First, they realize that teaching is complicated and that it is a generative process. Second, they are able to feel how theory and practice intertwines. Without much effort, they can see why they must link the methods they adapt to their beliefs. A literature lover who embarks on literature teaching, for instance, would have to face the reality of classroom life - that there are never enough books for students to take home, nor are students inclined to read in advance anyway. Confronted with the reality of teaching, student teachers discover ways to cope with everyday difficulties and technical hitches. Finally, proposing theories of action forces students to integrate the whole range of variables involved in any teaching situation rather than operating from one perspective alone. Danielewicz reports:

> opportunity "to organize my thoughts about educational planning...I found that many concepts I had 'grown up with' in my own classes could work for me as a teacher just as they worked for me as a student (Danielewicz 2001: 162).

With time and experience, student teachers modify their views, attitudes and judgements by becoming more aware of the fact that it is not always the knowledge they have acquired has flaws but rather their own understandings and knowledge are incomplete and therefore the students gradually become aware of the need to get back to the knowledge, skills and experiences they were provided in the college, which is reported as follows:

> When you're in school (referring to the teacher education program), they tell you - there's a big difference between theory and practice - and you kind a know that- yeah, yeah. But as I was saying to my husband the other morning, there's a big difference between theory and practice, a real big difference, and you really need that theory. I absolutely need those theoretical ideas to hold on to. I need to know what I believe because, once you get out there, everybody is telling you what to do, what to think! (Danielewicz 2001: 160).

Gradually student teachers realize that teaching is mainly a process of learning to become teacher, the process of combining theory and experience into meaningful classroom activities and basis for further reflection and amendment.

To recapitulate what was said above, the self-schemata of student-teachers integrate their self-relevant past experiences with other teachers rather than their own experiences as teachers. Based on situations and events that are relevant to an individual's self-definition as well as individual's self-knowledge, the prototype of a student-teacher becomes a representation of the self in future states. This comprises ideas of what students may become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming. Such schemata can be incentive insomuch as students imagine themselves attaining a goal state. The prototype is a possible self that comprises an ideal self or ought self rather than the actual self because students lack relevant subjective experience as teachers, yet they have been familiarised with many teaching theories upon which they

can develop a working schema of an ideal teacher in accord with their self-knowledge.

2.6.4.2. Medium–length teaching experience teachers

Experienced teachers develop theories of teaching as "sets of beliefs, images, and constructs" (McCutcheon 1995) about people, learning, and knowledge through practice. Teaching practice demands that teachers analyze the situation, consider the variables of students, texts, knowledge, abilities, and goals to formulate an approach to teaching, and then to perform it every day within the changing context of the classroom. The job requires having empathy for students, a knowledge of the field of study, a sense of how learning occurs, the ability to generate a practice out of an idea, and the power to evaluate instantaneously whether it's going well or needs adjusting. Moreover, teaching depends on the teacher's capacity to constantly think ahead, to follow hunches, and usually, on top of all this, to perform convincingly for an audience, but always being the leader, guide, directing activities and managing time efficiently.

Classroom practice and personal practical knowledge exert a powerful and continual influence on one another and contribute to the development of the image of a professional self. Golombek (1998) posits that:

> The teachers' personal practical knowledge informed their practice by serving as a kind of interpretative framework through which they made sense of their classrooms as they recounted their experiences and made this knowledge explicit. The teachers' sense-making processes were dynamic; the teachers' practice at any point represented a nonlinear configuration of their lived experience as teachers, students, and people, in which competing goals, emotions, and values influences the process of and the classroom strategies that resulted from the teachers' knowing. Thus personal practical knowledge informs practice, first, in that it guides teachers' sense-making processes; that is, as part of a teacher's interpretative framework, it filters experience so that teachers reconstruct it and respond to the exigencies of a teaching situation. Second, it informs practice by giving physical form to practice; it is teachers' knowledge in action (Golombek 1998: 459).

To perform efficient teaching, "one must inhabit the classroom as if it is the most natural place in the world" (Danielewicz 2001: 10). This suggests that becoming a teacher means becoming an inherent part of the classroom environment. At this stage of development, teachers are not so much concerned about solving immediate problems in the classroom, rather they concentrate on the influence they themselves might have on the classroom.

In other words, in-service teachers have a complete detailed teacher schema constructed since they have gained relevant personal and professional

experiences in a variety of situations they have been engaged in upon which they can construct relevant knowledge.

In addition to their real selves, they have possible selves constructed on some discrepancy between their self-knowledge and personal efficacy expectations. As Sergiovanni and Starratt (1979) relate, the greatest deficiencies reported by teachers are at the esteem level of Maslow's hierarchy, i.e., the issues related to esteem, autonomy, and self-actualization. This need for esteem is the most acute for those from 25-34 and the least severe for 20-24 year olds. It tapers off from 35-44 and is moderate beyond 45 years of age. Despite the varying intensity, it is obvious that there is a perpetual striving for it. Satisfying the needs of seeking status, recognition, appreciation, and respect enhance the ego. But the attainment of these needs can also be influenced by the status and success of peers. Those whose self-perceptions are somewhat amorphous are more vulnerable to exposure to contenders for the same reward. An area in which one is surpassed becomes a less salient dimension of self-perception even if the area is the individual's strength.

Conceptions of possible selves constructed by experienced teachers allow them to develop clear visions of the future, set goals that enable achievement of these visions, and develop behaviours that enable the reaching of goals. They provide focus and organization for the pursuit of goals because they enable the person to use appropriate self-knowledge and to develop images that allow rehearsal of the actions needed to attain the goals.

Moreover, accumulating teaching experience enables the teachers to reflect and select teaching methodologies and strategies that bring maximum benefit to their students. These methods become a part and parcel of a complete schema of a teacher. Depending on the level at which instruction is provided, teachers select various pedagogical methods and teaching strategies to meet cognitive and social-emotional needs of their students. Hence, a schema of a language learner, learner's needs and the schema of the learning process become incorporated into the overarching schema of a teacher.

The period of life between 25 and 45 years of age is considered the most productive stage in human social development. Life-cycle research needs to be mentioned here (Sprinthall, Reiman & Thies-Sprinthall 1996) because, as proposed by Erikson (1968), during this period of life, the primary developmental task is one of contributing to society and helping to guide future generations. People make contribution either by raising a family or working toward the betterment of society from which a sense of productivity and accomplishment result. Huberman (1993), having studied teachers' perceptions of professional identity, concluded that teachers' tolerance towards students increases when they have school age children themselves. This can be interpreted as an experience from private life that has a profound effect on a teacher's professional life. As a result, it can be argued that a self-schema of a

middle-aged FL teacher includes those qualities that render individual their evaluation of self-realization in both private and public life as well as performance of social roles in a variety of social-cultural contexts. Their life histories and feelings about those situations serve as an evaluative and interpretive context for the self's current status and ongoing activities.

Middle-aged teachers use past lives as standards, to determine whether they have changed, how they have changed, whether they are improving or declining. A resultant schema of a teacher would embrace recollections of their past lives with a special emphasis on the effectiveness of the performance of social roles.

2.6.4.3. Teachers with long teaching experience

The third group of teachers is composed of those who have been engaged in teaching for more than fifteen years. On average they are over fifty, the youngest participant being 42 and the oldest 67 years old in the present study.

Age is a significant factor in teaching profession since many teachers tend to lose their motivation and commitment as they get older. After years of serving students, teachers might lose their dedication and take their service to students less seriously (Bloom 1988). They are supposed to be approaching retirement and what follows is that they become less involved in career competition or setting far reaching vocational goals. Rather, they look back on their lives, accomplishments or unachieved goals. According to Markus & Herzog (1991), aging requires casting away possible selves and provides opportunities for the creation of new ones (some conflicts no longer exist – e.g. should we have another child; should I accept that position or aspire for more, etc.). Reducing conflict among one's possible selves may be responsible in part for high self-esteem in old age. The strengthening of self-defining schema (good mother, teacher, and artist) allows one to compensate for domains never conquered and for a lack of knowledge or skills (I may not be a great athlete, but I'm a good carpenter). This compensation allows for self-acceptance, a key feature of positive adjustment among the elderly (Ryff 1989).

People reconstruct the past to give meaning and affirmation to the present. That is the reason why past selves become an important component of the self-schema. They can function as sources of pride and distinction or shame and embarrassment and thus have powerful influence on present behaviours and anticipation of possible future selves. Greenwald (1980) argues that people construct their past selves to their own advantage, i.e. to bolster the self, to provide meaning for current and past lives, and to maintain well-being.

Alsup (2005) claims that many teachers with long and great experience may become bitter disillusioned people. They might have started their first year of teaching with high, even idealistic, hopes about what they could do for their

students and for the world. They probably worked long hours each evening and on weekends. But then "a feeling of boredom or disillusionment caused by the teaching routine or the predictability of students' reactions" (Wiścicka 2005: 269) set in. The teachers might have seen some individual student growth, but not enough to satisfy their high hopes; and the other students who did not seem to learn, who did not seem to like their classes or teachers, and perhaps even complaints from parents and administrators wore them down. They began to feel frustrated and angry and a self-protective instinct might have grown, the result of which can be the metamorphosis into a bitter teacher, a person whose negative emotions not only affect her students but also act as a kind of poison to the teacher herself.

Age and years spent in the profession do not necessarily lead to teacher burn-out. Personal qualities such as persistence, enthusiasm, commitment and instructional behaviour, as well as student outcomes such as achievement, motivation, and self-efficacy beliefs appear to account for the way teachers construct their self-images. In particular, a high level of optimism as an explanatory style, that is a way of stress management or attacking emotionally challenging situations (Seligman 1993) has been found to negatively correlate with the disposition for the teacher burn-out (Trelak and Mystkowski 2010). Teachers who naturally approach problems with a dose of optimism are less prone to emotional distress or a feeling of depersonalisation that underpin teacher burn-out. As a consequence, these teachers uphold a sense of teacher-efficacy and self-worth, which, in turn, motivate them to meet the challenges they encounter in their daily classroom work.

Another possible way of growing old and experienced is equally viable, namely that of retaining a high level of teaching efficacy and a positive attitude. Actually, there are studies (Gordon et al. 2006) that show that teaching experience matters, for 15-20 years – with each year in the profession leading to more student gains, especially in reading. In fact, the aforementioned authors showed the importance of teacher professional experience for student achievement by reporting that kindergarten students had higher achievement and earnings as adults, depending on how long their teachers had been in the profession, with gains for every year up to twenty.

Experienced, in-service teachers frequently work as mentors to younger teachers. They are expected to provide on-going assistance in specific curricular and instructional areas both to trainee and experienced teachers in a variety of content areas. Assistance ranges from one-to-one support provided by school mentors to new teachers in their own schools, or by outside mentors who are assigned to a particular school to work with the entire school staff. Mentors observe and evaluate trainee and in-service teachers at schools, organise and conduct workshop sessions, lead staff development programmes, and develop and disseminate new school curricula. The mentors are expected to play

professional roles of teachers as well as of facilitators, collaborators, and reflective professionals. This is based on the assumption that the mentor always knows best, which may lead to identity dilemmas for these teachers because, on the one hand mentors' professional knowledge and skills are highlighted and their position of authority results from such understanding, but on the other hand, actual interactions with other professionals who are often resistant to change and reform brings feeling of incompetence and discouragement.

Furthermore identity conflict is caused as the old teachers struggle to distinguish between "the teacher in them and the mentor in them" (Orland-Barak 2010: 185). The mentors' struggle to reconcile between these two professional identities echoes Blumenthal's (1999: 381) notion of a mobile, multiple and divided self that emerges out of relating to different people, in different situations and across time and is: "connected to our previous selves... which may pop up the present at any time" (p. 383). The mentors' efforts to define their professional identity is reminiscent of the tensions that student-teachers experience in the process of constructing a professional identity, as they negotiate different and opposing conceptions of teaching between the university and the school (Smagorinsky et al. 2004).

The aforementioned conditions enable one to make a claim that the professional identity of the oldest and most experienced teachers is relational, interwoven with context, and develops as a result of engagement with others in cultural practices. The overlapping, often conflicting activity settings that older teachers encounter make this identity formation as challenging as the process experienced by trainee teachers.

2.6.5. Method

The methodology that has been implemented in the study is based on the assumption - similar to self-categorisation (Tajfel 1981, 1982;Tajfel and Turner 1986) - that people engage in "self-to-prototype matching" in order to maintain a stable identity across different situational contexts and adapt to their requirements (Niedenthal, Cantor, and Kihlstrom 1985; Setterlund and Niedenthal 1993 cited in Hannover and Kessels 2004: 53).

The concept of the prototype suggests that perception of the world and knowledge construction are organized around the most typical or "best example" (Rosch 1973). Individuals have prototype constructs about themselves (self-prototype, Kihlstrom and Cantor 1984), about other persons (person-prototypes, Cantor and Mischel 1979) and about situations in terms of prototypical persons to be found in them (person-in-situation prototypes, Cantor, Mischel and Schwartz 1982). Person prototypes can contain stereotypical beliefs about the group the person is a member of. A stereotype can be understood as a cognitive representation or impression of a social group that people form by associating

particular characteristics with that group (Eagly and Mladinic 1989; Hamilton 1981). In contrast, a prototype describes just one person who is considered as a particularly typical representative of the group in question.

Although the prototype theory won wide acceptance among cognitive psychologists, it has never been clear what the self was a prototype of (Leary & Tangeney 2003: 70). Either we can have a unitary self-concept whose unique properties enable us to distinguish ourselves from others or, based on the notion of family resemblance, we can have many self-concepts represented in our cognitive system. Variations in category typicality reflect differences in similarity to the prototype in terms of the features it shares with the prototype representation of the concept. The extent to which items are characterized by features that are important in deciding on category membership has been reported to be a good predictor by Malt and Smith (1984), and Rosch and Mervis (1975).

In this study, following Taylor (1989) a prototype will be understood in a sense of a schematic representation of the core of the category. Further I will assume that one needs a kind of mental schematic representation of the prototype on different occasions. A prototypical self is abstracted from many instantiations of context-specific selves; a process which is emphasised in self-to-prototype matching approach. Individuals make situational choices among alternative options that their cognitive system provides them with. In other words, individuals imagine the prototypical persons who can be found in each of the available options.

Subsequently, the individual can compare the defining characteristics of these prototypes with those of his or her actual or desired self and choose the alternative which provides the best match between the self-prototype and the prototypical person. For example a prototype of a teacher might be a concept one has constructed on the basis of many encounters of particular people in specific macro and micro socio-cultural contexts. Hence the concept can include the teacher's personality traits, behaviours, beliefs as well as their instructional strategies and teaching skills. A student teacher can choose the option which most closely reflects the image he or she has of himself or herself, i.e. for which he or she has found the strongest similarity or overlap between the prototypical person being a teacher and his or her own self-image (cf. Identity Theory).

When deciding whether or not to pursue a certain career, or when deciding for which study to enrol, people are expected to engage in self-to-prototype matching. When making such choices freely, people imagine prototypical students or experts in a given academic field for each of the situational options. The individual may then calculate the overlap between his or her self-image and the prototypical image. The stronger the overlap between the self-image and the prototypical image of an individual with a particular favourite professional, the more likely the individual will approve of the respective subject

area and a chosen career. However, we have to qualify this assumption in one respect. Drawing on the study by Setterlund and Niedenthal (1993), Hannover and Kessels (2004) argue that individuals differ in the extent to which they engage in prototype-matching. More precisely, a prerequisite for using the strategy is that the person has a clearly defined image of himself or herself, i.e. high self-clarity: Only if I know who I am can I use my self-image as a reference point against which features of prototypes can be compared according to their degree of overlap or similarity. Campbell (1990) found that people differ in the extent to which the contents of their selves are defined in a clear and confident, temporally stable, and internally consistent manner. Applied to our problem, only students and teachers who have a sufficiently clear image of who they are, are expected to use self-to-prototype matching as a basis for their academic and vocational choices and therefore the participants of the study were recruited among students of the last year of TESOL courses as well as in-service teachers.

The method of research and analysis has been adopted in accord with the weighted attribute approach that draws on Rosch's prototype theory and can be found in the study of the verb "lie" by Coleman and Kay (1981). Rosch defines categories as follows:

> Categories tend to become defined in terms of prototypes or prototypical instances that contain the attributes most representative of items inside and least representative of items outside the category (Rosch 1978: 30).

The weighted attribute approach, by encompassing more than simply the prototype, offers a way to handle the problem of conceptual combination (Hampton 1987; 1991). The category itself comes to be defined as a set of attributes which are differentially weighted according to their importance in diagnosing category membership, and an entity belongs in the category if the cumulative weightings of its attributes achieve a certain threshold level. In the study at hand the threshold level has been fixed at 100 cue validity value. This value is the lowest possibility based on the assumption that a given feature was recognised as valid by all the participants and awarded a minimum of 1 point. Category members need not share the same attributes, nor is an attribute necessarily shared by all category members. Rather, the category hangs together in virtue of a "family resemblance" (Rosch & Mervis 1975), in which attributes interweave like the threads of a rope (Wittgenstein 1978: 32). The more similar an instance to all other category members the more prototypical it is of the category. In this study, the maximum weight a given feature could obtain has been 500, which means that all the participants have awarded it a maximum value of 5. As a result the structure of the category of teacher can be represented as a concentric category with the prototypical features' values ranging from 500 to 401, less prototypical ranging from 400 to 301, typical ranging from 300 to 201 and peripheral from 200 to 101.

The weighted feature approach requires that the appropriate features be identified. Therefore, the pilot study mentioned above had been conducted to limit the number of features that could enter into the representation. As a result of the pilot study a pool of 140 features have been distinguished that subsequently have been organised into seven groups, each encompassing twenty features.

A further problem that occurred in the study was the measurement of the relevance of the features (Ortony, Vondruska, Voss & Jones 1985). Here Rosch's (1978) measure of "cue validity" has come as a solution: cue validity being an estimate of the probability that possession of a feature will confer membership in the category. More precisely, she defined cue validity as follows:

> The validity of a given cue x as a predictor of a given category y (the conditional probability of y/x) increases as the frequency with which cue x is associated with category y increases and decreases as the frequency with which cue x is associated with categories other than y increases (Rosch in Levitin 2002: 254).

When selecting the feature, the respondents had to assign a value of 1 to 5 to each selected item. In this way, not only differences in frequency of feature selection could be assessed but also variation in the feature relevance among the three groups of participating teachers could be measured.

2.6.6. Analysis of feature selection across age groups

The data collected with the questionnaires were analysed according to three criteria: (i) frequency of feature selection, (ii) mean values awarded to each feature by the respondents, (iii) feature cue validities measured in accordance with the weighted attribute approach (cf. 2.6.5). The diagrams below present the frequency and mean values of the seven groups of features selected by the respondents in the three teaching experience/age groups.

In the group of *physical appearance* (Figure 1; Figure 2) four features dominate for frequency when teachers with teaching experience over 15 years are considered. In this group a typical teacher is a *middle-aged, old-fashioned woman* with *piercing eyes*. This image is shared by the two other groups of teachers in the sense that they also conceptualise a teacher as a woman, their image of a teacher contrasts with the former in respect of age and fashion. Younger teachers conceive of a typical female teacher as a *young* or *middle-aged* lady who is concerned with her appearance, namely wears *make-up*, is *clean-shaven* and has *manicure*. The mean values for the selected features correspond to the frequency of selection of these features.

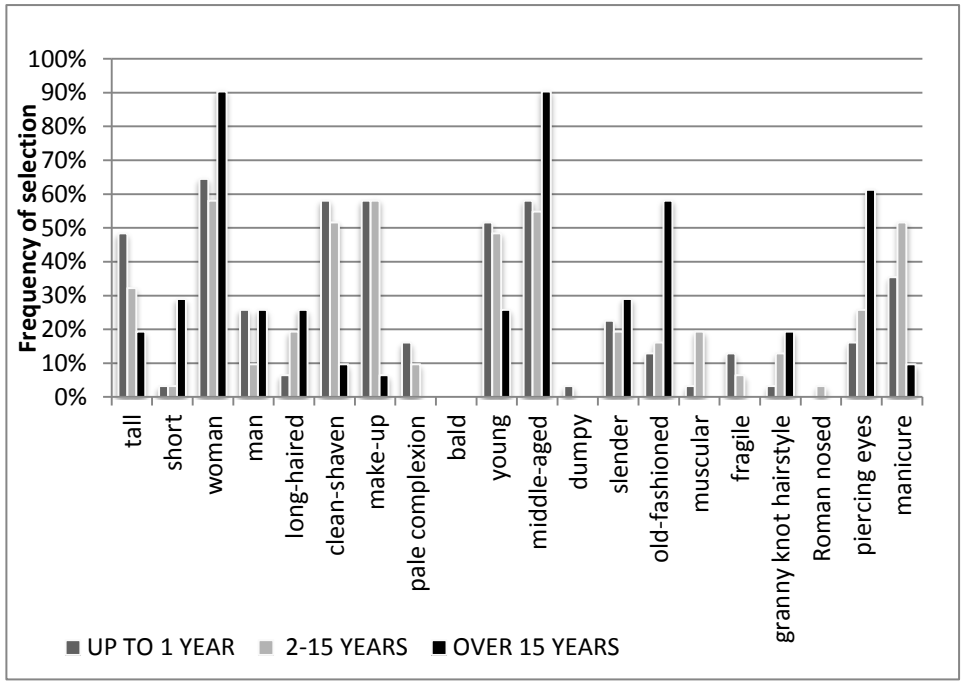

Figure 1. Physical appearance: % positive answers

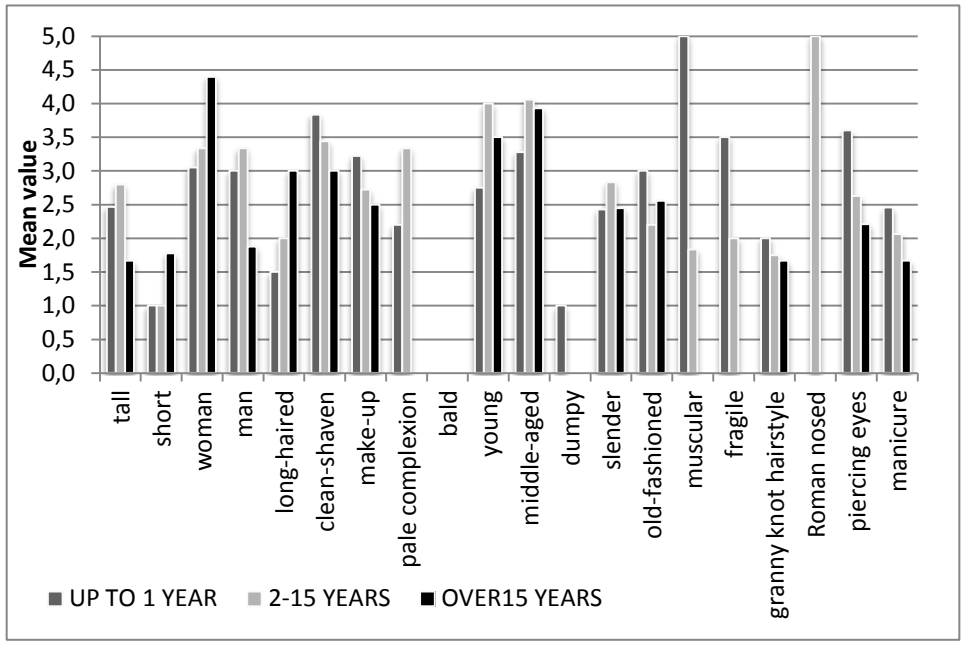

Figure 2. Physical appearance: mean values

In the domain of *personality* (Figure 3; Figure 4), some features are clearly favoured by the two groups of the younger teachers. *Outgoingness*, *enthusiasm*, *trustworthiness*, *imagination*, *practicality*, *fairness* and *honesty* outnumbered other personality factors by tens of percents. The older teachers give preference to *diligence*, *conscientiousness*, *practicality*, *fairness* and *honesty*. Such features as *dependence*, *perseverance* or *worldliness* are highly valued by a small number of the respondents.

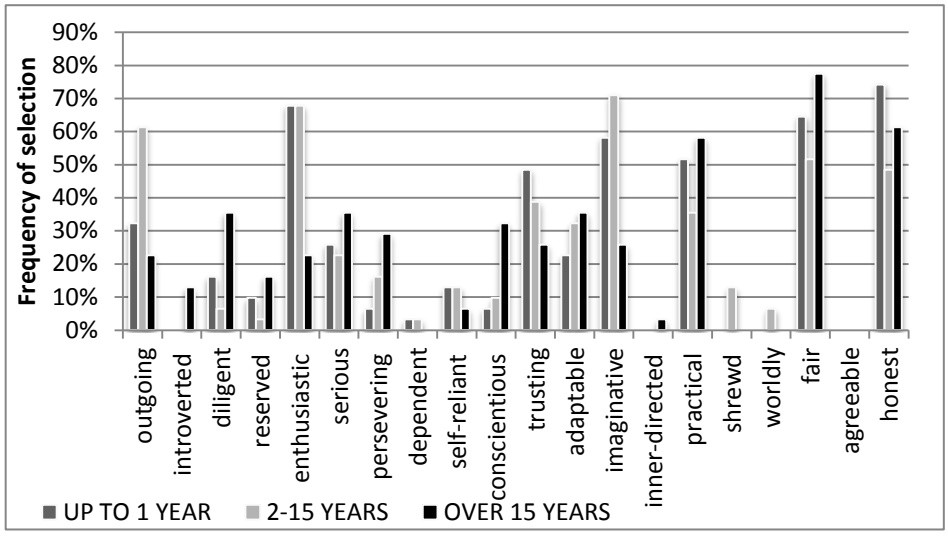

Figure 3. Personality: % positive answers

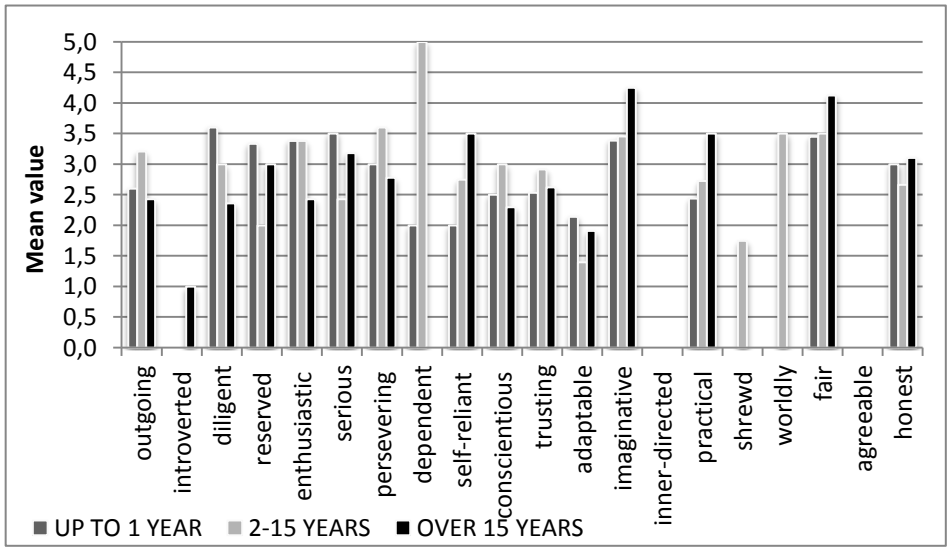

Figure 4. Personality: mean values

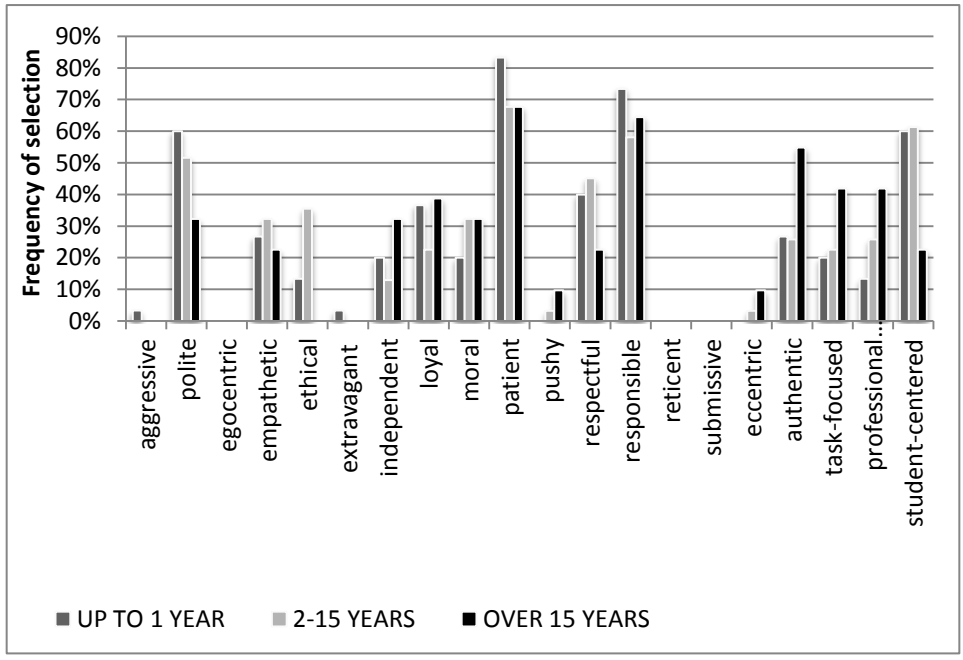

Figure 5. Behaviours: % positive answers

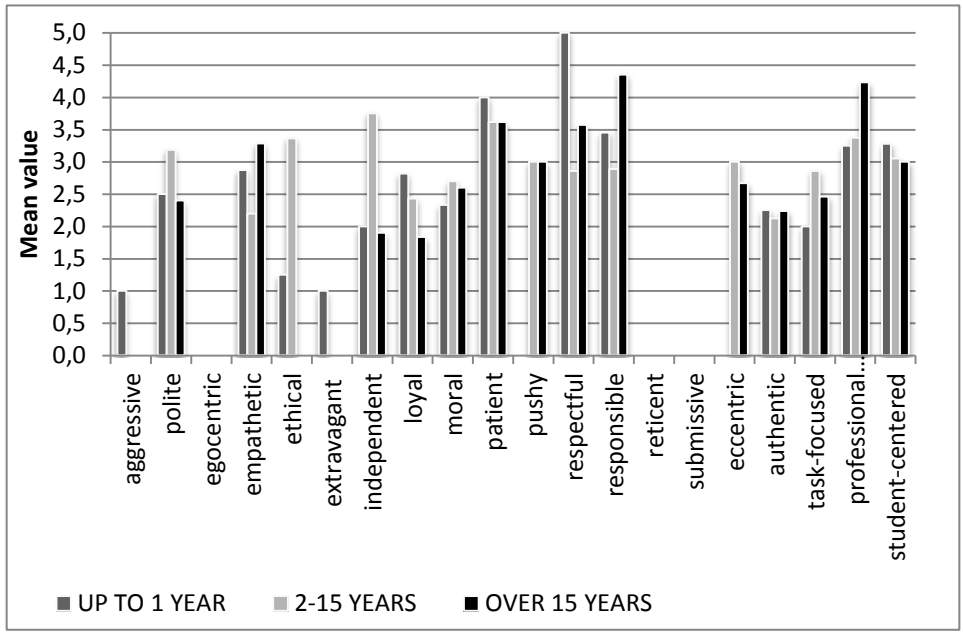

Figure 6 Behaviours - mean values

With *behaviours* (Figure 5; Figure 6), some features are clearly in lead both in frequency of selection as well as their evaluation in all the three groups of the

teachers. These are *politeness, patience, respect, responsibility*. Interestingly the younger teachers prefer *student-centeredness* to *professionalism* in contrast to the older group of the respondents where the pattern is reversed. Intriguingly some respondents select an *aggressive* behaviour as the one characteristic of teachers' conduct but none conceives of a typical behaviour in terms of being *submissive.*

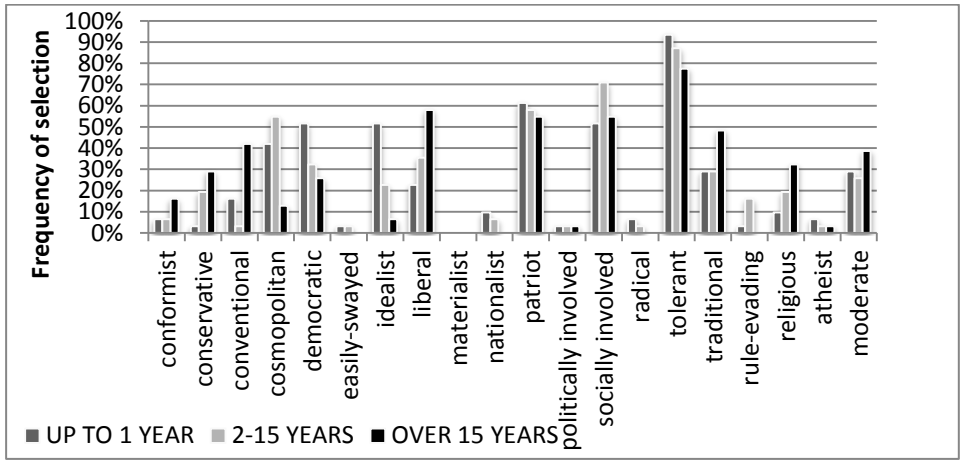

Figure 7. System of beliefs: % positive answers

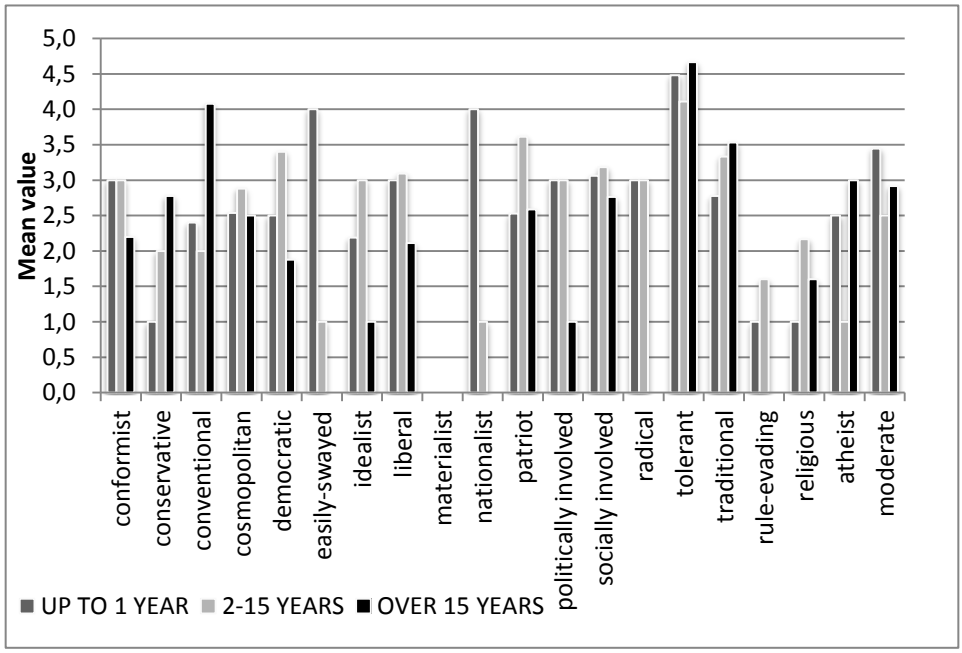

Figure 8. System of beliefs: mean values

In *system of beliefs* (Figure 7; Figure 8), *tolerance* and *social involvement* are supreme qualities for frequency and value in all the three groups of teachers. The oldest teachers highly value and frequently select *liberalism, tradition, convention* and *tolerance* whereas the two younger groups share *tolerance* with them but they prefer *cosmopolitan* and *democratic* to *tradition* and *convention*. Hardly ever such extreme features as *nationalist* or *materialist* have been selected yet rigorous attitudes are preferred over *laissez-faire* such as *easily-swayed* or *rule evading* that are negatively loaded.

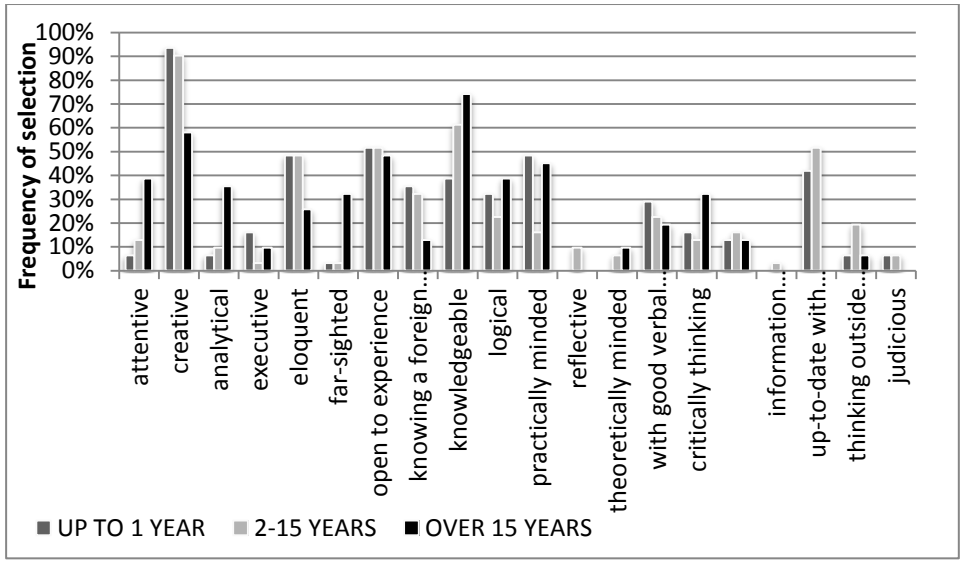

Figure 9. Cognitive abilities: % positive answers

Among *cognitive abilities* (Figure 9; Figure 10), *knowledge, creativity* and *openness to experience* surpass other attributes in all the three groups. Striking differences occur between the two younger groups and the oldest teachers as far as *up-to-date with teaching methodology* and *eloquence* are concerned, which are preferred by younger teachers vis-a-vis *attentive, far-sighted* and *critically thinking* favoured by the seniors.

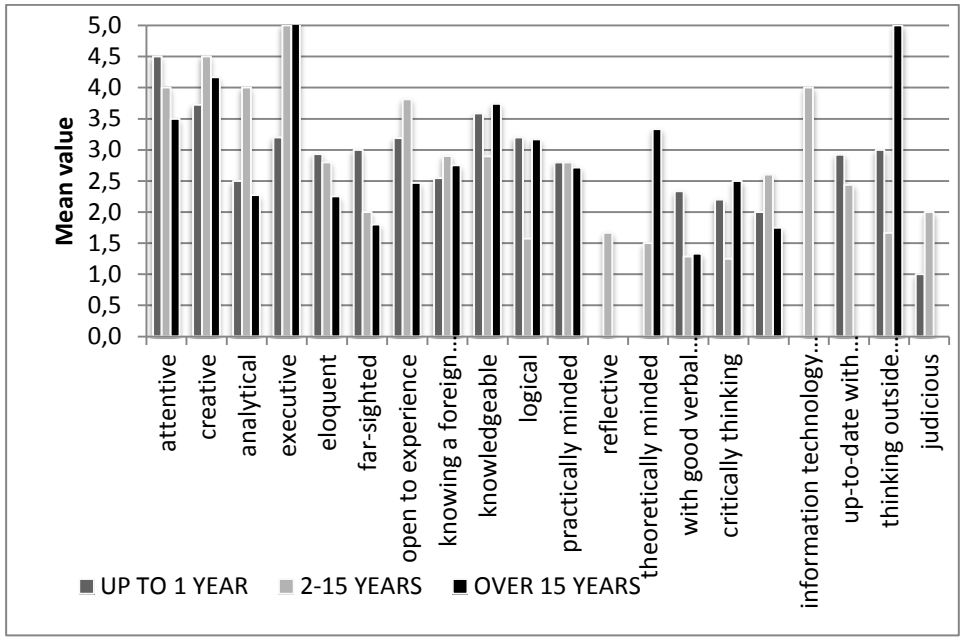

Figure 10. Cognitive abilities: mean values

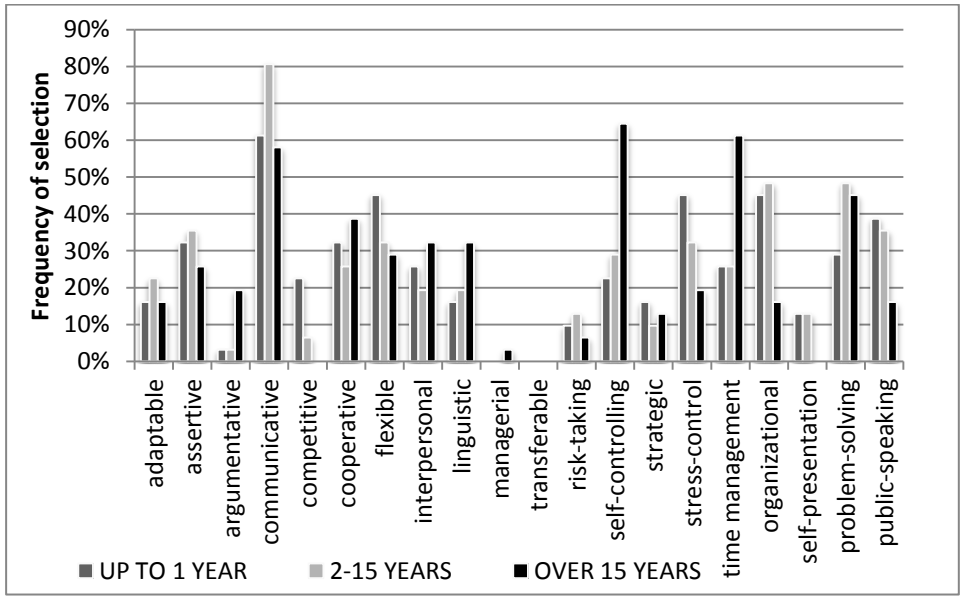

Figure 11. Skills: % positive answers

Communicative skills (Figure 11; Figure 12) clearly dominate in the choices of all the teachers with frequency of 60% to 80% in the middle-aged teachers and average value of 4.0. Other key skills appear to be *time-management* and

organizational, yet *stress-control* is also found to be an important for the oldest teachers.

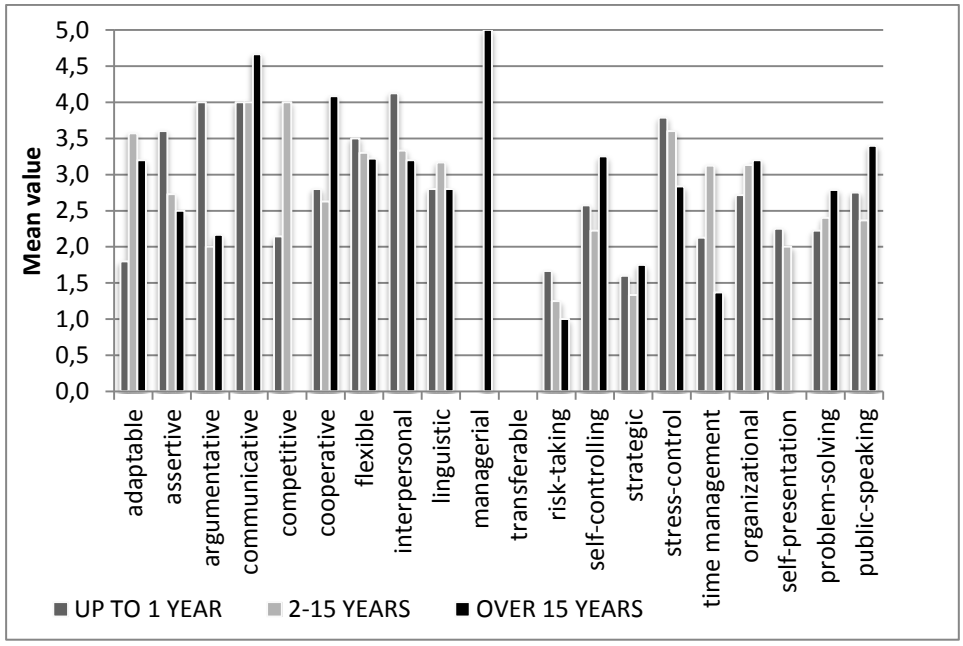

Figure 12. Skills: mean values

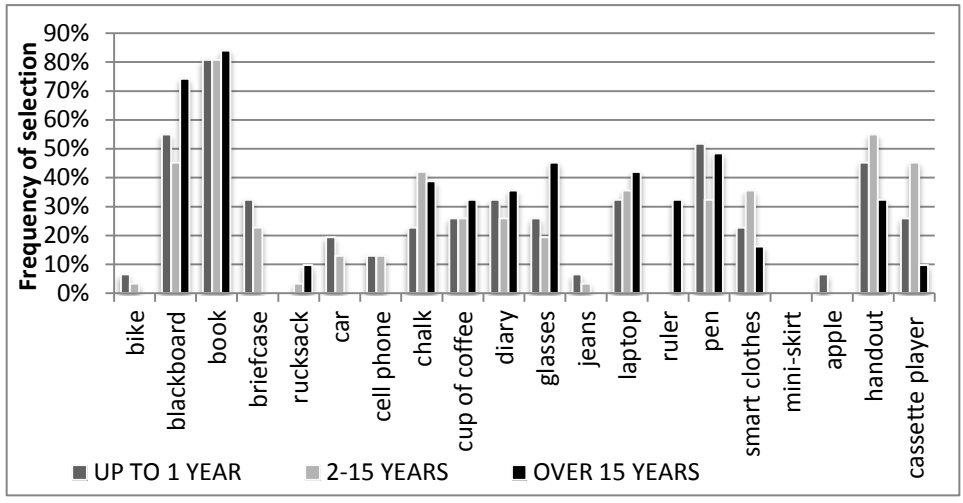

Figure 13. Gadgets: % positive answers

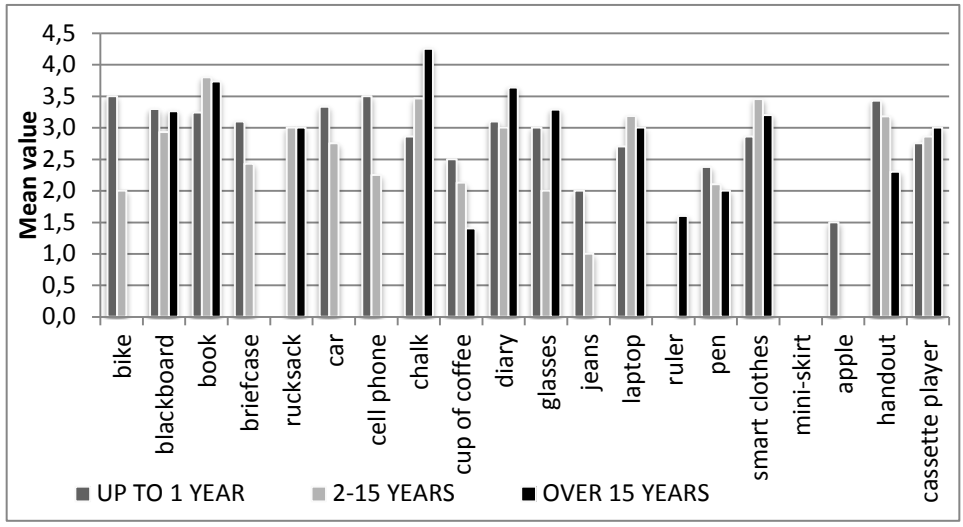

Figure 14. Gadgets: mean values

Such traditional teacher's *gadgets* as *book, blackboard* and *chalk* play a central role in creating an image of the teacher (Figure 13; Figure 14). Modern inventions such as a *handout, cassette player* or a *laptop* have been unanimously selected by all the groups of teachers as well. Interestingly enough a *ruler* was chosen by 40% of the oldest teachers and totally ignored by other teachers whereas *apple* was exclusively selected by the student-teachers.

2.6.7. Cue validity and category content resemblance across age groups

Rosch's work (1973; 1978) uncovered the "internal structure" of categories in the sense that some members might be "better," or "more representative" (i.e., more "prototypical") examples of the category than others. She managed to discover the structure of categories such as colour by presenting subjects with different examples of members of a category and rating the goodness of the example. Another way to uncover the structure of a category is to measure cue validities of the attributes. Rosch (1978) says that the frequency with which a given cue is associated with a category is crucial in finding a category structure. Furthermore, she states that the cue validity of an entire category can be defined as the summation of the cue validities for that category of each of the attributes of the category. As a result a category with high cue validity is, by definition, more differentiated from other categories than one of lower cue validity.

It is assumed in the present study that a cue validity of a specific feature can be combined with its weight and, as a result, both the typical structure of the

category "teacher" can be delineated for the three age groups, and its category resemblance and/or its distinctiveness can be defined. Rosch (1973) notes that principles governing the formation of categories, namely maximization of cue validity and maximization of category resemblance, govern development of prototypes. Rosch and Mervis (1975) have shown that the more prototypical of a category a member is rated, the more attributes it has in common with other members of the category and the fewer attributes in common with members of the contrasting categories. In short, prototypes appear to be just those members of a category that most reflect the redundancy structure of the category as a whole. This assumption has been used in the present study. Out of a set of 140 features, only the features with values from 500 to 101 have been considered as accounting for teacher category family resemblance with different degrees of prototypicality depending on the feature value. The features that have been awarded less than 100 have been considered as contrasting or irrelevant for the category of "teacher".

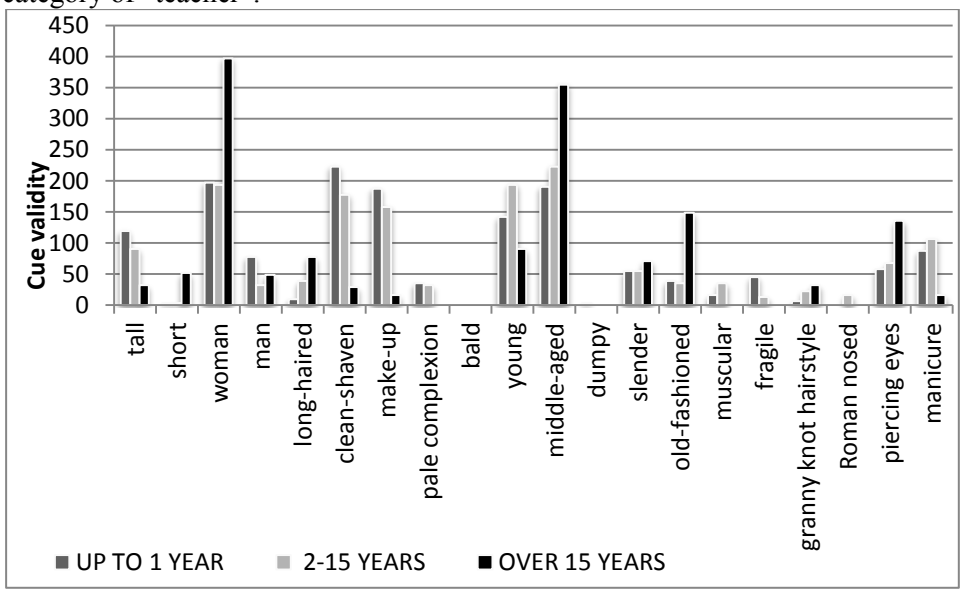

Figure 15. Physical appearance: cue validities

In the set of *physical appearance* (Figure 15), a prototypical teacher manifests as a *young* to *middle-aged woman* and major variation relates to teacher's style and fashion. For the two groups of the younger teachers *make-up* and *clean-shaven* are typical of a teacher whereas the group of the older teachers select *old-fashioned* and *piercing eyes* as most characteristic of teacher's appearance.

A *middle-aged, old-fashioned woman with piercing eyes* is a typical visual image of a teacher in the oldest group of the participants. These four features dominate over others and the bars are rising high in contrast to the rest that are

barely attended to. Four other features, i.e. *young, long-haired, slender* and *man* have also been selected but their cue validities do not even reach the level of a hundred whereas the four former come as high as 400.

Images of a typical teacher in the two groups of the younger participants overlap significantly. This mental construct can be characterised as a *middle-aged* or *young, tall, clean-shaven woman* wearing *make-up* and *manicure*. All other features, except for *man*, appear to be irrelevant. The cue validity of *man* is the highest for the students and equals 77, which is twice as much as in the middle group and by 50% higher than in the oldest group. It appears that the profession of teacher is most feminised among the middle-aged population and most masculinised among the youngest group. In all the groups however an image of a female teacher is clearly most popular.

All in all, when constructing an image of a teacher based on physical characteristics, the respondents seem to compare the defining characteristics of typical teachers with those of his or her actual self and choose the alternative which provides the best match between the self-prototype and the prototypical educationalist. Resultant is the tendency of the two groups of the younger teachers to care about make-up, manicure and being clean-shaved whereas the oldest teachers appear to be satisfied with the garments and physical appeal they have managed to build up throughout their life.

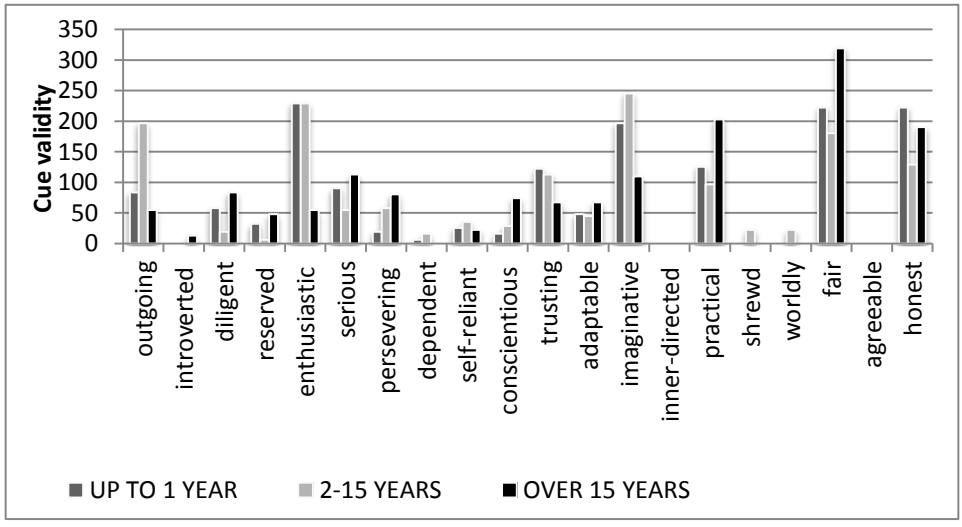

Figure 16. Personality: cue validities

As for *personality* features (Figure 16), a large overlap exists in the selection of items between the two groups of the younger teachers whereas the prototype of the third group seems to be incompatible with the former. *Enthusiasm* and *imagination* are symbolic of youth, which is evident in the favourite choices of

the younger teachers. In contrast the third group prefer being *practical* to being *enthusiastic*, yet they also consider *imagination* to be important in educational practice. Still cue validity of *imagination* for the middle group is twice as high as in the oldest group. Such universal features as *fairness* and *honesty*, which are activated by the knowledge of the category "teacher" have high cue validity for all the participants although *honesty* has significantly lower value for the middle group of the teachers and *fairness* has got 30% higher validity for the oldest teachers. With personality features, the structure of the prototype becomes less homogenous than in the set of physical features. Here individual personal characteristics of the participants seem to play the leading role in categorisation although the imposition of features by the category structure cannot be neglected.

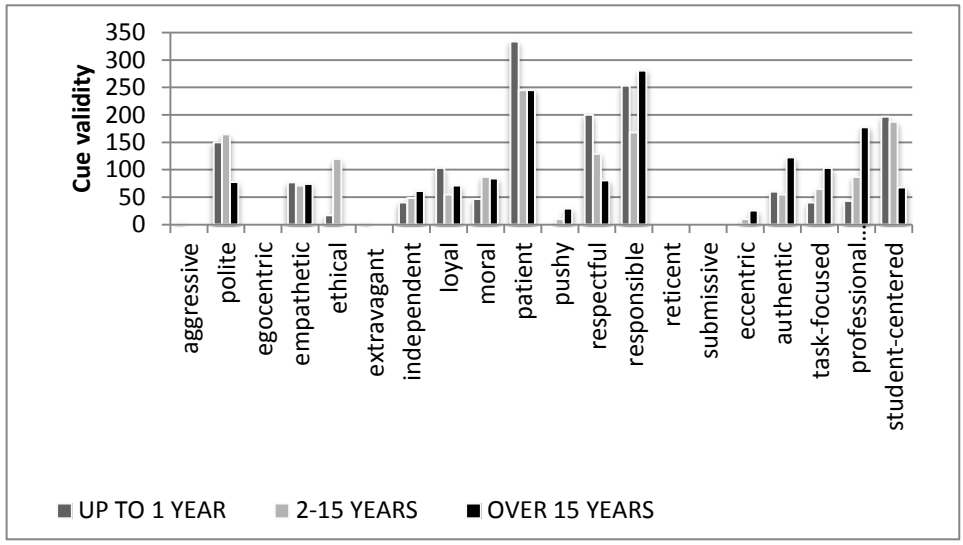

Figure 17. Behaviours: cue validities

Among *behaviours* (Figure 17), *patience* and *responsibility*, which are essential for effective upbringing and teaching, count most. Yet, there is large disparity among the groups when other features are considered. The students appreciate *student-centeredness*, the feature which is often highlighted in humanistic approaches to teaching and with which students are familiarised at teaching courses. They also attach importance to *respect* and *politeness*, the behaviours they presumably have witnessed in their own teachers. A similar pattern of typical behaviours is observed in the middle group whereas incompatibilities are found in the group of the oldest teachers. The latter favour *task-focus*, *professional achievement* and *authenticity*, which may result from their professional experience or teaching methodologies that used to dominate at the time that they were students. People in different cultures have strikingly

different construals of the self, of others, and of the interdependence of the two. These understandings can influence, and, in many cases determine, the very nature of individual experience, including cognition, emotion, and motivation. Many Asian cultures have distinct conceptions of individuality that insist on the fundamental relatedness of individuals to each other. The emphasis is on attending to others, fitting in, and harmonious interdependence with them. Conversely, western culture neither assumes nor values such an explicit connectedness among individuals. Individuals seek to maintain their independence from others by attending to the self and by discovering, expressing and performing their unique inner attributes and behaviours. Not surprisingly, professionals educated in diverse social-political and educational systems will differ in their constructs of typical teaching behaviours.

Moreover, school is a kind of culture itself. The culture of a school encompasses conceptions, norms, and values shared by the participants involved, which lead to a specific way of working. Relevant parts of a school culture are expectations of the community, students, members of the school board and colleagues; prescriptions based on the curricula used; and the physical and material environment (Duffee & Aikenhead 1992). Teaching cultures and school cultures determine probably to a large extent the concepts of individual teachers, i.e., the way they perceive their professional identity. Reynolds (1996) wrote about schools as workplace landscapes that are related to teachers' identities by cultural scripts which prescribe what they think and do. According to Yinger and Hendricks-Lee (1993), their knowledge and expertise have too often been studied as a property of the individual; in their opinion it may be more appropriate to consider that knowledge as lying within the interaction of particular contexts and situations. They suggest that, in particular, teachers' working knowledge is as much dependent on the environment in which they work as on the individuals.

Selecting typical behaviours, the participants seem to conform to self-to-prototype matching method whereby they choose those behaviours that form the best match between their own behaviours and those commonly experienced, expected or enacted in the classroom as well as to the cultural scripts they have been familiarised with.

In the field of *system of beliefs* (Figure 18), *tolerance* is the feature that dominates over other qualities among all the participants. Nevertheless, the youngest evaluate it much higher than the two other groups and their cue validities equal 419, 358 and 361 respectively. This disparity may reflect variation in conceptualisation of tolerance. Students often expect teachers to be tolerant of their inappropriate classroom conduct or insufficient attention, consideration or even neglect of home and classroom assignments. It is a narrow view of tolerance in the sense that it is based on concrete embodied experience and short-term performance goals. More experienced teachers understand

tolerance as acceptance of person's uniqueness and right for own opinion, belief and privacy, which is indicative of higher level of moral development and a more general, schematic understanding of the concept of tolerance.

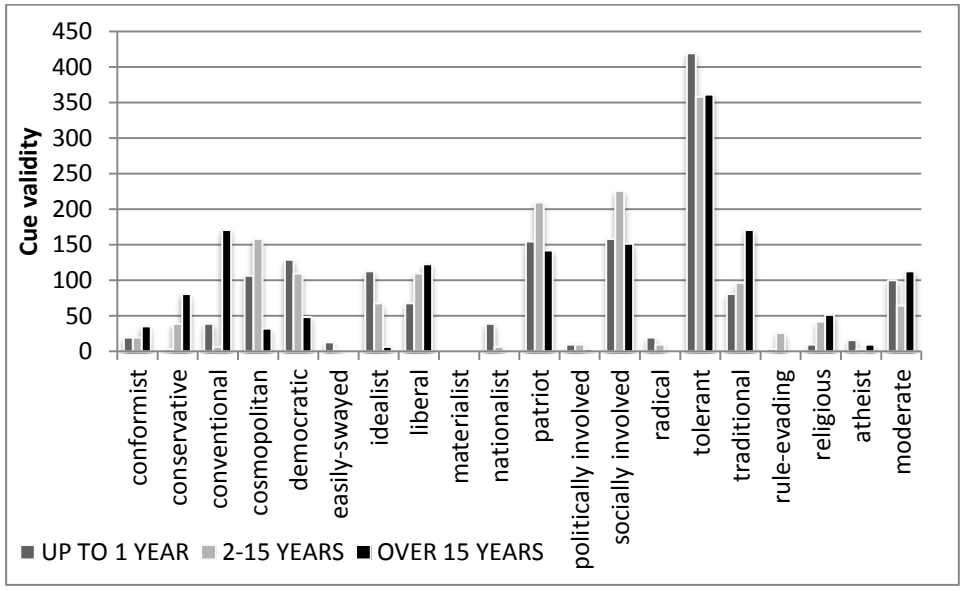

Figure 18. System of beliefs: cue validities

Furthermore, *patriotism* and *social involvement* are favoured by all the partakers. Nevertheless, these attributes are more important for the middle group teachers for whom the features of patriot and social involvement value as high as 210 and 226 respectively while they reach the maximum of 155 and 158 for the youngest and 142 and 152 for the oldest teachers. It goes without saying that five decades of communist rule have left a legacy of social, political, economic and educational problems in Poland, which is clearly displayed in the tendency of the middle group teachers to value patriotism and social involvement more than the two other groups. The middle-aged teachers grew up and matured in communist Poland. Furthermore, they witnessed and more importantly were personally involved in anti-regime fight. They caused the political and social transformation in the country and the ideals of brotherhood of men, mutual help and sharing common fate have been deeply entrenched in their memories. The youngest teachers, on the other hand, have not experienced the evil of totalitarian rule themselves. They have learned the history from their seniors, the result of which is a different value associated with patriotism. The oldest teachers grew after the Second World War. The country was shattered and ruined and this inspired the idea of common effort put in the material reconstruction of the post-war motherland. The romantic ideals of struggle for freedom were replaced by

positivist ideas of organic, basic work. The post-war years were marked by a demographic boom and an enormous effort to rebuild the country. In politics those were the worst years of the Stalinist terror. The post-war generation acquired a dual sense of the word patriotism, namely work for the well-being of the nation and the fight for its independence. Now that they are approaching retirement, they seem to prefer the former to the latter, which is also evident in their high values attached to such *system of beliefs* features as *conventional* and *traditional.* In contrast younger generations choose *cosmopolitan* and *democratic* attitudes. These are currently most fashionable widespread standpoints established and adapted to post-communist society of Poland.

The interrogation of the system of beliefs in identity conceptualisation provides direct access to how cultural and social changes exert impact on individual perceptions and mental representation of everyday objects, events, and experiences.

Creativity appears to be recognized as the key *cognitive ability* (Figure 19) by all the teachers and students alike. Creativity is a metacognitive ability, a kind of transfer that involves applying previously learned knowledge or skills to new situations. Its outcomes are either new, original behaviour or a productive result. Essentially, teachers have two major roles in the classroom, both of which require creativity (i) to create the conditions under which learning can take place; (ii) to impart, by a variety of means, knowledge to their learners: the task-oriented side of teaching. The first is known as the managerial function that involves the search for the proper conditions and means for teaching, and the second the instructional function with the teacher as the instructor. Both skills entail creativity and they have been highly desirable in educational contexts at all times in history. Not surprisingly then, creativity has a high cue validity for all the partakers. Yet, significant differences can be observed in the value attached to creativity by the teachers of different age groups, the highest, equalling 406 in the middle-age group and the lowest equalling 242 in the oldest group.

This tendency might be conditioned by at least two factors. First, the kind of teaching programs that dominate in different periods of educational history contribute to the development of a specific teacher's attitudes and abilities. In communist Poland, the educational system was centralized and curricula were fairly unanimous and conventional in all types of school. The role of the teacher with which close-to-retirement teachers had been familiarized, was to follow the syllabus blindly with no special actions to inspire students expected on their part. As a result, conceptualisation of a teaching process as an implementation of a syllabus would prevail in this group. Secondly, old teachers get depleted of their strength enthusiasm and energy which is required in resource or syllabus development. This syndrome, called teacher burnout, paired with loss of idealism would negatively influence teachers' ability to deal with day-to-day

professional duties and diminish their pedagogical skills. They will remain content with what they have already accomplished.

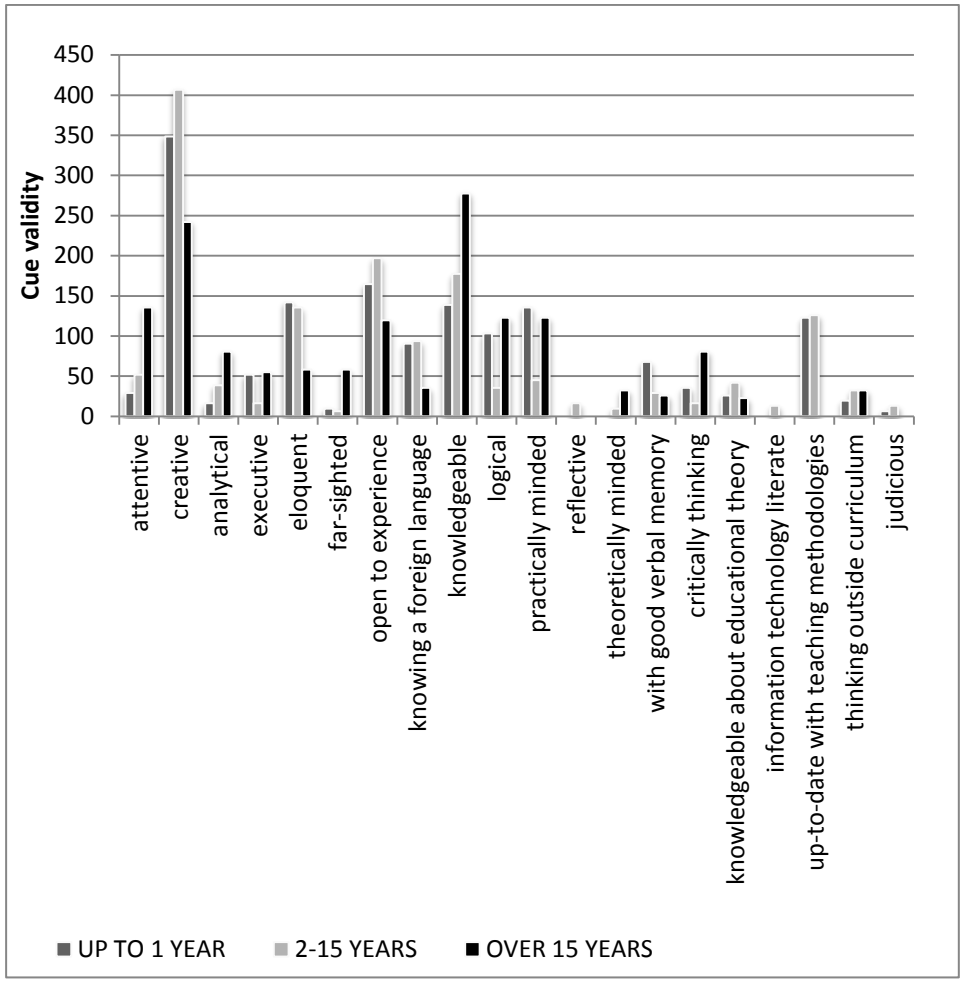

Figure 19. Cognitive abilities: cue validities

Such an explanation is consonant with the patterns of selection of other attributes. The two younger groups of the partakers are concerned about modern teaching methodologies, which indicates that they strive for *professional development*; however, this feature is completely ignored by the oldest group. *Eloquence* is another example of an attribute which is emphasized by the younger teachers who may favour communicative methods of language teaching in contrast to the older ones who might have obtained more experience with such less communicatively oriented approaches as audiolingualism or grammar-translation, the methods that reigned in education in the 1950s through the

1970s. The emphasis on development in the widest sense is reflected in the choice of *openness to experience* attribute. This factor is most prominent in the middle-aged teachers with a validity of 197 and least stressed by the close-to-retirement teachers (validity 119).

According to Wade and Tavris (1993), openness to experience includes such personality traits as imagination, originality, creativity and general interest in various matters or predictability, and adjustment. With this view, an overlap and mutual bidirectional influence between creativity and openness to experience becomes explicit. Outgoing individuals seek new stimulating experiences that broaden their minds and contribute to construction of a larger knowledge base, which, in turn, enables them to draw on these experiences and conceive of new events in a productive, sophisticated and unusual way. Individuals with low scores on openness are assumed to be more practical, conventional and respectful for established ideas. Such distinction is well-justified with other decisions made by the participants. The close-to-retirement teachers attach significant value to *general knowledge* a teacher has rather than to specific expert abilities. Knowledge, understood as a repository of schemata and scripts can be drawn upon in problem solving, which amounts to convergent thinking whereas knowledge understood as a process contributes to divergent thinking and creative uses and behaviours. The former seems to be characteristic of the close-to-retirement teachers who have attained certain social and professional status and follow well-rehearsed routines and codes of behaviour, whereas the latter sense of knowledge is favoured in the younger energetic individuals who strive for social recognition and professional promotion.

The pattern of selection of attributes related to cognitive abilities (Figure 19) runs in parallel to choices made by the teachers in the category of personality (Figure 16) where *outgoingness*, *enthusiasm* and *imagination* have far higher cue validity in the two groups of the younger teachers than the seniors. Moreover these congruencies of cue validities found across the sets of attributes bring further evidence to the thesis that people engage in self-to-prototype matching when resolving the identity question in a specific social, professional context.

In Psychology and the educational sciences, *skills* are frequently contrasted with *abilities* on the criteria of innateness. The former are assumed to arise as a result of physical and cognitive development and learning whereas the latter are conceived of as basically specified by genes and structure of central nervous system with some possibility of modification and accommodation by variable individual experiences and cultural influences. A musical child, for instance, is born with musical ability but it will become a skill only if he or she practices.

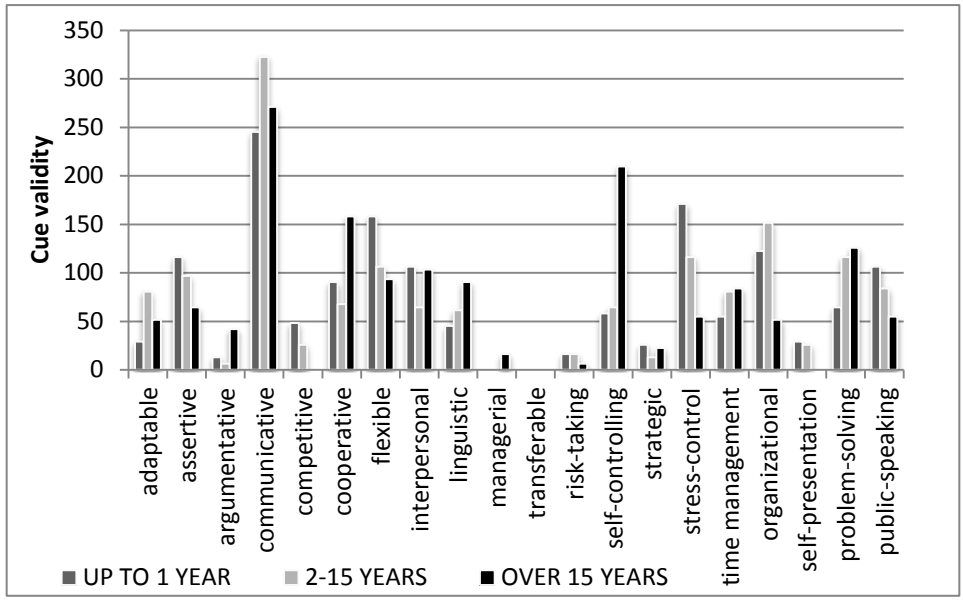

Figure 20. Skills: cue validities

The human skills of linguistic *communication* (Figure 20) are unique in the way they are acquired during ontogeny. The adaptation for symbolic communication emerges in human ontogeny quite predictably across cultures at around 1 year of age in the context of a whole suite of new social-cognitive skills, the most important for language acquisition being the establishment of joint attentional frames, the understanding communicative intentions, and a particular type of cultural learning known as role reversal imitation. In this sense communication is a uniquely human ability which can be contrasted with the unlearned or at least not imitatively learned, dyadic and imperative communicative signals of other species that do not involve mental perspectives at all. Further on, Tomasello (1999) notes that this uniquely human ability drives social-cognitive adaptation, enabling the understanding of the psychological states of others. When this cultural aspect of communication is borne in mind, communication should be understood as a skill rather than ability. In educational settings, perlocutionary acts become far more important than simple locutions or even illocutions. A teacher may not even say a single word (cf. Silent way of FLT) but should exert a long-lasting impact on the minds and behaviours of the students. Hence *communication* is a skill of a teacher not ability, as it involves aspects that can be learned only through practice and rehearsal. Communicative skills in teachers embrace not only communicative competence but also strategic and managerial competence as well as performance. Teachers need to recognize and repair communication breakdowns, they should know how to work around

gaps in one's own and other's general knowledge as well as knowledge of the language and last but not least teachers should competently identify students' misconceptions and current misunderstandings.

As for other skills, *self-control* appears to be very important for the oldest teachers, which may result from the lack of satisfaction derived from their job or emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and the syndrome of burn-out. They did not start as disappointed, disillusioned teachers but began to feel frustrated or angry in reaction to student behaviours, their lack of progress and motivation to learn. This is a self-protective mechanism. If one does not feel appreciated and self-satisfied then feelings of burnout may result in both psychological and physical dysfunction and this may reflected in feelings of exhaustion, depression and irritability, increased use of alcohol and medication, and increased susceptibility to illness. At the interpersonal level this will be reflected in the nature of teacher's involvement with students, colleagues, parents and members of the community. Hence, experience of tensions and difficulties associated with interpersonal involvement may have impact on teacher's behaviour in the classroom. Moreover, the school setting namely, a lack of clarity in the definition of teachers' duties, vague rules and regulations, large classes, poor availability of resources, cramped working conditions and lack of privacy contributes to burnout. Selection of self-controlling skills indicates that this group of teachers have experienced the difficulties with keeping discipline and managing the class and are concerned about the ways to cope with them along with keeping their face.

In contrast, the youngest participants focus on *stress-control* rather than *self-control* and the middle-aged teachers appreciate *organizational skills*. All these skills relate to classroom management since all teachers are expected to deal with learner behaviour problems and delivery of outstanding lessons. Over the years teachers can build up a vast arsenal of ideas and tactics for effectively teaching children. With more experienced teachers routine brings ready-made strategies to tackle discipline problems. Still, with age, teachers find it more and more difficult to tune in to the needs and demands of younger generations and at the same time they work under the constant fear and threat of accountability for each and every action of both own self and that of the pupil. Hence, self-control is so highly evaluated by the oldest teachers.

When a person decides to adopt the teaching profession, he or she during the training phase must realize the demands of this profession. Their first teaching job marks an exciting time ahead but as well as excitement, the student teachers may also feel apprehension, mainly because teachers are in a position of too much responsibility where they are responsible for the actions of a young and unpredictable group of people of almost the same age. In addition many trainee teachers are afraid of being branded as "unable to cope" due to stress,

thus the youngest teachers think of stress controlling skills as highly demanded in school contexts.

The middle-aged teachers are not so enthusiastic and optimistic about teaching. They are aware of the fact that they do not know all the answers to all possible questions, as the young do. They do not view themselves as dispensers of knowledge, rather as facilitators or mangers of knowledge. Hence they appreciate a well-organised lesson so that it provides knowledge as well as entertainment and inspiration for the student. The workload on a teacher will always be great and everything will always be bracketed by a very tight time schedule. A teacher has to be punctual and able to meet the deadline without fail. A teacher has to always face the criticism of parents of the weak students and face the school board with a different set of problems. If a teacher knows how to manage every class and how to address parents and superiors he or she will succeed in the profession. Professional success and promotion count most in the middle of adult development and this is the reason why the knowledge of "how" and organizational skills are highly appreciated by the middle-aged teachers.

Selecting typical skills of a teacher, the participants appear to be guided by the self-to-prototype matching method as they attach importance to the skills that they rely on at a particular stage of career development. Benjamin Franklin said "At twenty years of age, the will reigns; at thirty the wit; at forty the judgment" (cited in Kleiser 2005: 277) and this is clearly the case with how teachers approach teaching at different points of their professional life.

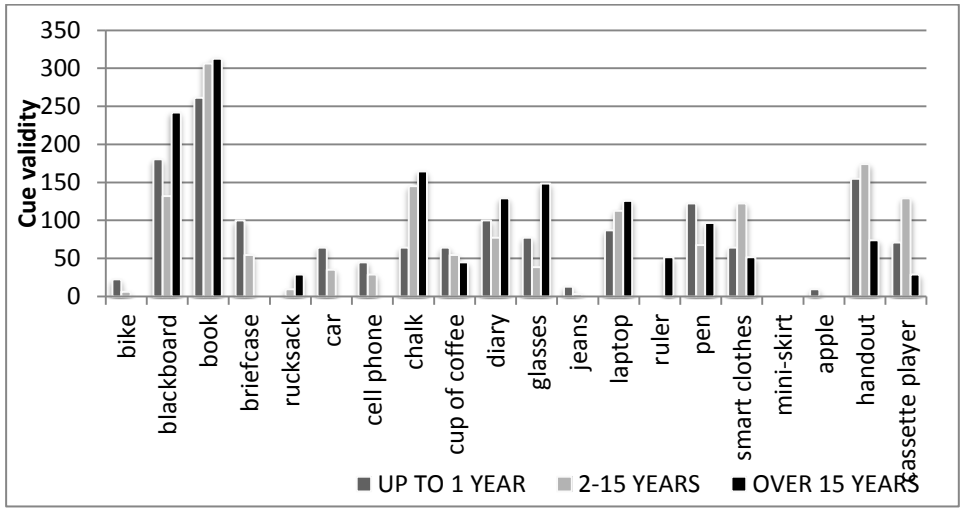

Figure 21. Gadgets: cue validities

Within the category of *gadgets* (Figure 21), there are profound differences of cue validities attached to various things by the three experimental groups. The only

universally accepted tool is *book*. It has the highest validity for all the participants regardless of age, which suggests that schooling is still associated with reading and literacy despite other modern devices and educational strategies that have been implemented recently.

Other values displayed in Figure 21 indicate that technology has become an increasingly influential factor in education. Computers, the internet, and mobile phones are used both to complement established education practices and develop new ways of learning such as online education. This gives students the opportunity to choose what they are interested in learning whereas teachers see ICT as offering new strategies of teaching and learning which would be motivating for pupils. The new technologies have greatly expanded the formats of learning and teaching processes, which had impact on the contrivance that teachers are associated with. *Laptop* has gained cue validity about the level of 100 for all the teachers and surprisingly its value is the highest for the oldest teachers. Hard as it is to explain this phenomenon sociologically, it is indicative of the importance of technology in modern instruction and learning.

In the school classroom of twenty years ago, it would have been comparatively rare to see a computer. A central place in the classroom was occupied by a blackboard whereas pupils sat at desks that stood in rows and faced the blackboard. By the blackboard stood the teacher who was the master of the classroom. The teacher was usually alone with the students, managing the classroom and directing the students' learning. S/he set the agenda and the timing of activities, controlled the classroom, assigned tasks and evaluated the students for their performance. All the tools that teachers had at their disposal to perform these responsibilities were blackboard, chalk and books they could refer to. This seems to be the reason why *blackboard* and *chalk* are regular choices in the group of the oldest teachers. *Chalk* is less popular among the youngest group, which can be explained with more and more frequent use of markers to write on the whiteboard. *Blackboards* have retained their validity for all the experimentees since their mutations like whiteboards or interactive boards are a commonplace in schools. *Chalk* has lost its validity because modern substitutes have been implemented to display writing in the classroom.

To meet the demands of ICT education classroom layout has undergone significant changes. Unlike in the past, often pupils do not face the blackboard sitting in rows and having backs of other pupils in front of their eyes. Rather a community of learners is created. Pupils sit in circles or face computer screens while solving problems. Teachers use interactive boards from where bits of information or explanation and instruction are sent to individual computers to be accessed by students. What is more in the past, the classroom was a permanent group with unchanging membership, and each classroom had a teacher whose entire teaching time was devoted to that classroom. In that situation, teacher's responsibility to all instructional and social aspects in the management of the

classroom was immense. The teacher used to be an authority and a master whose words were to be taken for granted. Disobedient unruly students could be punished and corporal punishment was common place and executed with a ruler, which might explain why the oldest teachers associate *ruler* with an image of a teacher. Today, the only permanent composition is that of the home classroom, but the students keep diverging into other compositions for various activities and class sessions. Hence we must talk about the teacher and her/his various classrooms, and about the classroom and its various teachers. However, what appears to remain constant across these various classrooms is teacher's responsibility for the students' presence and their active participation in the class. Teachers have to take notes on students' presence, performance and achievement in diaries. The significance of *diary* for a teacher's image has been reflected in a high cue validity of this gadget for all the contributors. Keeping written records of students' performance is most important for the oldest teachers where it reaches the value of 129 and least important for the middle-aged group for whom it has validity of 77 whereas for an average student the value reaches 100.

As far as the pure instructional aspects are concerned, teachers are fully responsible for advancing students' learning in the particular content domains in their limited hours of exposure to every classroom. The teacher is the general manager of the classroom society, and her/his task is to lead the entire classroom and all individual students to reach academic success and to reach positive levels of satisfaction and self-esteem. This might be the reason why the two younger groups of the partakers have selected *handout* and *cassette-player*. These handheld devices and digital gadgets support all types of new teaching and learning initiatives and make it easier for the teachers to take responsibility for efficient instruction and students' academic achievement.

The last gadget to be mentioned here is *glasses*, whose cue validity is the highest, equal 148, for the oldest participants and the lowest, equal 39, for the middle-aged ones. These values reflect idiosyncratic choices of the participants. Eye strain is a very common problem nowadays, whether it is from reading, working on a computer, watching TV, driving or any number of other activities and in addition poor sight is a natural part of growing older. Not all individuals are equally susceptible to vision disorders and even in old age not everyone having been exposed to harmful conditions needs any aids to improve their vision. Very often people suffering from vision impairment choose contact lenses rather than glasses, which was rarely possible thirty years ago. All these factors contribute to the alteration of an image of a teacher. In the past academics (teachers belonged to them) spent hours reading books in poor light conditions. As a result most scholars wore glasses and these came to be associated with an image of a professor and by conceptual extension glasses became a symbol of any learned person or even a bookworm. For all the reasons

mentioned above, glasses appear to be an example of a gadget whose selection in the survey has been conditioned by individual characteristics and preferences rather than socio-cultural factors. Yet, the impact of dominant cultural values and norms cannot be ignored since the oldest teachers quite unanimously selected this gadget as being a symbol of a teacher.

All in all, the analysis of the patterns of selection of gadgets relevant for an image of a teacher brings evidence that people engage in self-to-prototype matching while reflecting upon a model that might fit their own identity.

2.7. Teacher prototype in the age groups

To enable comparison of the teacher prototype structure among the variation of the three age groups, graphically presented in Figure 22, cue validities were rounded to full hundreds and sorted according to their values into the following ranges 0-100; 101-200; 201-300; 301-400; 401-500. Three major tendencies are observable in the distribution of these levelled cue validities: (i) a parallel distribution of cue validities of individual features in the three age groups, (ii) a high degree of overlap of cue validities in the trainees and the middle-aged teachers, (iii) smaller dispersion of cue validities in the group of the oldest teachers.

The parallel distribution of the feature cue validities touches upon the fact that prototypes are interpersonal - they represent images we have of the typical other and they are socially constructed – their structure and content reveal social and cultural environments. Hence a teacher prototype is, first of all imparted by the structured society and, secondly, it follows from uniformity of perceptions and action of members of the teacher professional community. A degree of variation in the structure of the teacher prototype has been anticipated, given different social-political realities in which the participants grew, matured and engaged in the teacher profession and the experiences they had as teachers. The argument that prototypes are socially-constituted mental constructs has been justified in the study. The prototype constructs in the age groups do not reveal qualitative differences in their composition, rather variation manifests itself quantitatively, that is, the levels at which feature validities have been weighted are characteristic of a specific age group but their course patterns run parallel. In other words, there are features whose overall relevance for the teacher prototype has been evaluated as low by all the participants, but the level at which the participants started off varies among the age groups. The tendency is that the cue validities of all the features in the group of the oldest participants are lower than the validities found in the two other groups. Yet the course of their growth is similar in the three groups although the validities allotted to the specific features by the oldest participants do not reach the levels of validities assigned by the two younger groups.

Strangely enough, a high degree of overlap in the qualitative and quantitative structures of the teacher prototype can be observed in the two groups of the younger participants, which stands in stark contrast to the initial hypothesis that teaching experience accounts for the differences in the teacher prototype structure. A closer look at the diagram, however, reveals that this sweeping generalisation is misleading. The overlap is complete at a range of features that can characterise any professional in a public institution. Such features as far-sighted, strategic, moral or persevering can describe any person performing a public role, thus they are insufficient to account for the teacher prototype, which requires a description at a more specific, subordinate level of categorisation. What is more, these features are similarly validated by the oldest teachers and the differences in evaluation can be accommodated within the range of 0-100 level of validity.

More disparity is found between the trainees and middle-aged teachers' prototype constructs when a general educational frame along with a classroom frame is considered. Such contextually constrained prototype structure is indicative of a contrastive perspective that trainees and experienced teachers take. The trainees disregard such features as *reflective* or *theoretically-minded* that enhance teacher development and focus more on the features that account for comfort and well-being of the learner (*fair, respectful, interpersonal, moderate, organisational)*, which indicates that the trainees construe of the teacher from the perspective of the learner rather than the teacher. They are concerned and anxious about their adequacy and efficacy in the classroom. Their youthfulness and a naive view of teaching are also reflected in high cue validities of such features as *idealist, loyal, enthusiastic*. In these domains, the middle-aged teachers' views parallel those of the oldest teachers (*problem-solving, flexible, knowledgeable*), which suggests that the experienced teachers are more concerned about student mastery of the topic, management of the teaching situation, teacher self-development and efficacy rather than the organisation of the lesson, class discipline or time management.

Another shared pattern that can be found in the two groups of the younger teachers is a steep rise of the lines displaying cue validities for the three features (*responsible, patient, tolerant*), which might imply that these three features are central in the construction of the teacher prototype. In the group of the oldest teachers, the line does not rise so steeply, which suggests that more features are considered as necessary of the teacher category by these respondents.

Furthermore, in the population of the oldest teachers, the dispersion of cue validities is smaller than those found in the two other groups, that is, there is no one single feature that is central to the construction of teacher prototype, but rather a group of features have similar weightings and thus can be considered prototypical. This, in turn, might imply that the oldest teachers' choices are more moderate and based on wider experience across a variety of educational

contexts. A low-granularity analysis of the distribution of feature cue validities of the teacher prototype shows a high degree of overlap among the three age groups. Therefore to account for variability in the prototype structure across the teacher age groups, a more detailed analysis needs to be conducted.

A fine-grained analysis of variability in the structure of the prototype across the age groups is depicted in Table 1. Because the respondents in the survey were asked to select and rate five features out of twenty in each group, therefore cue validities of five features in each domain are argued to account for feature relevance, whereby those with the highest values are considered most relevant or central in the prototype structure. Secondly, selection of the five central features enables a more detailed, yet clearer qualitative analysis of the prototype structure and subsequently allows for generalisation.

When family resemblance is considered, only subtle differences can be found among the categories constructed by the three groups of the participants. A considerable overlap in the content of the individual sets of features is argued to be conditioned by "the non-arbitrary bodily experiences sustained by the peculiarities of brains and bodies" (Núñez 1999: 56). Given that meaning and thought are based on patterns of sensory-motor experience, and cognitive activities are grounded in, and shaped by, processes of bodily perception and movement, similarity in the prototype structure can be expected. The body is not a self-evident natural concept, but the result of various discourses that construct it. It is a construal, in the sense that different cultures, societies and communities construe many different bodies in various contexts and situations. Similar sensory systems and similar bodies, then, do not guarantee that an individual will construct an image of a body, teacher's body including, which will be identical with that conceived by another person. Rather individuals will construct a schema that is private and distinct as well as communal and general. These varied representations of a person in physical terms will exert impact on extended conceptualisations of their behaviours, actions and states.

Considering the human body as a physiological organism made up of flesh and bones, a teacher in the current study is portrayed as a *middle-aged* or *young woman*. Out of a set of twenty qualities, the majority of the respondents selected gender and age as the two essential features that define a teacher. This physically grounded image of a typical teacher establishes further conditions for how teachers monitor their body states and their ongoing interactions with the environment.

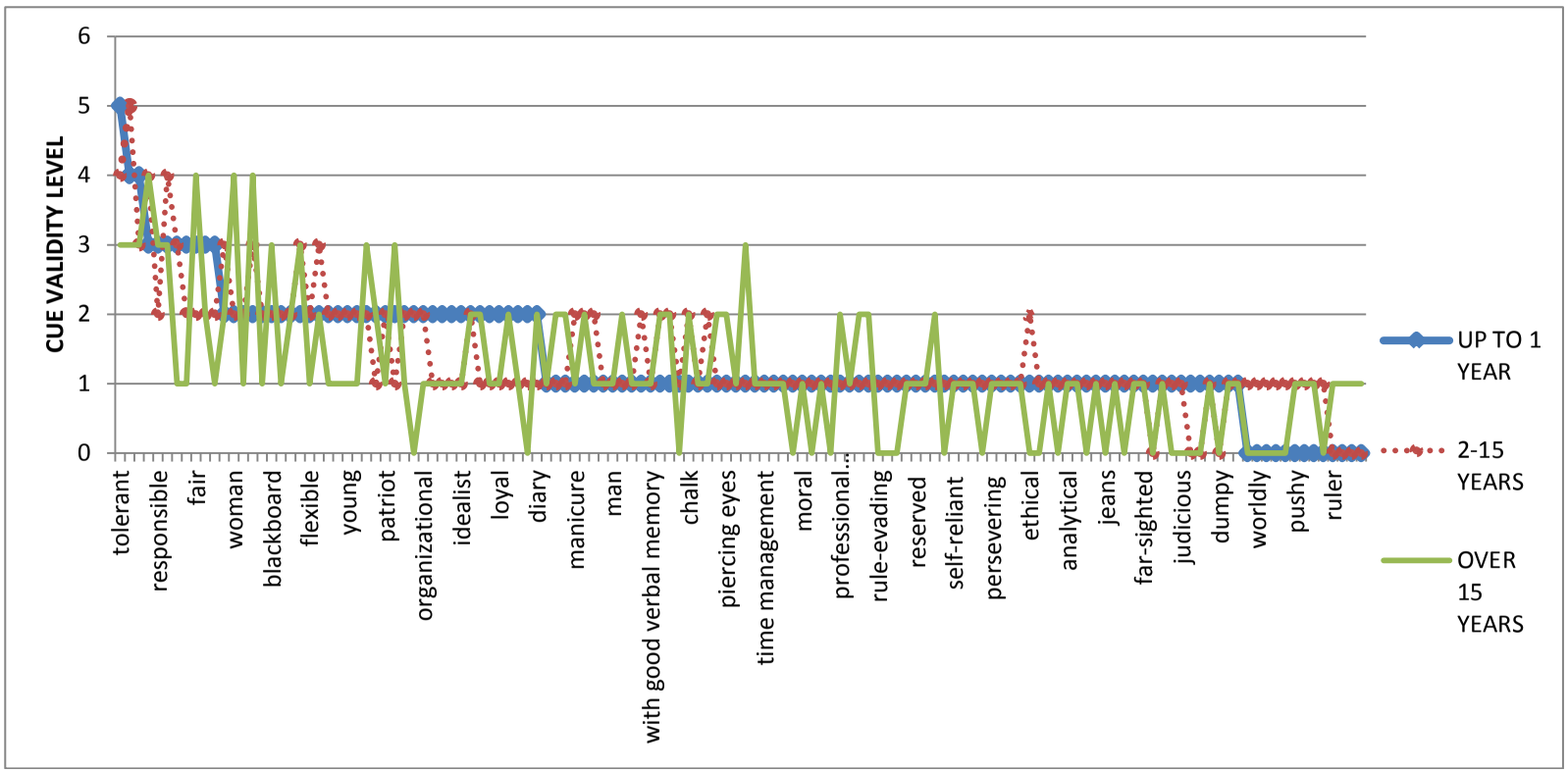

Figure 22. Comparison of feature distribution across the age groups

	UP TO 1 YEAR	2-15 YEARS	OVER 15 YEARS
Physical appearance	Clean-shaven	Middle-aged	Woman
	Woman	Woman	Middle-aged
	Middle-aged	Young	Old-fashioned
	Make-up	Clean-shaven	Piercing eyes
	Young	Make-up	Young
Personality	Enthusiastic	Imaginative	Fair
	Fair	Enthusiastic	Practical
	Honest	Outgoing	Honest
	Imaginative	Fair	Serious
	Practical	Honest	Imaginative
Behaviours	Patient	Patient	Responsible
	Responsible	Student-centred	Patient
	Respectful	Responsible	Professional achievement-oriented
	Student-centred	Polite	Authentic
	Polite	Respectful	Task-focused
System of beliefs	Tolerant	Tolerant	Tolerant
	Socially-involved	Socially-involved	Traditional
	Conventional	Conventional	Democratic
	Patriot	Cosmopolitan	Socially involved
	Idealist	Liberal	Conventional
Cognitive abilities	Creative	Creative	Knowledgeable
	Open-to-experience	Open-to-experience	Creative
	Eloquent	Knowledgeable	Attentive
	Knowledgeable	Eloquent	Practically-minded
	Practically-minded	Up-to-date with teaching methodology	Logical
Skills	Communicative	Communicative	Communicative
	Stress-control	Organisational	Self-control
	Flexible	Stress-control	Cooperative
	Organisational	Problem-solving	Problem-solving
	Assertive	Flexible	Interpersonal
Gadgets	Book	Book	Book
	Blackboard	Handout	Blackboard
	Handout	Chalk	Chalk
	Pen	Blackboard	Glasses
	Briefcase	Cassette-player	Diary

Table 1. Prototypical features of the category "teacher" across the three groups

A culturally construed image of a woman in western societies is that of a mother whose cultural imperative is to sacrifice self for other (Lassen 2009). The mother's life is given meaning because of the life she has given to someone else. Hence an image of a female teacher, which prevails in the study, is that she must give her life to her students (Alsup 2005). If a female teacher decides to make a

decision that benefits herself more than others, she might be labelled uncaring, self-centred, and even cruel.

In recent years, such a "selfless" teacher stereotype has been supported by the mass media (Larsen 2010). It is commonly associated with females who, like a mother, are caring and completely dedicated to their students. This is the teacher who is willing to go the extra mile for her students. She is sensitive to the varying needs of her students. Above all, love of children and of teaching guide her in her work. Larsen argues that:

> The selfless teacher stereotype emphasises the moral and gendered role of the teacher to inculcate in students appropriate moral values and habits to survive in a difficult and dangerous world, bringing us back to the nineteenth-century conception of the good schoolmistress who represented a moral exemplar for her pupils (Larsen 2010: 213).

In the current study, there is an observable insistence on connecting good teaching with emotional and physical devotion, which reminds of how western culture construes motherhood. The cue validities of a *fair*, *patient*, *responsible*, *middle-aged woman* are much higher than those of a *young woman* or a male teacher.

The cue validity of *man* is significantly lower in all the age groups, which might indicate that Polish people, similarly to other western cultures, construe men as bread-winners and warriors, hence male teachers are not expected to give themselves to students nor should they be caring. Rather they are expected to lead their students to victory, to prepare them to be capable of courageous but moral acts.

Further discussion of gender differences in teacher prototype construction is beyond the scope of this book, sufficient to say that the construal of teacher gendered identity is fairly homogenous in all the participants, which can be considered a consequence of powerful gender roles, whereby a teacher is a nurturing and caring mother.

In addition to gender, the chronological age of a teacher comes as another essential feature of the prototypical representation. Chronological age is directly related to teaching experience in the sense that a young teacher lacks in experience whereas a middle-aged teacher is a fully-grown competent professional and old age is not associated with formal teaching at all. Despite the fact that seniority is construed as a season of wisdom in human life, in western societies old people retire and do not actively engage in formal education. Hence, it argued that chronological age of an individual indicates at what stage of professional development one is. Young age implies lack of real teaching experience along with some amount of theoretical knowledge of the subject content and pedagogy. Middle-age entails that a teacher has already had possibilities to reflect upon and restructure their ideas about teaching in a complex way and reorganize them into a new comprhensive clusters of ideas

that can be expressed through a language and real non-verbal classroom behaviours and actions. Chronological age, then indirectly relates to the teacher's identity in that encompases the theoretical and practical knoweldge of the teacher (cf. Kwiatkowska 2005). In the current study, the respondents appear to represent a teacher through the lens of their own age. The youngest group selected *middle-age* and *young* as almost an equally important feature whereas in the middle-aged group *middle-age* has scored much higher. Among the oldest teachers, the cue validity for *young* is much lower than for *middle-age*, which might imply that teaching career starts in youth, continues through middle years and finishes before senility.

The way a teacher's gender and age are conceived of has implications for other aspects of teacher's physical appearance. The two groups of the younger participants selected *manicure* and *make-up* as well as *clean-shaven* as the qualities that contribute to the identification of a teacher, whereas the oldest group selected *old fashioned* and *piercing eyes* as the features of the teacher, which might be interpreted as a manifestation of the self-to-prototype matching. Pre-service teachers' views of the teacher render the ideal of feminine appearance in western cultures that has traditionally included long, flowing hair, light skin, a narrow waist, and little or no body hair or facial hair (Ferrante 2003). The old teachers do not pay attention to their appearance or clothes, which from the student perspective seem to be an integral part of the teacher. The middle-aged are concerned about the external image but the cue validities of these two features are lower than those of age and gender and are also lower than the respective cue validities found in the youngest group. This might imply that teaching experience along with other attributes come to be recognised as an essential feature of the teacher gradually over the course of career development.

Further evidence for that claim is found in the patterns of feature selection in the close-to-retirement group. They are not concerned about fashionable appearance; rather *piercing eyes* suggest that they are focused on what and how much students have learned. Selecting *old-fashioned* as characteristic of the teacher suggests that these respondents have already established a system of beliefs and values they adhere to and are not so much concerned about new ideologies and trends.

Returning to the role of the physical body in prototype construction, the considerations above indicate that the physical body itself as a material thing, which can be described from outside, influences the way people conceive of the teacher. The body becomes the first place of meaning articulation, and its embodied schema is the basic structures that organize meaning. But to fully understand the role of embodied configuration, we have to discuss bodily states that are always, and at the same time, emotional states, infused with feelings and emotions.

Thus to fully account for personal identity of a teacher, we must switch from physical, naturalistic body to a psychosomatic subject and intersubjective contexts in which it exists and acts. It is quite intriguing to notice strong interconnections between a representation of a teacher in physical qualities and their personality features. The youngest contributors think of a teacher as *enthusiastic, fair, honest, imaginative, and practical.* Such a hierarchy of personality features is indicative of their youthfulness, a student perspective on teaching and a gap between their vision of teaching and the reality they will experience during their teaching practice.

The middle-aged teachers value imagination over enthusiasm and perceive an outgoing personality, which is not present among the choices of the youngest, to be more important than fairness or honesty. It seems that with age and increasing classroom instruction experience, teacher's enthusiasm about teaching decreases and more realistic targets come into play. Mundane classroom practice, frequently uninspiring materials, time constraints and making sure that content has been covered have a powerful influence on the conceptions of a teacher and cause tensions and conflicts in the teacher's identity. The contrasts between what teachers aim for and what they experience in the classroom make the experienced teachers come to terms with the realities of teaching and develop strategies to cope with them. The reason why they value imagination over enthusiasm might be that they have to arrange classroom instruction in such a way as to deal with realities up in front.

Further evidence for appraising practicality rather than enthusiasm is brought with the patterns of the feature selection of the oldest teachers. Their enthusiasm about teaching seems to have given way to practical knowledge that informed their practice and served as an interpretative framework through which they make sense of the classroom and they seem to aim at keeping balance between satisfying students' needs and teacher's abilities and opportunities as well as between their goals, emotions and values.

A teacher cannot be conceived of as a body or an individual entity, rather a teacher is an embodied subject that is constituted by affects and emotions and enmeshed in a complex world of intersubjective relationships. Violi notes:

> In order to understand the process of meaning construction [...] it would be quite misleading to look only at the body, without also taking into account the full range of intersubjective practices within which it is created. Meaning seems to emerge as a series of bodily and emotional responses to environmental interactions: a kind of coupling of embodied actions on the part of the individual subject to a wider pattern of intersubjective relations, a process which might be defined as a coupling of subjective and objective components of meaning (Violi 2008: 73).

The subject has its own goals stemming from the interactions with the environment; hence the various meanings derived with the body cannot be described outside of the different discursive practices that define it. Make-up, for

instance, will gain different representations if construed against male or female bodies or against a young or old female body or if viewed through such different situational frames as a school or whorehouse. All concepts including self and identity are indeed sensitive to contexts because people are embodied organisms and they interact with the environment.

The classroom, being an immediate situational context, encourages teachers and students to produce many recursive representations of themselves under a variety of conditions. What these representations have in common is a frame of the classroom which is characterized by a set of predictable activities or events that can be arranged into different yet familiar patterns. A system of classroom discourse frames was developed by Pennington (1999a, b; 2002), where three classroom communicative frames were proposed: the innermost lesson frame, the intermediate lesson support frame and the outermost commentary frame. Each frame is characterised by different types of orientations exhibited by different participants, including their: spatial orientations, orientations to talk, language and, role orientations. Moreover, the outermost (commentary) frame, where mainly vernacular is spoken, is linked to a community discourse frame where mainly the vernacular is spoken as well, whereas the innermost (lesson) frame, where a foreign language is spoken, is 'sheltered' from this influence. The intermediate (lesson support) frame shows the influence of both of these frames in the form of language that occurs.

Depending on the communicative frame, teachers and students can temporarily perform different roles and hence acquire various identities whose performance will be closely related to the space they occupy in the classroom as well as the way they talk and act. Within a lesson frame, for instance, under the guise of a role play participant, a student can be assigned an interviewer role while at the same time s/he can give some of his own (real) opinions, as a reaction to the questions he is asked by other students. Such a role, though ratified (to use Pennington's term) will be secondary in terms of the student's identity as a teacher since the student plays this role temporarily and as a kind of off-course performance.

The example mentioned above shows that the roles, their associated functions and spaces are mutually interactive, but knowledge of this interaction is essential for understanding classroom dynamics. Nevertheless, when classroom is mentally represented, such dynamic configurations of roles and spaces are rarely, if ever at all, considered. Rather, the classroom is the physical arrangement of persons and space that define teacher and student roles, and emphasize what is done in class. Wertsch (1991) claims that classrooms exist as arenas where products (texts, performances) are made, where goals (understanding concepts, learning new knowledge) are accomplished, and practices (planning, sharing, questioning) are engaged in. Within the arena, individuals construct settings by interpreting the arena through their internal

representations of the situation. Thus, while two teachers may work at the same arena (e.g. a school), they may have distinctly different understandings of the school setting based on their own goals, histories and activities within the arena.

With the arena of a classroom, two major ratified roles, that of a teacher and that of a student, are associated whenever a classroom space context is evoked. These roles are closely related to the spaces and physical objects that enable role play. To illustrate, we might imagine a scene in a classroom where a teacher is giving instruction and students are taking notes. The relevant space where the teacher's role is performed is the front of the room, by the blackboard and students' are behind the desks. The instruments that the teacher is using are the articulators, chalk or markers and a board whereas students are using pens and copybooks.

In the present study, several requisites are found to be characteristic of a classroom space. Most participants, regardless of age, selected *book, blackboard* and *chalk* as the key features of teaching. Among the two groups of younger teachers, *handout* was selected as a characteristic teacher's gadget. The differences in individual and group selection patterns that have been found in our study appear to be indicative of diverse settings construed of by the participant teachers. Younger teachers and students appear to focus on activity and collective problem-solving strategies as appropriate settings, in which handouts and modern hi-tech devices are found particularly useful. The senior teachers prefer to teach in more authoritarian, more teacher-centred ways, which is well illustrated with their selection of glasses as a gadget characteristic of a teacher. Glasses are a device that improves seeing and seeing means understanding. If a teacher wears glasses s/he impersonates knowledge, wisdom, and authority. Glasses are externalization of volitional, goal-directed, and tool-mediated action of the older teachers in the social context of the classroom.

The different trajectories that teaching takes in different individuals are indicative of different constructions of the classroom setting and the pressures teachers feel to adopt one to guide their instruction. What seems to constitute an individual teacher's identity, then, is not only an internal environment that they reflexively perceive as their embodied selves. Part of a teacher's identity and, in fact, a part of identity of any person in any circumstances is manifested in an external environment in technology, symbolic culture, institutional symbols, language and other shared social practices. Hence classroom environment and objects like a blackboard, chalk or pen become inherent features of a teacher's identity. Therefore identity is not constrained by the limits of a physical body, does not end where the skin ends, but it reaches beyond the flesh to expand into the outer space and encompass other organisms and cultural artefacts that become its natural extension and manifestation.

Classrooms, in addition to being places for identity construction are scenarios, where teachers and students alike during every class have the chance

to create multiple self-representations. The role of the teacher in this scenario is to structure time and interaction, to design activities, and to organize productive ways of sharing work in progress and receiving feedback. Teachers are considered to occupy a position of power in relation to their pupils in a number of different ways (Cohen 2002). In most societies, an adult is already in a privileged position over a teenager or child. It is teachers who decide how most of a student's time is spent while in their classrooms, teachers who are the voice of authority over classroom discipline and teachers who are the arbiters of what knowledge is legitimate and appropriate for students to learn. The role of the students, on the other hand, is to learn, actively engage in the tasks at hand, ones they create for themselves, and to take responsibility for themselves and their peers to complete the work that needs to be done. Most commonly, the idea of a social role is used to suggest that the way in which a person behaves has more to do with the position and status they occupy within a social system than with their individual dispositions or personality.

Classroom discourse is a form of institutional talk (Drew and Heritage 1992) and as such has its own characteristics, as a result of which interaction patterns may be highly constrained, reflecting the asymmetrical role relationship between teachers and learners and where the teacher generally has responsibility for organising the interaction that takes place there. In our research, for instance, we have found that teachers can give lessons that are very similar in their organisation and yet are somehow very different in what we might call the social affective climate of the classroom (Legukte and Thomas 1991). The beliefs that teachers hold about teaching and learning can be seen to influence the interaction patterns that they set up, and thereby go some way towards accounting for the differences in their classroom behaviour. Definitely some classroom behaviours appear to be typical and framed by the nature of the learning and teaching processes. Hence the behaviours that appear to be anticipated and accepted by the teachers of all ages are *patient* and *responsible*. With other types of behaviour, the discrepancy between the oldest and the younger teachers becomes noticeable.

It seems that the teachers are caught between two competing general approaches that pull them in opposite directions: teacher-centred and student-centred (Cuban 1993), product and process (Emig 1971). The former invest authority in teachers and texts and emphasize formal knowledge that is not open to dispute, hence the senior teachers selected *professional achievement oriented* and *task focused* as typical teaching behaviours. In contrast, the latter invest authority in students and emphasize strategies and means for learning that may be reapplied in new situations in a constructive manner, a result of which is noticeable in the choices of the two groups of the younger teachers, namely in their emphasis on *student-centred, respectful,* and *polite*.

Furthermore, understanding teacher beliefs is fundamental to understanding their classroom behaviours, including the ways in which they interact in the classroom. Johnson points out that "teachers' beliefs have an effect on what teachers do in the classroom insofar as beliefs affect perception and judgement" (1994: 439). Knowing teacher's system of beliefs may inform us why individual teachers may favour certain interaction patterns over others as well as of why certain skills and abilities are evaluated higher. It is clear from our research that all the participants share a concern for good relationships in the classroom and for the fact that their learners should learn. However, their beliefs about how this is to be achieved can be seen to differ in significant ways. Student teachers and middle-aged ones emphasise the creation of a positive affective environment in the classroom (*tolerant, socially-involved*), where learners are interested (*open to experience*), engaged (*creative, organisational*) and enjoying themselves (*tolerant, flexible*). This is the key to motivation and hence learning. In this view the teacher creates the right conditions and the learner learns. The senior teachers, on the other hand, believe that the route to learning is via a well-prepared, competent and professional teacher (*knowledgeable, logical, conventional, creative, problem-solving*) who understands the learners' needs and is able to address them (*attentive, practically minded, cooperative, interpersonal*) thereby striving to ensure that the learning process is constantly moving forward.

The youngest teachers focus very much on the personal, affective side of teaching. Their perception of a teacher, definitely reflecting their student perspective and lack of teaching experience, tends to be based on their perception of learners' wants and interests. Yet, they recognise the unique role teachers play in the classroom and are aware of the tensions the teacher might be faced with in a classroom, which is evident in their highlighting *stress-control* and *assertiveness*. It seems, then, that preservice teachers who have been enveloped in multiple and very often competing traditions of schooling envision a teacher through the framework of institutional discourse. They are aware that there are institutional roles and expectations in the classroom. While recognising these roles they also appear to downplay them in favour of establishing a good working relationship between a teacher and learners.

The middle-aged teachers' beliefs are characterised by a focus on the learning process, which is seen as central to teaching. What emerges here is the idea of a relationship based on roles with certain expectations on both sides as to what constitutes acceptable behaviour according to the role that each party has, learner or teacher. This relationship is fundamental to the learning process and therefore to learner progress.

The close-to-retirement teachers have strong ideas as to what constitutes acceptable roles in the classroom and these roles are defined institutionally and are seen as functional to ensuring that the learning process moves forward. They

imagine that their role is to know their subject and transmit it, as well as be friendly. They believe that learners expect that they have authority in the sense that they have complete mastery of the subject and pedagogy and are able to explain the content and manage the process of learning it.

2.8. Concluding remarks

This chapter has attempted to define the specific features that make up the teacher prototype. Its aim has been to describe a defensible, rather than a definitive, prototype based on the survey carried out in three age groups of trainee and experienced teachers. The rationale for clarifying a notion of teaching prototype has been to account for differences in its content and structure. The results of this research will be further exploited to find whether the teacher prototypes that ensue of this survey are situationally performed in a real classroom discussion.

Definitely, the study shows that the category of "teacher" can be defined as a set of objects perceived to be similar, objects that share some qualities, which is in accord with other studies on teacher prototype (Sternberg & Horvath 1995) as well as general studies of prototypes (Rosch 1973; Rosch & Mervis 1975). In particular, similarity is attested to be an increasing function of shared features and a decreasing function of nonshared features. The analysis of the categories generated in this study shows that a concept of a teacher that comes to be represented mentally is a consequence of situationally embodied as well as culturally embedded cognitions. The body is the first site where self-image takes shape and then is augmented and refashioned by the presence of others as well as the introduction of contextual factors. In essence, it is a factor that allows for the construction of common meanings derived from common situation and enables humans to effectively construct and perform their identities. Furthermore, all representations reflect or retain some remnants of prior attempts.

Furthermore, similarity-based categories tend to be fuzzy on the issue of whether a particular object is a valid category member, which, in turn, suggests that similarity-based categories exhibit a graded structure wherein some category members are more typical exemplars of the category than are others. Multiple and frequent opportunities of experience are essential since any form of representation is approximate; what a person writes or how a person behaves on any one occasion is only tangentially linked to what they intend. In other words, even the common bodily and mental structures do not guarantee identical experiences and meanings that arise in human beings exposed to identical stimuli. Universal embodiment is frequently subject to individual variation and limitation, which further gives rise to unique distinctive processes of knowledge construction. Teachers develop inner visions congruent with the theories and

ideas arising out of their idiosyncratic life experiences and that follow inclinations of the self. Particular events, people, things (even the same ones) can have very different ramifications for one individual compared with another. Plus there exists a vast array of dialectical processes involving social encounters that are ongoing and through which our selves come into being. The ones that matter most frequently include internal conditions, connections to other fields of study, as well as external forces, such as connections to the former teachers or individual school experience.

In particular, different representations of a teacher in the present study could arise due to different experiences individual participants had with their teachers whereby specific instances of teachers are judged as being representative of the whole category. Further evidence for such prior experiences influencing current practice has been brought by Johnson (1994), who found that teachers' instructional decisions were based on images of teachers, materials, activities and classroom organisation generated by their own experiences as L2 learners. In our research, the participants did not explicitly narrate their prior experiences but the working assumption, based on other studies (Johnson 1994; Legkute & Thomas 1991) was that prior experiences of the participants as learners would exert impact on how they represent their identity as teachers and constrain the way they construct and structure their schema of a teacher. As Ting-Toomey (1999: 28) points out:

> No individual person develops a sense of self in a vacuum…Both social identity and personal identity are acquired and developed within the larger webs of culture.

Within these webs are to be found definitions, evaluations and expectations of social identities along with the ideologies that underpin them.

Hence a prototype of a teacher underpinned by a basis of stable cultural constructs is a subject to modification that can be characterised by the addition of new constructs, the subsequent reorganisation of the existing structures to accommodate them, and the existence of temporary constructs which are associated with different clusters of constructs at different times of culture development, as well as individual professional development. Therefore variability in the structure of the prototype can be explained when individual social-cultural background is considered since cultures may hold different views of the nature of the self and identity.

The study has revealed that categories seem to be linked by a web of similarities. We map our world by putting together diverse particulars into a single category and relating the categories they create. Yet, it should be noted that the teachers at different stages of their professional life-course develop a coherent view of what it means to be a teacher. Diversity in the mental representations of their professional identity can be attributed to a person's perception of and reaction to an event that becomes a part of a larger social/cultural setting.

Human cognition is situated in and develops through activities unique to the societies in which they have been constructed during their collective histories. Hence, a conceptualisation of a teacher cannot be understood without appreciation of historical processes as dialectical relationships between continuity and change and the reproduction and transformation of social/cultural constructs and relationships. It is essential to recognize that teachers' identities are constructed in particular social and institutional settings and therefore are not neutral but constitutive of those settings.

What has been concluded from the above research resonates with Sternberg and Horvath's views (1995) and directly relates to Rosch's investigations (1978). Firstly, different members of a category may resemble the category prototype on different features, for instance a tolerant teacher versus a fair teacher or a practical teacher versus an enthusiastic one.

Secondly important property of a prototype model is the differential weighting of features in the computation of the overall similarity to the prototype. Hence two equally valid members of the category may resemble each other much less than they individually resemble the prototype. Thus, a young and a middle-aged teacher may both be categorized as teachers of certain age, even though their resemblance to one another is weak.

Finally, the features that make up a category prototype may be correlated, that is, for some the disposition toward reflection will be central to teaching, for others, subject content knowledge will be indispensible.

2.9. Implications

The main implication of this chapter is that teaching can be viewed as a natural category, structured by similarity. By viewing the teacher as a prototype, we can distinguish trainees from the experienced ones in a way that acknowledges diversity, and is independent of a set of individually necessary and jointly sufficient features of a teacher.

A second implication is that prototypical view concerns the tendency for features to be correlated and the possibility that a smaller number of components can be used to describe the composition of a category. As revealed above, certain features (*bald, egocentric, reticent, inner directed*) have been found irrelevant for each participant of the survey whereas most valid (necessary) features (*book, responsible, communicative, fair, honest, woman, student-centred*) tend to form clusters of features with a medium cue validity when measured individually, but whose overall value exceeds the value of the features that have high individual validity (*tolerant, creative, patient*) but whose value as a bunch is low because they form nuclear clusters of maximally three features.

Finally, the prototype view provides insights into social cognition related to teaching. It can accommodate a multitude of prototypes, based on people's

implicit theories of teaching based on different samples from the population of teachers, and each reflecting the particular set of experiences of an individual or community of practice.

The intention of the study has been to provide a generative potential for the conceptualization of teaching in both research and practice. In practice, it is the author's hope that the prototypical view may suggest new approaches to the recruitment, training and assessment of teachers, as well as the evaluation of systems directed towards these activities. In research, it can be a call for both validation and modification of the teacher prototype. Specifically, research should be directed at examining those features that are important in people's judgment of the teacher status, how these features are weighted and combined, and what feature structure tells us about the content and structure of the teacher category.

CHAPTER 3

IDENTITY PERFORMANCE IN INTERACTIONAL CONTEXTS

3.1. Introductory remarks

The objective of this chapter is to pursue the nature of identity construction empirically, using conversational data. The research presented in Chapter 2 has been dominated by the cognitivist assumptions about prelinguistic existence and origins of mental categories, the self and identity amongst others. Cognitive Linguistics has up until now dealt mostly with off-line phenomena. As Turner et al. (1997) argue: "identity is based around self categorisations which are essentially psychological, subjective individualized mental processes that exert an influence on both thought and overt behaviour". Although it is acknowledged that a person may categorise themselves differently in different situations, the process is thought to be mechanical and automatic rather than interactive. Turner et al., claim:

> The functioning of the social concept is situation specific: particular self-concepts tend to be activated ('switched on') in specific situations producing specific self-images (Turner et al. 1987:44)

In cognitive theory, then, conceptual systems and knowledge representations are resultant of mental mechanisms, circumstances and situational variables that operate in a kind of involuntary routine, which Edwards (1998: 31) refers to as a "mechanical variables-and-effects model".

A post-structural conception of discourse, drawing upon the work of Foucault (1972), moves away from a cognitive linguistic approach that concentrates solely on language as a direct reflection of the world, towards a critical analysis of the dynamic relationship between ideas and practices. In this way, discourses offer us frames and structures through which we can view, experience and make sense of the social world. They also constrain how we experience and understand the world, limiting our understanding to legitimate, official ways. As Larsen (2010: 209) states: "discourses produce or construct what we come to think of as commonsense truths". This process of truth construction relates to the idea that identities are produced through discourse. Similarly, teacher identities are discursively constructed through the dominant messages and narratives that people hear and tell about themselves and others (Clandinin and Connelly 2000; Weedon 1997).

Hence, quoting Bergmann (2004: 34), we can say that "the construction of social reality can be observed in the communicative processes and situational practices of everyday life" while "research must analyse its social objects within the timescale in which life takes place." The processes of self-categorisation and

categorising others are also grounded in dominant discourses. In categorising themselves and others, people must know the content of the categories they use, as well as the way to use them and the reasons for getting them activated, which is not addressed within the cognitive science paradigm.

In a similar vein, Bruner states:

> [A] 'person's' knowledge is not just in one's own head, in 'person solo,' but in the notes one has put into accessible notebooks, in the books with underlined passages on one's shelves, in the handbooks one has learned how to consult, in the information sources one has hitched up to the computer, in the friends one can call up to get a reference or a 'steer', and so on almost endlessly (Bruner 1990: 106).

Crafton and Kaiser (2011: 115) add:

> The language we use signals the meanings we construct; the quality of our discourse determines the quality of our knowledge and how situated identities are shaped. Those meanings move beyond the content embodied in an idea to our very being – we learn who we are and who we can become through the discourse communities to which we belong.

Hence, language needs to be investigated not as a set of idealized forms independent of their speakers or their speaking, but rather as situated practices in which speakers jointly with other interlocutors, struggle to construct meanings.

In line with the aforementioned assumptions, this chapter aims to examine how self-concepts are realized in interaction, to establish the degree of realization, and investigate the linguistic strategies/tools that are used to perform discursive identities. The methodological frameworks that are to be drawn upon in this chapter to explain how identity is constructed through the variety of symbolic resources used in interactional contexts are Membership Categorisation Analysis (Sacks 1972a, b; 1974; 1992; 1995) and Positioning Theory (Davis and Harré 1990; Van Langenhove and Harré 1994; Harré and Van Langenhove 1999) including Interactional Storytelling Analysis (Bamberg 1997; 2004a, b, c; 2005a, b; 2006; 2009; 2011a, b, c; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008; Bamberg et al. 2007; De Fina 2003; De Fina et al. 2006; De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012; Fludernik 2007; Georgakopoulou 2006; 2007; Georgakopoulou & Bamberg 2005)) and Community of Practice Theory (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998; 2010).

Membership Categorisation Analysis is concerned with how conversationalists use conceptual identity and membership categories to project and perform various forms of local, situated identities. Positioning Theory describes patterns of recurring social relationships - positions - as an interactionally accomplished project of a person. Interactional Storytelling Analysis presents how, through storytelling, narrators can produce and recycle descriptions and evaluations of themselves and others, making identity aspects more salient at certain points in the story than others (Georgakopoulou 2002). Finally, the concept of the Community of Practice can be applied to show how

people engage in certain practices to learn and therefore enhance their own practices or to enhance competences of other members of the community.

What unites these methodological approaches is the assumption that discourse is a constituent in identity creation, that is, identity is performed with language rather than prior to language and constructed in interaction with other people and institutions. As Bucholtz and Hall note:

> Identity inheres in actions, not in people. As the product of situated social action, identities may shift and recombine to meet new circumstances. This dynamic perspective contrasts with the traditional view of identities as unitary and enduring psychological states or social categories (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 376).

Such a view of identity enables a researcher to see not only "an 'essential', cognitive, socialised, phenomenological or psychic phenomenon that governs human action" (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 4) but also how this prototypical identity gets realized in interaction and how versions of identity are accomplished, disputed, imposed, resisted, managed and negotiated in discourse. Hence, it enables the researcher to "investigate the micro details of identity as it is shaped from moment to moment in interaction" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 591). Therefore, rather than treating identity as an objective, pre-given fact, it will be regarded as a sum of concerted social achievements which occur in everyday life in varied interactional contexts.

3.2. Membership Categorisation Analysis

Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) has its roots in the work of Harvey Sacks (1972; 1974; 1984; 1992; 1995) who addressed the way in which categorisations rely on such social categories as policeman, mother or deviant, and how these social categories might be organized into collections, known as Membership Categorisation Devices (MCDs).

> My attention shall be exclusively limited to those categories in the language in terms of which persons may be classified. For example, the categories: 'male', 'teacher', 'first baseman', 'professional', 'Negro', etc., are the sort I shall be dealing with. Frequently such 'membership' categories are organized, by persons of the society using them, into what I shall call 'collections of membership categories'; categories that members of society feel 'go together (Sacks 1966: 15-16 cited in Jayyusi 1984: 212).

Sacks (1972a) argues that analyses of talk-in-interaction have shown patterned regularities, which he termed "apparatus" or "machinery". This machinery is not the actual categories that members use but rather what allows the phenomenon, whatever it is, to be done. Members actively construct social reality, and more importantly, they collaboratively make social order happen in their unfolding sequences of talk. Participants in everyday interactions categorise each other as certain sorts of members of society. What MCA analysts aim to do is to

explicate how people come to recognize themselves and others as certain sorts of people and members of a certain community of practice, and how this identification is a resource for members in their dealings with each other.

MCA has developed into a coherent framework that includes a number of rules of application. Stokoe argues, for example, that categories are "inference rich" (Stokoe 2003: 278), which is to say that "a great deal of the knowledge that members of a society have about the society is stored in terms of these categories" (Sacks 1992: 40-41). Stokoe (2003 after Tainio 2002) gives an example of the category of "wife", with which "being heterosexual" and "running a household" can be inferred.

In addition, every category carries a set of activities, predicates and obligations that are associated with the category, but only some of the features are salient, i.e. interactionally relevant for a given performance. Using the classic example from Sacks (1972; 1992) "The baby cried, the mommy picked it up", the idea of the Membership Categorisation Device can be neatly explained. Sacks contends that we understand the "mommy" as the "baby's mommy" because they are members of the same family. The basic idea is that if we can hear the categories, "mommy" and "baby", as belonging to the device: "members of a family". We may say that picking up their babies is a category bound activity of mommies, something mommies are expected to do. As Widdicombe (1998: 53) puts it:

> The fact that categories are conventionally associated with activities, attributes, motives and so on makes them a powerful cultural resource in warranting, explaining and justifying behaviour. That is, whatever is known about the category can be invoked as being relevant to the person to whom the label is applied and provides a set of inferential resources by which to interpret and account for past or present conduct, or to inform predictions about likely future behaviour.

In a similar vein, Baker (2004: 174) argues that we need to look for "the activities associated with each of the categories in order to find out the attributions that are made for each of the categories". Attributions may be explicitly pronounced or just hinted at, "indicating the subtlety and delicacy of much implicit categorisation membership work".

Antaki & Widdicombe (1998: 2) add:

> Membership of a category is ascribed (and rejected), avowed (and disavowed), displayed (and ignored) in local places and at certain times, and it does these things as part of the interactional work that constitutes people's lives.

Not only activities, or actions, may be bound to categories, but also a wide range of characteristics. Not only can we conceive of "mommies" as "picking up babies", but also as being of a certain age, of having certain kinds of knowledge, and so forth.

Moreover, categories can be "duplicatively organised" (Stokoe 2003: 278), which means that they can be treated as a unit. For instance, "mommy"

and "baby" go together as part of the same family. Similarly, categories often sit together in paired relationships that Sacks called Standardised Relational Pairs (SRPs), such as "mommy" and "daddy", "husband" and "wife", "teacher" and "learner", each with duties and obligations in relation to the other.

The deployment of the term "mommy" or "baby" becomes an effective way of drawing category boundaries around who does and who does not count as legitimate members of that category according to a current speaker, in the current interaction. In this way, linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions. In its most basic sense, a linguistic form can be an index that depends on the interactional context for its meaning, such as the first-person pronoun *I* (Silverstein 1976). The concept of indexicality involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings (Ochs 1992; Silverstein 1985). Edwards (1998: 19) writes:

> By selecting one rather than another [identity category], speakers can perform and manage various kinds of interactionally sensitive business, including their motives and reasons for doing things and saying things. …As always, for both persons and situations, if they did not *have to be* described that way (or described at all), then the way they *are* described can be examined for what it might specifically be doing.

Watson (1994), in turn, suggests expanding the "collections" or the shared "stock of common-sense knowledge" to incorporate sequential aspects of conversation, that is, sequentially organised categories such as caller-called. Through this approach, "turn generated categories", such as "caller-called", are seen to display similar characteristics to that of membership or social categories. For, although the categories "caller-called" are sequentially embedded, they do not exist only at this level since interactants are orientating to whom they are calling or talking. Extending this notion, it is possible to conceive of references to such sequential actions as questions and answers (i.e. adjacency pairs) as providing further examples of members, and analysts, utilizing categorial aspects within a sequential structure. So "although questions and answers are sequential actions they may also be seen as categories-in-action" (Fitzgerald and Housley 2002: 582), in the sense that, in carrying out the action, that is, producing an utterance in the form of a question, the speaker is not just occupying the sequential slot of questioner, but is also producing the question for a particular audience in an interactional environment permeated with associated predicates and potentially realizable linguistic forms.

Identity categories are not pre-existent mental, contextually-independent entities; rather discourse works to define events, and make situations relevant by the kinds of categorisations it deploys. As Pennycook notes:

> Taken-for-granted categories such as man, woman, class, race, ethnicity, nation, identity, awareness, emancipation, language or power must be understood as

> contingent, shifting and produced in the particular, rather than having some prior ontological status (Pennycook 2007: 39).

Language users orient to local identity categories rather than to dominant discourse categories. Identity emerges as a local category through the temporary roles and orientations assumed by participants, such as evaluator, joke teller or engaged listener. Such interactional positions may seem quite different from identity as conventionally understood; however, these temporary roles, no less than larger sociological and ethnographic identity categories, contribute to the formation of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in discourse. Although the interactional positions that social actors briefly occupy and then abandon as they respond to the contingencies of unfolding discourse may accumulate ideological associations with both large-scale and local categories of identity, these ideological associations, once forged, may shape who does what and how in interaction, though never in a deterministic fashion. Analyzing what people are doing when they talk reveals that they assign categories to themselves and to others, and these categories are not only mental concepts but they are verbal, that is, they can be aligned with specific lexical forms to further stipulate and modify relevant identifications in local contexts.

3.3. Positioning Theory

Positioning Theory is an interactionist approach to identity construction as a situated project. The concept of position and positioning was introduced by Davies and Harré (1990) and appears to have origins in marketing, where positions refer to the communication strategies that allow certain products to be placed in a market among their competitors. In the social sciences, the concept of positioning was used for the first time in a text by Hollway (1984) who analyzed the construction of subjectivity in the area of heterosexual relationships. The use of positioning comes from this author and is characterized by its explanation of positions as relation processes that constitute interaction with other individuals.

Current approaches to the concept of positioning draw on two different interpretations. The more traditional view explains positions as grounded in dominant/master discourses, which is cultural contexts which are viewed as providing the social locations where subjects are positioned (Bamberg 2005a; Davies and Harré 1990; Hollway 1984). According to this approach, subjects maintain a quasi-agentive status, since they pick a position out of the pool of culturally-supplied alternatives. Seen from this perspective, positions are resources that subjects can choose and practice before they become their personal linguistic repertoires (Bamberg 2005a).

An alternative perspective elaborates on Butler's (1990) view of performing identities in acts of "self-marking" (Bamberg 2005a: 224). Her view

highlights self-reflection, self-criticism, and agency. It combines the elements of the being-positioned orientation, with its relatively strong emphasis on cultural and situational context and a more agentive notion of the subject positioning itself. Korobov and Bamberg argue that:

> there are two common ways of conceptualizing 'positions'. The more traditional, Foucauldian view is to see 'positions as resources with an 'off-the-shelf' life – that is, as grounded in master narratives, cultural discourses, texts, institutional norms, etc…The other more ethnomethodological view of 'positioning' that we adopt…begins with a view of positions as interactively drawn-up, resisted, and amended by participants (Korobov & Bamberg 2007: 257).

The traditional position, then, appears to be deterministic because it provides cultural, historical, cognitive and discursive boundaries on the subject's identity construction. The other allows for an active construction of identities with the use of resources provided by the discourse, which are agentively selected and managed by the subjects involved. Davies and Harré (1990: 45) claim that "the constitutive force of each discursive practice lies in its provision of subject positions", that is, within certain discursive practices certain subject positions are relevant to particular participants because of the vantage point from which they see both the world and the interaction in terms of concepts, images, metaphors and story lines. Subject positions incorporate not only the conceptual repertoires of the participants but also locations within which these repertoires can be realized, which gives a potential of choice for the subjects whose local positions are partly determined by dominant discourse. In a similar vein, Bamberg (2005a: 224) states that:

> Being positioned' and 'positioning oneself' are two metaphoric constructs of two very different agent-world relationships: the former with a world-to-agent direction of fit, the latter with an agent-to-world direction of fit. One way to overcome this rift is to argue that both operate concurrently in a kind of dialectic as subjects engage in narratives-in-interaction and make sense of self and others in their stories.

One's identity shifts depending upon the positions made available within one's own and others' discursive practices. It is not understood as an *a priori* given concept, but rather as an interactively and situationally achieved target. As Davies and Harré observe:

> An individual emerges through the processes of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate (Davies and Harré 1990: 46).

Korobov and Bamberg (2004) note that the discursive resources are not provided in advance either but rather constructed in a more bottom-up and performative fashion.

> This coming-into-existence of identity positions in discourse is what is primarily central in our contribution to development, discursive psychology is a fully epistemological project, not an ontological one. As such, it does not attempt to explain the status of things like 'minds', nor does it advance the spurious argument that minds simply get 'produced' or 'revealed' in talk (Korobov & Bamberg 2004: 229).

Positioning analysis avoids the view of subjects as simply acting out their pre-established selves and identities. Rather, subjects are argued to agentively construct their situated positions, and as a result, their individual sense of self is called into existence.

Davies and Harré (1990) claim to have developed the notion of positioning as a contribution to the understanding of personhood, hence making a direct claim for its relevance in the research on identity. In particular, they argue that "the very same person experiences and displays that aspect of self that is involved in the continuity of a multiplicity of selves" (Davies and Harré 1990: 47).

Seen from the perspective of positioning analysis, identity appears to be a dynamic and contextualized process where personal and community beliefs and practices intertwine and where a subject seek to "legitimate itself, situated in language practices and where "world- and person-making take place simultaneously" Bamberg (2000: 763). Furthermore, Bucholtz and Hall argue:

> different kinds of positions typically occur simultaneously in a single interaction. From the perspective of the analyst, it is not a matter of choosing one dimension of identity over others, but of considering multiple facets in order to achieve a more complete understanding of how identity works (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 593).

In other words not all aspects of the complex identity category are equally relevant in different situations. Hence some identities will be overtly labelled or described, others will be implied in the content of what the participants say or indirectly attended to by the speakers, yet others will be completely irrelevant for the purposes of the ongoing interaction and hence ignored by the interactants. Some social identities relate to enduring social categories, such as ethnicities, religions, or nationalities. Other social identities relate to dynamic groups, such as sports teams or clubs, in which membership is not always enduring.

With the analysis of positioning as a discursive process, we can see how selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced interactions; the aspects of which are either highlighted or downplayed. Positioning analysis thus attempts to link two approaches (Bamberg 1997: 336): "how people attend to one another in interactional settings" (cf. Davies and Harré 1990) and "the analysis of what the language is referentially "about", namely sequentially ordered (past) events and their evaluations" (cf. Labov 1997). To do so, positioning analysis makes "the

interactive site of storytelling the empirical ground, where identities come into existence and are interactively displayed" (Bamberg 2004a: 136).

3.4. Narrative in the study of identity

The close link between narrative and identity construction has been addressed and illustrated many times now, and many researchers in the field (Brockmeier & Carbaugh 2001; De Fina 2003; De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012; Georgakopoulou 2006; 2007; Linde 1993; Thornborrow and Coates 2005) draw on this paradigm to investigate identity under construction. De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008: 276) argue that "narrative is a privileged communication mode for making sense of the self". It has been even suggested that the ability to think in a narrative way is an innate, unique capability of the human species similar to Chomsky's language faculty, but even more significant for our survival. The truth is that it is typically in narratives that people make sense of "who we are and how we got that way" (Linde 1993: 3). And Thornborrow and Coates (2005: 15) observe "if we do not become story-tellers, in a very important sense we cannot become fully human". Moreover, Davies and Harré (1990: 49) argue that every conversation is a discussion of a topic carried out with the use of a variety of linguistic resources, one of which is "the telling of, whether explicitly or implicitly, one or more personal stories whose value for the participants lies in that aspect of the local expressive order which they presume is in use and towards which they orient themselves". One's beliefs about the sorts of persons, including oneself, who are engaged in a conversation are central to how one understands what has been said. The interpretation of any utterance on a particular occasion will depend on that understanding.

Thus the relevance of the study of narrative for the research on identity becomes fairly clear. This does not mean that analysts have arrived at a single blueprint for narratives. On the contrary, different disciplines with their different concerns have developed a variety of models of narratives that are either elicited in specific situations or arise spontaneously as part of everyday interaction. Inevitably, the narratives delivered and collected in these two contexts vary in predictable ways. Currently, narratives are divided into two main categories, namely big and small stories (see discussion in Bamberg 2007; Georgakopoulou 2006). Big stories focus on past events of the narrator which are often elicited through sociolinguistic research interviews while small stories (Georgakopoulou 2006; 2007; De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012) are typically short, emerge during interactions and are often largely co-constructed by different participants.

Despite being conceived as different types of a narrative pattern the two are still recognised, though by no means unanimously (cf. Bamberg 2007; Georgakopoulou 2006), as belonging to the same genre, which implies that they must share some universally acknowledged generic qualities. Among many

criteria proposed to distinguish narrative from non-narrative patterns, the dimension of temporal ordering or sequentiality appears to be essential to the characterization of a text as narrative. De Fina (2003), for instance, argues that:

> essentially, narratives are texts that recount events in a sequential order. Even when sequentiality is conceived in terms of casual connections, there is a temporal aspect to it since events that generate other events are presented as preceding them temporally (De Fina 2003: 11).

Genette adds that "one will define narrative without difficulty as the representation of an event or of a sequence of events" (Genette 1982: 127). Whereas Ricoeur takes "temporality to be that structure of existence that reaches language in narrativity, and narrativity to be the language structure that has temporality as its ultimate reference" (Ricoeur 1981: 165). Ochs and Capps have also pointed out there is a bias in conventional narrative analysis for narratives with

> a coherent temporal progression of events that may be reordered for rhetorical purposes and that is typically located in some past time and place. A plotline that encompasses a beginning, a middle, and an end, conveys a particular perspective and is designed for a particular audience who apprehend and shape its meaning (Ochs and Capps 2001: 57).

What this definition emphasizes are: a coherent temporal progression and an audience at which the narrative is targeted. Both temporal and cause-effect sequences are major elements of the narrative since they contribute to the order in the plot and ultimately to the coherence of the story. In consequence, a well-constructed narrative is expected to display a sequential development of the action as well as the characters.

In the modern literary narrative, neither a chronological nor a causal sequence is demanded to attain the coherence of the story, though. Moreover, a temporally ordered sequence of events could be a list rather than a story, and indeed, many authors feel the need to add something to a bare representation of a sequence of events to turn it from a thumbnail characterization into a fuller definition (De Fina 2003). In consequence, time in narrative is understood primarily as a principle governing its organization and secondarily as a tool that allows for meaning making and interpretation of the events.

Aside from possessing a temporal order, narratologists (Bal 1985; Brewer 1985; Fludernik 2007; Genette 1980; Labov 1972; Labov and Waletzky 1967/1997; Polanyi 1985) argue that a prototypical narrative contains an element "of rupture or disturbance in the normal course of events, some kind of unexpected action that provokes a reaction and/or an adjustment" (De Fina 2003: 12). This unexpected event provokes reactions on the part of the characters in the story, as well as on the part of the audience, so that the significance of the story is obvious; they are the reactions to account for why the story is told. Hence a successful story is the one that recounts an interesting event, that is, one

whose tellability is high. According to Polanyi (1985), highly tellable stories, both in everyday talk and in literature, are those that present dramatic events, out of the ordinary occurrences, unexpected developments or resolutions. De Fina (2003) gives the following definition of narrative in a nutshell:

> Prototypical narratives, or stories, are narratives that tell past events, revolve around unexpected episodes, ruptures or disturbances of normal states of affairs or social rules, and convey a specific message and interpretation about those events and/or the characters involved in them (De Fina 2003: 14).

However, in the following lines, she admits that narratives vary according to structure, content type, social function, and interactional organization.

Gergen (2009: 37) argues that "establishing a valued endpoint" is a key feature of discourse narrative:

> An acceptable story must first establish a goal, an event to be explained, a state to be reached or avoided, an outcome of significance - or more informally, 'a point'… The selected endpoint is typically saturated with value, that is, understood to be desirable or undesirable.

The view is shared by MacIntyre (1977: 456) who argues that "narrative requires an evaluative framework in which a good or bad character helps to produce unfortunate or happy outcomes." In this sense, the need for moral evaluation plays the role of sedimentation in the story, the role that is regularly performed and attained through temporal-causal sequencing. It is also clear that this demand for a valued endpoint introduces a strong cultural component into the story, which, in turn, dictates the kinds of events that can subsequently figure in the account. As a result, the pool of events to be selected to a story is greatly reduced by establishing the endpoint. The ultimate choice of events is, however, performed by the teller who, through a subjectively conducted selection of events, aims at specific culturally-constrained and personally settled goals.

In contrast to neatly-organized literary narratives, discursive narratives display one major characteristic, namely sense-making, which contributes both to the coherence of the story and to its situational relevance. Weick (1995: 6) describes it as follows:

> Sensemaking is about such things as placement of items into frameworks, comprehending, redressing surprise, constructing meaning, interacting in pursuits of mutual understanding, and patterning.

Discursive narratives that arise spontaneously in ordinary conversations cannot be so neatly organized on a chronology and cause axis since they "build accounts of life events" (Agar 2005: 25) and they are "constructed out of lived experience, without a clear sense of a beginning or end, but with a clear interest in guessing why something happened and how what happened might affect the very near future" (ibid.). Thus, the major criteria for living story construction is the interactional goal the teller aims at in a specific situation, whereas traditional

narrative appears as an artefact of the author's mind. According to Ochs and Capps,

> [s]table narratives that lack authenticity are ultimately vulnerable to conscious or unconscious resistance; alternatively, authentic narratives that promote possibility and relativity may render one unable to choose among possible courses of action or diverse ways of thinking about life experience (2001:17).

In identity studies, then, a living narrative approach appears more relevant since it characterizes narrative as a mode of communication, a resource for cognition, and a means of personal development. As Labov (1972) argues, conversational narratives, or natural narratives, as he calls them, do not necessarily only serve the purpose of telling a good story; they additionally – and often primarily – have the function of protecting face. Whereas Fludernik (2007: 260) notes that "natural narrative creates and elaborates an image of the self which the narrator wants others to recognize as his or her character or personhood. Narratives construct selfhood as individuality and functional role".

Bamberg (1997; 2000; 2004) and Georgakopulou (2006; 2012) go a step further approaching the issue of narrative as a tool of identity construction. They argue that identity making is a situated project: it is created on the spot when speakers orient or position themselves and others vis-à-vis culturally available master narratives. Individuals dynamically position themselves toward and against others, reveal new aspects of the social and personal development and thereby construct their identities. In this context, identity construction is best characterized as "identity negotiation" or "identity confrontations" (Bamberg, 2004a: 221). Conversationalists, who are frequently challenged to save their face in interaction, will use available interactional resources to positively manage the problem and satisfy interpersonal as well as intrapersonal demands. Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak (2012: 96) argues that small stories

> disclose less of a life story, but reveal generalised social knowledge based on cumulative individual experience and present it through the filter of the collective self.

To tackle the problem of identity Bamberg (1997; 2000; 2004; 2006) draws on the concept of positioning (Davies and Harré 1990), which helps bridge the gap between internalized life stories and discursively developed short stories. Positioning analysis draws attention to how one's orientation toward the audience impacts the way one tells the story and how one views oneself, and how the audience orientation impacts the storyteller. The analysts note:

> It permits us to think of ourselves as a choosing subject, locating ourselves in conversations according to those narrative forms with which we are familiar and bringing to those narratives our own subjective lived histories through which we have learnt metaphors, characters and plot (Davies and Harré 1990: 56).

The major tenet of positioning analysis, then, holds that positions are resources that subjects can choose and practice, thus emphasising the agentive role of the speakers and listeners in the communicative act. The speakers may freely choose to use resources, which might be a story or characters, out of a pool of culturally available options. The speaker agentively selects a story, either to make a self-claim or invoke a counter narrative and reconstruct an amended self. Thorne (2005: 2) argues that "master narratives are not cultural imperatives but rather culturally available scripts which speakers might use to create their own identities and those of others". Identities emerge, then, on the basis of individual situational choices rather than pre-existing worldviews or past experiences. As Thorne (2005: 4) observes:

> of the vast array of stories that might be told at any particular time, the speakers have some "say" as to which story gets told, whom the stories are about, and to whom the stories are told to make self-claim.

Agency in positioning analysis also refers to the grounding of the story characters in storied time and space and developing them in their world. Regardless of whether the characters are portrayed as agents or patients, their presentation always emphasizes their "becoming". The characters move across fictitious time and space, enter new territories and become transformed and adjusted to arising new contexts. In consequence, the presentation of story characters as acting and open to transformations and interpretations serves as a tool to present one's own viewpoints and make self-claims. As Bamberg (2004b: 357) puts it:

> moving into the social realm of sharing narratives, where values and interpretations are in the process of being put together, gives excellent grounds to do rhetorical work of convincing others of one's own point of orientation, and of why one sees things this way. Stories do exemplary work in detailing stances and moral in the form of character deployments in interactive settings

The investigation into how speakers actively position themselves in talk comprises three levels of analysis (Bamberg 2004a,b). One shows how characters are situated in space and time in the story world as well as how they are positioned vis-à-vis one another as relational story-agents. The target level presents how the teller designs the story in order to define a social location for himself or herself in the act of telling a narrative to an audience in the specific discursive situation. The two levels of analysis are mediated by an interface where the interactional means employed for getting the story accomplished are scrutinised. The complete analysis is intended to present how speakers work up – often jointly – the construction of their identities.

All in all, positioning analysts argue that in investigating the process of identity-making, more consideration should be given to the micro-social level on which moment-to-moment identity projects are undertaken. The most efficient

method of research to accomplish this objective is to focus on conversational small stories. Brockmeier argues:

> In contrast with the traditional idea of narrative as cognitive, linguistic, or metalinguistic structure, I propose understanding it as a specific discursive practice […] In this view, narrative is best thought of as a form and practice of communication (Brockmeier 2004: 288).

It can be seen that narrative researchers readily exploit the power of stories to make sense of lived experience. Some view identity as a long-term autobiographical project whereas others view it as a socially situated enterprise. The autobiographical approach views identity as a long-term personal project, more situated in the person than the situation, and oriented toward developing a coherent story across an individual's past, present and imagined future.

3.5. Relevance of the three theoretical paradigms for the study of identity

The three methodological paradigms, and the work that builds on them, fit the study of identity because they show how even in the most fleeting of interactional moves, speakers position themselves and others as particular kinds of people. Bucholtz and Hall observe:

> Although these lines of research have often remained separate from one another, the combination of their diverse theoretical and methodological strengths – including the microanalysis of conversation, the quantitative and qualitative analysis of linguistic structures, and the ethnographic focus on local cultural practices and social groupings – calls attention to the fact that identity in all its complexity can never be contained within a single analysis (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 607).

On the one hand, such a combination of research practices enables inquiries to be made into the way meanings are allocated to different role categories through discursive practices. On the other, the recognition of oneself as having the characteristics of members of various sub classes of dichotomous categories can be accomplished. The adoption of this methodological stance has the potential to display how a person understands herself as historically continuous and unitary but realized in contradictory positions. This potential stems from the general feature of how identity is realised in a particular society at a specific point of time. As Davies and Harré (1990: 49) argue:

> We wish to defend the adoption of 'position' as the appropriate expression with which to talk about the discursive production of a diversity of selves the fleeting panorama of Meadian 'me's' conjured up in the course of conversational interactions.

The analysis avoids the view of subjects as simply acting out their pre-established selves and identities. It also escapes from viewing identities as stable and rooted in pre-existing discourses. Rather, subjects are argued to agentively construct their situated positions. It neither aims to negate the existence of the self outside of subjects and their interactions nor is it meant to imply that subjects do not act on previous experiences or practices and always have to start from scratch in their processes of identity formation.

The combination of methodological approaches helps capture the dynamics of identity construction as well as the entire multitude of ways in which identity exceeds the individual self. It highlights the fact that human identity in all its complexity can never be approached from a unitary perspective. It is only by understanding these diverse theories and methods as complementary that we can meaningfully interpret the crucial dimension of our social life which is identity.

3.6. Studies of teacher identity performance

3.6.1. Introduction

This part of the book aims to reveal how identities are subject to (re)fashioning in interactional contexts since "the force of 'having identity' is in its *consequentiality* in the interaction" (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998: 3). The data used for the analysis come from a 6-hour corpus of university classroom discussions audio-recorded during three university class meetings that were a part of a regular TEFL course. Two of the discussions were carried in English (a language foreign to all the participants) and the third one in Polish, their mother tongue. Strange as it may appear, such linguistic organisation of the discussions seems to be justified for several reasons. Firstly, it is motivated by the existence of two distinct ideologies concerned with teacher knowledge (Scollon and Scollon 2001). One is a long-lasting commitment to the idea that a very good command of the target language is essential in a foreign language classroom. The other states that a profound knowledge of the target language is not essential to teaching; rather a common experience of participation in the community of practice gives EFL teachers a sense of being members of the same discourse system. Taking account of the above ideologies and given that foreign language users "are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world" (Norton and McKinney 2011: 75), we claim that a complete examination of the nature of language teacher identity requires a thorough investigation into the issue of the teacher's foreign language competence and practice.

Secondly, linguistic patterns from a foreign language control nonverbal behaviour and have an impact on the participant's interactional performance

(Larsen-Freeman 2011). On the one hand, it is the participant himself who considers language options and constraints recurrent in the ongoing interaction. On the other hand, he considers who his interlocutors are and what ongoing activities he is engaged in. In other words "linguistic practice generates both tools and users, both communities and persons" (Danielewicz 2001: 23).

The analysis of the talks will proceed from a discussion that took place in a group of a second year undergraduate students at the beginning of their professional career and who rely exclusively on their experiences as students, to a second-year postgraduate group discussion, to a group comprising members of different age and teaching experience. Such an arrangement enables one to observe not only how participants' competence in English (subject content knowledge) improves but also how their pedagogical content knowledge and attitudes develop, in other words, how they progress from being a student to being a teacher of a foreign language. An analysis of a range of specific, teaching related vocabulary, the complexity of the grammatical structures, as well as conversational moves, reveals how their teacher identities have been shaped over a period of three years as well as how their identities are being refashioned in the ongoing interactional contexts.

With a longitudinal macroanalysis, the influence of dominant or capital "D"-discourses and capital "C" Conversations (Gee 2005; 2010) on the participants' self-concept and their performance of a teacher identity can be determined. Discourse reflects who we are and what we are doing in the sense that "it involves acting-interacting-thinking-valuing-talking-(sometimes writing-reading) in the "appropriate way" with the "appropriate" props at the "appropriate" times in the "appropriate" places" (Gee 2010: 34) in other words D-discourses display associations that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group (cf. Gee 1990, 1992, 1996; Bourdieu 1990; Foucault 1985). Gee (2001) argues that it is sometimes easier to think about particular social issues not in terms of humans talking, but rather as the D-discourses we represent and enact.

On the other hand, a microanalysis of the discussions, their turn by turn organisation (Sacks 1972; 1974; 1992; 1995; Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff 1991; 1992), the kinds of stories told, as well as the way they were delivered by the interactants (Bamberg 1997; 2000; 2004; Georgakopulou 2005; 2006; Schiffrin 1996), aims to disclose how situational contexts influence the fashioning of discursive identities and how the conversationalists manage their self-images in varied milieus. Varied configurations of verbal and non-verbal features mark identities that are situated in the specific context and help create relationships that do not exist outside the distinctive social practices, but of which they are an integral part.

In contrast to the discussions analysed in 3.6.2 and 3.6.3, the sample whose analysis is presented in Section 3.6.4, was recorded in a group of

participants whose teaching practice experience varied in terms of duration, but this time the language of the discussion was Polish, the participants' mother tongue, since the aim of the analysis was to verify whether language proficiency in a foreign language exerts an impact on the kinds of identities fashioned by interactants.

In all the discussions, the overarching theme was whether teachers had a long-lasting impact on the lives of their students. They all began with the question posed by the moderator (the author of the book) "Do you believe you have a long lasting impact on the lives of your students?". The discussions developed freely, in the sense that the participants were not nominated for speaking, rather the moderator waited for the participants to engage when they felt like contributing. Their contributions were used to map out the trajectory of the participants' identity formation from their experiences as students and as pre-service teachers in a teacher training program, through their employment as English language teachers in local schools to their full engagement in teaching practices and becoming experienced teachers. The study examines the participants' discursive and participative practices to illustrate how their experiences, both as students, as pre-service and in-service teachers in Poland, shaped their construction and performance of teacher identities.

Analyses and interpretations of the data were attained in a recursive, iterative manner (Dörnyei 2007), as the focus of inquiry moved between the data and related research literature on identity construction. As the debate transcripts were reviewed multiple times, salient themes and tentative categories that appeared of potential relevance to answering the research questions were constructed from the data rather than from any preconceived hypotheses.

3.6.2. Undergraduate students' classroom interaction

This section presents an analysis of the discussion that was held among fourth semester (second year) undergraduate students of TEFL at the Academy of Management in Lodz. The participants (2 males and 8 females) are pre-service teachers (also referred to as student teachers or trainees) with a long history of FL learning, approximately 10 or more years of formal instruction in EFL and no teaching experience. At the beginning of the second year of education, English Philology students at the Academy of Management are obliged to decide what specialization they will follow. They can choose between translation theory and TEFL. The participants that took part in the discussion had selected TEFL as their major and had received extensive lecturing on psycholinguistics, psychology and pedagogy of learning and teaching EFL prior to the discussion, but they did not report any practice in teaching. Hence, it may be assumed that learning experiences will be the major source for their perceptions of teachers and their perceptions of themselves as teachers.

The whole discussion lasted for 90 minutes. To maintain anonymity of the participants, each individual is labelled in the transcript with the capital letter "S" that stands for "student" followed by a numeral from 1 to 10; "M" stands for the moderator. S2 and S10 are males whereas all other students and the moderator are females.

The analysis of the discussion is conducted within the three aforementioned theoretical paradigms, which is reflected in the structure of the subsequent sections. Accordingly, Section 3.6.2.1. contains the analysis of interactional stories that occurred in the discussion, Section 3.6.2.2. presents how interactants position themselves and are positioned in the interaction, whereas Section 3.6.2.4. is devoted to the analysis of membership categorisation unfolding in the local context. Section 3.6.2.3. attempts to display a dialectic relationship between foreign language proficiency and kinds of identities performed by the interactants.

3.6.2.1. Interactional storytelling

Excerpt 1(a)

1 M: *okay (.) do you believe you'll have a long lasting impact on the lives of your students? long lasting impact on (erm) self esteem of your students? (.) or do teachers have a long lasting impact on the self esteem of the students?*

2 (...)

3 M: *all right don't be shy*

4 (...)

5 M: *ladies first?*

6 Ss: ((laughter))

From the very beginning of the discussion, lengthy turns on the part of the moderator can be noticed. The students are reticent: they seem to be aware of where they are expected to take the floor but they do not respond verbally waiting to be nominated for speaking.

Excerpt 1(b)

23 M: *all right I can remember a teacher my teacher of polish in my secondary school (.) 'cause when I left primary school I wanted to be a polish teacher and then I changed my mind (.) because (erm) we had such a poor polish teacher (.) she disappointed me so much (.) I switched to (.) some other language although I can't say that my english teacher influenced my choice very much*

24 S2: *erm I can remember our high school english teacher when me and a friend of mine told her that we want to study english philology she said don't do this subject (.) it's too hard (.) you won't be able to (.) to I don't know (.) finish this she said (.) better try something else (.) it wasn't very nice of her*

25 (…)

26 M: *so she lowered your self esteem*

27 S2: *yeah (.) exactly*

28 (…)

29 M: *but only in this (.) in this personal personal situation (.) otherwise she was quite good high school quite a good teacher*

30 S2: *yeah she was very good teacher (.) obviously we learned a lot (.) but (erm) I don't know probably she was afraid that she'll lose her job or something*

31 Ss: ((laughter))

32 (…)

The moderator self-selects for subsequent turns until in turn 23 she contributes a story of her own experience as a student. The moderator is at first, making continuous attempts to encourage students to speak. The students cling to the typical classroom discourse model that they have been accustomed to, that is a threefold exchange pattern: initiation-response-follow-up (IRF) (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975).

By introducing a story whose content must have been shared by the students, the moderator positions herself as their equal. She does not talk about her professional, teaching experiences, rather she agentively selects to talk about the experiences she had when she was at the age of her students. The discourse marker "all right" at the beginning of the turn is the sign of the moderator's conscious attempts to elicit verbal contributions from the students and signals, in typical classroom discourse, either a change of topic or a shift to another part of a lesson. In this context, it indicates a different conversational move on the part of the moderator, namely telling a story. With this discourse marker, she is drawing the students' attention to her intended topic and signals that the telling of the story has its conversational aim, namely, to encourage them to provide their own contributions. The content of the story is intended to illustrate the moderator's personal experiences, with which she hopes to shift the students' perspective of the situation in the classroom from a teacher-centred classroom to a community of practice. She is trying to position the students as equal partners in the discussion rather than students dependant on the teacher's instruction. The

story appears to have accomplished its interactive aim, since one student (S2) delivers his own story in response to the moderator's. He starts with a filler "erm" bidding for the floor and signalling that he needs time to formulate the thought into a neat message. The audience might get the idea that he is going to tell a story, as the filler "erm" is followed by "I can remember" which is a typical phrase to commence a story or a report from one's own life. The story concerns an event from the student's life and its aim is to respond to the theme of whether teachers have impact on students' life.

The narrative form, then, comes to be recognized as a natural means of accomplishing interactional goals and the scaffolding that the students can follow when practising speaking skills in a foreign language. The contents of the stories relate to the interactants' past experiences at the time that they were to make career choices. Both the moderator and the student align with the D-discourse of tertiary education and imply that teachers at the secondary level of education exert the most profound impact on students' lives, social and professional identity. They also implicitly reproduce Erikson's discourse of the development of the self, in which an identity crisis is to be addressed in adolescence (Erikson 1968). Moreover, they follow Vygotsky's ideas of the directive role that more competent individuals play in the social-cognitive development of children (Vygotsky 1978; 1986). In the data above, this is revealed in the contents of the two stories in which the students turn to their teachers for expertise and advice. The two stories are different in how they portray a student-teacher relationship.

In the moderator's case, the teacher had a negative impact on the student due to the teacher's low teaching competence. It is impossible to tell whether the teacher of Polish lacked adequate subject knowledge or pedagogical knowledge since she is presented as "a poor Polish teacher", yet her low professional expertise had an impact on the life of the moderator, insofar that it made her choose another subject to study. With this story, the moderator is attempting to present herself as an actor who was determined to direct her life and agentively selected the path of her career despite the poor qualifications of the teacher who seemed to have a decisive role in her career choice.

S2 presents a story of two learners who expressed a desire to become teachers of English. They had planned to enrol in a teacher education program and expected that their English teacher would be supportive and undertake the job of helping them get there. Instead, they found her discouraging and advising against such a career development. In contrast to the moderator, S2's story presents a teacher whose qualifications are not questioned. On the contrary, S2 evaluates both her knowledge and pedagogical skills as very high (e.g. *she was very good teacher; obviously we learned a lot*) but her involvement and concern about the students' future welfare are presented as unsatisfactory. In S2's opinion, she was a good and dedicated teacher only because she cared about her

personal wellbeing. By performing her professional duties well, the teacher tried to secure a work position, which guaranteed personal fulfilment and life stability. In contrast to the moderator, S2 foregrounds an image of an ideal teacher who is not only a knowledgeable person but also, more importantly, one who is a deeply invested and empathetic person.

The primary aim of the story is to explicate how the inability of the teacher to effectively respond to learner's needs brought confusion to his life. Implicitly, however, in presenting the story, S2 accomplishes two other conversational goals. First, he displays his attitude toward a specific discourse related to education: he favours the one in which teachers are supportive, caring and invested, and in doing so, rejects that of formal and neat instruction, solely targeted at student cognitive development. Second, he is developing his identity of a person who is an active and effective agent at the real point of a college education. The story presents a discrepancy between who he considered himself to be and who he was expected to be at that particular moment. It might be conceived as a clash between two different social contexts or to use Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977: 42-3) term between primary and secondary "habitus". The "primary habitus" is acquired at home during "primary socialization" (Kramsch 2009: 113) and the "secondary habitus" is acquired at school and in other pedagogical contexts. The "primary habitus" is more durable, as it is a product of an historical sedimentation of attitudes, ideals and worldviews that have been reinforced during childhood and throughout the whole life of an individual who, at the same time, is always a member of such social groups as family, peers or subcultures.

In the "primary habitus", an individual's life story is made to conform to the history of the group, whereas in the "secondary habitus", an individual's history might clash with the history of another culture or social group. The struggle to decide which course of action to take, faced by S2 in his story, is an example of the clash between the primary and secondary habitus. S2, as it will become evident in Excerpt 2, comes from a family with a teaching profession tradition, which must have provided him with an opportunity of an early "primary socialization" with the D-discourses of teaching and learning. These discourses of teaching and learning which he encountered in the "primary habitus" clashed with those he recounted in the story. It would seem that S2 had grown into the "primary habitus", where teachers were signified as both knowledgeable and caring, and learners as dutiful but autonomous, and these characteristics clash with what he encountered in the "secondary habitus" of his own schooling, where the teacher appears to be knowledgeable, indeed, but not involved in the students' lives, and the students dutifully and submissively follow the teacher's instruction. S2 finds himself betwixt these two D-discourses of schooling and decides to follow the one he encountered in the "primary habitus", which further enables him to contest the teacher's authority and

express the student's resistance to the constraints of schooling. Later on, the "primary habitus" will empower him to act as a social agent in the classroom, where other students aim to position themselves as consumers of the services provided.

Indeed, the actual classroom performance of all other students in the classroom discussion under analysis unveils their attitudes to classroom organization. The students perceive the teacher as someone entitled to give instructions and set agendas. They refuse to accept the discourse that the teacher has been trying to introduce, namely that of partnership and collaboration. They seem to await being called to speak as if they resisted the identity possibilities opened by the moderator and followed the positions imposed by classroom D-discourse where the teacher makes the initiation and the follow-up moves, while pupils are restricted to responding moves. In consequence, the form of a group discussion fails and the interaction continues as an interview throughout. There are none of the typical interactive follow-ups that are found in natural conversation. The teacher turns to the frame of classroom D-discourse and competently plays out the role of a questioner with the addition of giving support to her interlocutor. The classroom runs smoother when all the participants stick to the ritual designed in such a way as to replicate the serious life of the college classroom.

3.6.2.2. Positioning in the interaction

Excerpt 2

64	M:	*miss XXX?*
65	S5:	*(.) erm first of all I chose this because erm I like wo:: children and erm I like share my knowledge which (.) ((laughter)) which is I think enough (.) (laughter) and why I didn't choose another specialization (.) because for me sitting on the texts an:d I don't know searching some vocabulary is (.) is boring huh!*
66	M:	*(.) you like working with children yea and sharing knowledge? (.) miss XXX?*
67	S5:	*yeah*
68	S6:	*(.) well it's hard to say why I chosen why I chose this specialization erm a::m: well (.) I don't know now if I: want to work at school and with children I (.) erm but it's (.) erm (.) well it's interesting job but I don't know yet if I really want to do it (.) maybe I (.) I know maybe I will change plans and I'll go to another study and to erm another university mmm but everything can change so I: it's hard to say why*
69	M:	*miss XXX?*
70	S7:	*erm (.) I think mmm I chose to be a teacher teacher for the same reason*

as everybody else said (.) I like to work with children (.) and it (.) to some extent its I was influenced by my teacher I liked the way she: teached an:: (.) that's why I choose it

71 M: *so you were influenced by the method the way she taught or her general knowledge as well (.) personal (.) approach?*

72 S7: *erm I was influenced by her knowledge (.) and mmm further way she: was she shared this knowledge with her students (.) an:d she: also mmm told me that yyy I can start learning english and that I can become a teacher*

73 M: *so she influenced your self esteem yes? it did grow*

74 S7: *yes*

75 M: *did any of your of your classmates go to the university and study english?*

76 S7: *mmm no: I think it (.) no*

77 M: *you were the only one mhm*

78 M: *(.) miss XXX how about you?*

79 S8: *(.) so my dream was to be a teacher in the future and (.) when I went to primary school erm I: I really liked english (.) class but erm I wasn't really good in this subject but my brother told me never to give up an:d I listened to him and I don't and now I am here*

80 M: *so it was your brother who influenced your choice?*

81 S8: *yes I think yes*

82 M: *miss XXX?*

83 S1: *I don't want to be a teacher (.) I I: chose this school because I like english and Ithink that I will: I will erm seek for a job connected with english but not teaching (.) I'm not patient enough (.) ((laughter)) my mother is a teacher and she: erm and I know that it's hard work and ((laughter)) maybe private lessons when a child can focus on one thing and is not disturbed by other children but erm I erm I don't want to teach the whole class*

84 M: *mhm*

85 (…)

86 S2: *it's my turn now so=*

87 Ss: ((laughter))

88 S2: *=so my father was a teacher my sister is a teacher her husband is a teacher so=*

89 Ss: ((laughter))

90 S2: *=so you see=*

91 M: *=family business yeah?=*

92 Ss: ((laughter))

93	S2:	*=no to be honest I don't want to be a teacher but I would like to learn english good and find a job then connected with it and (.) that's it*
94	M:	*mhm*
95	S2:	*erm two years ago I studied biology but I didn't like those studies at all so I decided to change something an:d because I always liked english erm I decided to follow (.) that direction=*
96	M:	*mhm*
97	S2:	*=and I think this decision gives me better job opportunities so I'm he-*
98	Ss:	((whispers in L1))
99	S10:	*my choice was influenced by my family erm because my mother is a teacher (.)my two aunts are are teachers and erm my grandmother was a teacher erm so I also have to be a teacher*
100	Ss:	((laughter))
101	M:	*so again your family influenced your choice rather than (.) school experience*
102	S10:	*yes*
103	M:	*why english?*
104	S10:	*erm because erm (.) schools me and english teachers and I know that I: I will find a job (.) after these studies*

Excerpt 2 is a continuation of the classroom discussion that started in Excerpt 1. The moderator nominates the students to take a turn by calling their family names preceded by the honorific miss/mister, a traditional strategy found in a tertiary level Polish classroom, and this is readily accepted by the students, who comply with the framework and start their turns in the discussion one by one. Interestingly the moderator does not need to address each student individually, posing the same question time after time (turns 64, 68, 69,78), yet the students make relevant contributions to the interaction, which might support the view that they are conforming to the rules of IRF classroom exchange, hence they have managed to resist assuming the identities of equal parties at conversation introduced by the moderator in Excerpt 1, forcing the moderator to comply with the dominant IRF classroom model to a certain degree. Nevertheless, the moderator perseveres in her attempts to keep the discussion as far removed from the classroom context as possible and concentrates on the content of the students' contributions rather than their form. She neither corrects the students' language errors nor gives any corrective feedback regarding their language performance. What she does instead is an intensive inquiry into the theme under discussion, which makes the form of the debate conflict with the one anticipated in a traditional foreign language classroom, where teachers tend to repair both the form and the content of the production. Moderator's turns are either back

channel responses (turns 84, 94, 96) or reformulations of the students' contributions (turns 66, 77, 80, 91, 101) or comments on the topic (turns 71, 73, 75, 103). Although reformulations might be considered as corrective feedback in a FL classroom, in this case, the students do not interpret the moderator's turns as feedback, rather they are deemed to be natural conversational repairs that invite further explanation or prompts for greater detail.

Given that participating in the debate on voluntary basis has been offered to the students and believing that those who have come to take part in the debate agreed to the open form of the discussion, we can assume that their interactional moves can be revealing of their positioning in this interaction.

The whole discussion starts with the moderator attempting to create the environment of a typical debate on the issue of a teacher's impact on a student's life and development. She tries to work closely with the others in the group and engage actively in the discussion, which can be described as taking up the position of a collaborator. This is not a powerful position in a group, but involves being attentive and responsive to other people, expressing support, and as far as possible sharing their thinking. She aims at creating a community to discuss the topic. Her intentions, however, have been constrained by the students who adamantly resist such positioning as well as the identity of partners in the discussion. In consequence the moderator is positioned as a manager, an expert and a teacher who summarizes the discussion, decides who should speak, which ideas to accept, and makes conclusive remarks. The students adhere to such a teacher-centred classroom organisation because this is the setting that has been encountered most frequently in their learning practice. The students have been familiarized with this type of the classroom organization for many years of their former education and are not willing to abandon their role of learners because it is associated with taking on certain cognitive and organizational duties that the students might not feel ready to tackle.

Within any school setting, both teachers and pupils have recognized rights and duties, constituting a reciprocal system of obligations that Brousseau (1986) called the "Didactic Contract". Teacher and pupil are not positions, but roles: long-term, not easily abandoned, and with an impact on the lives of those who occupy them. Positions are temporary rights and obligations that participants in an interaction are provided with. Barnes argues:

> Being positioned in a certain way carries obligations or expectations about how one should behave, or constraints on what one may meaningfully say or do. Positions may also carry rights, such as the right to be heard, the right to be taken seriously, the right to be helped, or the right to be looked after (Barnes 2004: 2).

The constantly changing system of rights, duties and obligations of the participants in a social interaction constitute what Harré and Langenhove (1999) call the "local moral order". Such rights and duties are usually tacit, but may be made explicit if someone challenges the way in which the participant or others

have been positioned. Participants in an interaction may actively seek to adopt a position, or one may be assigned to them by others. And if a position is assigned, they may "acquiesce in such an assignment, contest it or subvert it" (Harré and Langenhove 1999: 2). The positions become legitimate, though, when participants engage with each other and recognize each other as members of the community. Engaging in the practice of a community develops relationships which define a member's place in the community. They define, among other things, who has a specific expertise, who is central and who is peripheral (Lave and Wenger 1991).

In the classroom episode under analysis, the moderator is recognised as the party having expertise whereas other participants are positioned as members lacking expertise in the topic being discussed. The students cling to the positioning as learners in which they implicitly acknowledge an obligation to listen to explanations, carry out instructions and answer questions. In this process, they construct a "teacher helping pupil storyline" (Barnes 2004: 3) in which the students have the right to obtain knowledge from the teacher. They insist on the organization of the classroom in the form of a service-like encounter, that is, a business transaction in which a customer requests goods or a service from a server, which is suggested in the ritualized interchanges and formulaic moves, as well as long silences, found therein. Moreover, in Excerpt 2, the moderator quickly accommodates to the position of the teacher. She does this tacitly, for example by completing the content of the students' contributions and thereby implicitly claiming shared knowledge, or explicitly, by saying something like "so you were influenced by the method the way she taught or her general knowledge" (turn 71). In addition, the students subvert the process by changing the storyline, for example by initiating off-task activities, like whispering with the classmates (turns 33-62, 98), or switching to L1 (turn 98), thereby changing the available positions and the associated system of rights and obligations. Linehan and McCarthy (2000: 442) explain that in a school

> both students and teachers have a degree of agency in how they position themselves in interactions but this agency is interlaced with the expectations and history of the community, the sense of 'oughtness'.

This sense of obligation constitutes the "local moral order" (ibid.). The students in Excerpt 2 are aware of the duties that are connected with being a party in a public debate but they resist such positioning since they might not be ready to take on such responsibility in this particular context. Jones notes:

> People act as if positioned in certain ways in relation to various aspects of their world, as having certain rights and duties … But the implicit rules, in accordance with which people act and interact within the normative dimension, reflect selective attention to specific terms of their own engagement in events (Jones 1999: 56).

Mutual engagement is what defines a community of practice (CoP) (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). An important point is that a community in this sense is not just an aggregate of people defined by some characteristic; it is not a synonym for a group, a team or a network. A CoP exists because the members are engaged in actions whose meanings they negotiate with one another. It appears, then, that the interactants in Excerpt 2 do not belong to one CoP since they do not equally engage in the interaction. Each member contributes his or her abilities and talents, and no member of the community need perform the same tasks. Doing things together, however, is one of the underlying assumptions in the CoP theory, that is, a sense of community arises from doing things together. Doing things together and mutual engagement result in a development of community relationships. These relations define a mutual viewpoint on the matters of the enterprise – what is important, what is not, what to do and not to do and so on. That these become shared in a CoP is what allows the participants to negotiate the appropriateness of what they do.

Barnes (2004), however, argues that an assignment of rights and duties in a CoP may vary. Duties, for instance, cannot be assigned to someone who is incapable of carrying them out. Hence a possible explanation of the students refusal to accept the moderator's positioning is either their lack of experience in leading classroom discussions, they are not able to take up the position of moderator, or lack of relevant content knowledge to make contributions to the discussion from the point of view of a teacher, they are not ready to take up a position of an expert, or the moderator holds a leading position and the students have little opportunity to take control.

A person who is positioned as an expert dominates the group and may inhibit others from contributing. The students seem to lack the competency of an expert in classroom debates or they might not know how the discussion fits into the overall scheme of work and they rely on the moderator to carry out the duty of an expert, by which they lose the opportunity to structure their thoughts articulating them, and to obtain feedback from others on their thinking and ideas about the issues under discussion. They prefer to position themselves as in need of help, by which not only do they avoid the effort of thinking, waste the group's time but also deprive themselves of taking on and practising novel situated identities.

No engagement in the debate means no membership in the community. Enabling engagement takes work, work that is often undervalued, yet it contributes critically to the task of community maintenance. The key aspect of engagement is mutuality. Practice exists because people engage in actions, the meanings of which they have to negotiate with each other. Therefore, as Wenger (1998) states practice is not to be found in books or tools, although it may involve many kinds of artefacts. He defines practice as:

> The concept of practice connotes doing, but not just doing in and of itself. It is doing in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do. In this sense, practice is always social practice (Ibid: 47).

If practice is social, then the students' non-participation in the debate cannot be explained with their personality traits alone. Rather the participants' classroom debate organization preference might relate to the dynamics of the classroom interaction. How people are positioned in any situation depends both on the context and community values and personal histories of the individuals involved, their interests, preferences and their capabilities. Barnes (2004: 15) says that "it helps a group to function effectively if the positions of Manager and Facilitator are occupied by people who can ensure that everyone contributes, that no-one dominates, and that dissention (but not constructive disagreement) is avoided".

Any discussion, classroom debate in particular, should have one person who is able to act effectively as manager or facilitator. In the context of this classroom debate, the moderator is naturally recognized as the manager not because of her personality traits; rather her expertise being recognised predisposes her to perform all the acts characteristic of a moderator. She sets the topic to be discussed rather than negotiates it with the students and she directly addresses the whole group. In this way, she agentively positions herself as a manager who calls the group to attention, suggests that they begin the discussion, invites ideas, and recalls the participants to debate after diversions like silences or laughter. She does this by saying something like "all right don't be shy", (turn 3); "ladies first", (turn 5); "how about you", (turn 78) or simply "mhm", (turns 84, 94, 96). Such self-positioning of the moderator, along with her long-term established role of the teacher of the course, puts heavy constraints on the local identities of the parties involved. The moderator is naturally identified as a teacher, who initiates, monitors, sustains and manages the classroom work, while the other parties are learners who have to be led by the teacher through a maze of the classroom interaction.

Another reason for the students' reluctant engagement in the debate could originate from their insufficient communicative competence (Hymes 1962; 1971; 1972a, b, c). Wolfson (1989) argues that "rules of speaking" are largely unconscious, that is developing in communities of practice. Therefore, the students, not being proficient in taking part in thematic debates in a foreign language, appear to rely on the knowledge of a classroom organisation they have (typical teacher-centred discussion) as well as general principles of an effective conversation they have developed while participating in different encounters in their native culture.

Erickson (1996) drawing from research by Shultz, Florio, and Erickson (1982) and Au and Mason (1983), shows that the cultural organization of turn taking in conversation influences the students' understanding of what is being discussed, how they engage in the classroom interaction and even number of

errors they make. In the current classroom context, the students are provided with the opportunities to speak as indicated by long pauses (turns 67, 85, 89) within which the moderator is waiting for the students to contribute. The students, however, are reluctant to voice their opinions. When this natural conversational strategy fails, the moderator precedes with improvised alternative turn-taking organization – like "going around the table" with each one in turn offering a contribution (turns 78, 82, 86). Such strategy appears to be more efficient, which might support the view that the students lack an adequate language competence and being aware of it, they refrain from speaking not to lose their face (Brown and Levinson 1987).

Such interactional behaviour of the students might indeed be an outcome of the mainstream communicative pedagogy; pedagogy in which the most effective tasks are believed to be those that promote the negotiation of meaning and whose focus is on information transfer rather than the sequential aspects of interaction. Even if sequential organisation of conversation is taught, it is "often presented to learners as isolated utterances, for example, on a continuum of formality, without the rich interactional context in which each utterance occurs as revealed by CA findings. Overall structuring practices such as openings and closings are sometimes underrepresented, misrepresented, or limited in terms of range and depth in ESL/EFL" (Wong and Waring 2010: 251-252). The students' behaviour in Excerpts 1 and 2 are an excellent illustration of the consequence of this neglect. The students' contributions sound unnaturally brief ("yes", "yeah", "yes I think yes", "mmm" "no I think it no") as if flouting Grice's Maxim of Quantity. As a result the students are heard as uncooperative and contesting the moderator's right to interrogate them on the subject.

The underlying reason for their overt verbal behaviour might be a lack of adequate communicative repertoire or to use Gumperz's (1982a: 209) words "the knowledge of linguistic and related communicative conventions that speakers must have to create and sustain conversational cooperation". This suggests that, in order to understand interactional behaviour, we need to integrate what we know about grammar, culture, and interactive conventions into a general theory of verbal communication. Apparently, the students in Excerpt 2 do not possess either language or communicative competence, which results in their disengagement from the debate.

Knowledge of the interactional order can help formulate the socially constituted moves, a sense of reality in a particular interaction and a set of expectations about what will come next. These expectations are similar to contextual presuppositions (Gumperz 1982a; 1982b) and, thus, are critical to the way inferences are drawn from situated cues. The participants in Excerpt 2 have the sense of what is going on in the interaction (for example, the kind of occasion or kind of activity they are engaged in) but they cannot draw on

contextual cues and make use of sufficient inferences about the others' meanings.

Such sensitivity to contextual cues leads the moderator to a gradual shift in the topic of the discussion from the impact of teachers on students' lives, which is a fairly generic and ahistorical (Kramsch 2009) issue, to the issue of why the participants decided to choose a teaching specialisation, which is a more specific and personally grounded topic, and hence historical in terms of one's life and narrative. By relativising the topic, the moderator opens a space of alternative, historically and locally contingent meanings that might lead to a more spontaneous performance by the group members, since they can take the position of actors who are to explain why they made the specific, conscious, and agentive choice to become a teacher. Apparently the students do not use this contextual cue either: an extreme example of which is the contribution made by S1 (turn 83). What the student delivers instead of further elaboration of the topic, which is a naturally anticipated course of the conversation, is an elucidation of why she does not want to be a teacher of English. She diverts the discussion from the main topic, set by the moderator, to a sidetrack to which all subsequent contributors refer. The participants begin to organise the discussion in a linear fashion, losing the perspective of the general theme which should bring a hierarchical structure to the debate. Although the moderator has made an attempt to encourage the students to take up positions in a context that has been outside their usual field of action, that is, being social actors in a classroom environment different to their usual "ritualistic" classroom environment, they refuse to perform the role as expected.

Another example of the students' misuse of the contextualisation cues (Gumperz 1982a; 1982b) can be found in turns 86 to 97 where S2 starts his contribution with the utterance "it's my turn now so" whose function, as indicated in its continuation in the subsequent turns, is to make a bid for a longer turn. Other students respond to it with laughter as if S2 was mocking the serious style of the discussion bringing its rank down to a ritualistic classroom exchange. S2, however, continues the dialogue with the moderator until the conclusion is reached in line 97. The limited language repertoire of S2 results in confusing responses from both the students and the moderator. Other classmates resort to laughter to bring support and encouragement to S2 and to further challenge the authority of the moderator, with which they confound S2, whose intention is probably not to amuse them nor make a classroom clown of himself. Rather, it is more likely that recognising the classmates behaviour as face threatening acts, S2 aims at completing his contribution to save his face and clear things up.

S2 is the only student who gets engaged into the discussion twice. First he delivers the story in Excerpt 1 commenting on the impact of teachers on students' lives and now, making use of the contextual cues, he recognizes his

duty to contribute again and he is ready to meet the challenge. By doing this he might fulfil his desire to "escape from a state of tedious conformity with one's present environment to a state of plenitude and enhanced power" (Kramsch 2009: 14). Other students satisfy their "need for survival" and cling to the familiar classroom framework. They appear either not to accept the challenge to break from the traditional classroom discourse, or their resistance to the positioning can be a measure of the threat it poses to their integrity as subjects. What drives them to cling to what is familiar might also be their desire to preserve what is theirs. In other words, they are not ready to take up a position of an equal party in the discussion either because they are incapable of making identifications with other users of English as a semiotic and symbolic system or they cannot identify themselves with the role of a teacher, or they cannot get engaged with the subject matter to make relevant contributions.

Exploring various possibilities of the self in this real encounter, the students readily make identifications with other students of English as a foreign language rather than prospective teachers of the language. The teacher for them is the Other, an imagined and idealised representation, which might be triggered by a flash-and-blood teacher with whom, until now, they have been unable to make adequate identifications. In contrast, by using contextual cues and by relying on his foreign language speaking skills (seemingly higher than other students), S2 strives to comply with the positioning imposed by the moderator and hence accomplishes subjectivity in the interaction. He seems to view "investments" (Bourdieu 1986) in the interaction as an investment in his social identity, which has the potential to change across time and space (Norton 1997). By being more proficient than other students in attending to the symbolic meanings created in the foreign language, as well as by possessing greater sensitivity to contextual cues and features of the conversation, which is closely related to proficiency in a foreign language, S2 is able to consciously construct and sustain different subject positions depending on with whom he is interacting.

Kramsch (2009: 20) claims that "the term subject position refers to the way in which the subject presents and represents itself discursively, psychologically, socially, and culturally through the use of symbolic systems". Multilingual situations increase the pool of semiotic resources available, as well as the risks of miscommunication. Therefore, high proficiency in many semiotic codes opens up more possibilities for creating, selecting and occupying relevant subject positions. If further, identity is understood as "a network of multiple positions, constructed in and through many chains of signification" (Kramsch 2009: 20), the case of S2 is a good illustration of how a varied level of proficiency in community practices, afforded by different symbolic systems, creates possibilities for accomplishing diverse situated identities.

3.6.2.3. Language competence

A frequently adopted view in applied linguistics which originates in Chomsky's idea of linguistic competence or a "growing language organ" (Chomsky 1965; 1981; 1995), is that speech emerges on its own as a result of building competence. Ritchie and Bhatia (1996: 18) note that "[o]n the basis of experience with a particular language, L (that is, linguistic input from L), a learner possessing some capacity for language acquisition develops certain cognitive capacities to use L". The idea that the human brain is innately equipped with a device for language acquisition was perceived as the potential to facilitate the SLA process, namely instructional syllabi could be aligned with the built-in syllabus, and second language (L2) instruction could follow natural acquisition processes. Moreover, development of a learner's L2 competence should naturally lead to improvement in L2 performance.

In the late 1960s, however, Dell Hymes (Hymes, 1962/1968, 1971) juxtaposed the word "communicative" with "competence". He acknowledged the value of the idealized approach that Chomsky advocated in the mid fifties but he argued that there were other important dimensions of language that should not be so readily excluded from SLA studies because of their significant influence on L2 development and use. Language is not an individual's universe since it exists exclusively in a social context.

The very fundamentals of language competence are intertwined with social concerns and linguistic form is derived through interaction between individuals. Users of a language are not only identified on the basis of the language they use but the way they use it interactionally, which is revealing of their larger cultural identities as well as situated identities. It means that intra-personal variation is common in communication and the choice of linguistic variant is more often a situational choice made in relation to a specific speech context, than it is an expression of a permanent social identity. Kravchenko says:

> The linguistic behaviour of individual native speakers is exemplary not so much because of a shared 'mother tongue', but because it is based in shared developmental history (consensual domain of interactions). But ''shared" is not synonymous with ''identical" – with all the important consequences entailed (Kravchenko 2010: 681).

Hence being a language user is a privilege that enables one to claim or resist an identity of a member of a "community of practice" (Wenger 1998) since a speech community is constituted, and its members identified, by those who participate in the language practices. An individual, however, can be identified as a non-member of the community of practice either because of his conscious efforts not to affiliate with the group, or through his individual language performance in situational contexts and discourse practices. In fact, not a single variable or factor can be presupposed to be given; rather linguistic practices are

related to a variety of positions within the different social fields that are constructed through shared practices.

In a foreign language classroom, learners can speak from a variety of positions that are neither predetermined nor appropriated by the language resources available to them. They use their language resources to respond intentionally to the communicative pressures presented by their interlocutors, including classmates and teachers. Larsen-Freeman (2011: 54) argues that for "L2 learners, these language resources include not only what they know and can do in the L2, but their L1 patterns (e.g., manifest in relexification), patterns from other languages/language varieties they control, and nonverbal behaviour". All these aspects have an impact on the learner's interactional behaviour but it is the learner himself who considers options and constraints, who his interlocutors are, the ongoing activities he is engaged in, that is, he agentively approaches his "language using identities" (Larsen-Freeman 2011: 55). In other words "common linguistic practice generates both tools (syntax or rhetoric) and users (writers and speakers), both communities and persons" (Danielewicz 2001: 22-23). Nonetheless, the knowledge underlying fluent, systematic language use is the learner's entire collection of memories of previously experienced utterances, both the learner's own and those attended to in interlocutors. Therefore, adult L2 learners approach the task of L2 learning with a lifetime of L1 experience and, likely of other languages too (Herdina and Jessner 2002), which results in cross-linguistic influences. The influences manifest themselves in numerous ways: overgeneralization, avoidance, overproduction and hypercorrection. Ellis (2006) argues that knowledge of other languages also tunes learners' perceptual mechanisms advantageously, but can sometimes also block them from perceiving L2 differences. Slobin (1996), on the other hand, emphasises that different languages shape the ways constructions are formed, leading to non-native categorisation and "thinking for speaking" (Larsen-Freeman 2011: 57), with patterns of even very advanced learners reflecting underlying construals of their L1.

The effects of L1 language impact are particularly salient when they involve the transfer of overt morphology. When they involve subtle preferences in language users' choices of target-language constructions, however, they can often only be detected through careful and detailed comparative analyses designed specifically for this purpose. This is especially true where universal processes are at play. Examples of such individual language preferences based on universal processes are quite frequent in the students' performance in the classroom discussion under analysis. In contrast to the characteristics of the isolating foreign language with a fixed word order such as English, the native language of the students, Polish, is richly inflectional with a relatively free word order; both languages, however, follow the SVO syntactic pattern. By sticking to this canonical word order, the students are able to express their ideas, hence

adjust their linguistic behaviour to environmental demands, and avoid major formal errors in English, which might be threatening to their identity of diligent and conscious learners of a foreign language. They are aware of the fact that the crucial point of learning and teaching a language is to develop the learner's mastery of it, i.e. build up language competence not in Chomsky's sense of knowledge of abstract principles of language but in the wider sense of communicative competence as used by Hymes (1972).

A closer examination of the utterances produced by the students in the discussion (typical Polish learners of English) reveals more examples of a strong influence of Polish on their English production. Such utterances as "I like share my knowledge; searching some vocabulary; I know maybe I will change plans and I'll go to another study; she teached;" are the evidence of how aspects of the Polish grammatical system (verb complementation; verb forms; modality) influence the English structures, i.e. how signifiers of Polish are transferred to English to facilitate fluent performance. They are revealing of the user's identity in as much as they are characteristic for Polish learners of English as a foreign language. The relevant literature (Collins 2002; Jarvis and Odlin 2000) shows that language users do make interlingual identifications between the grammatical morphology of the source language and corresponding structures in the recipient language. Since the structures are neither repaired by the moderator (conscious strategy) nor by other participants, they seem not to cause conversational trouble, which means that all the interlocutors arrive at the meanings that are conveyed even when the structures are grammatically inaccurate, which in turn, reflects the participants' common language background and their reliance on this resource.

Furthermore, the absence of the repair in the exchange under discussion might suggest at least two other things that are pretty consequential for the students' identity. The students lack of linguistic competence might prevent them from detecting errors in their own production and their classmates', and/or they do detect errors but do not correct to avoid jeopardising their identities of proficient language learners: either because they do not feel competent enough to correct the mistakes or they do not want to endanger the positive faces of their classmates. Corrections might put group homogeneity at risk and the authors of the corrections might become outsiders, since correcting is understood as a typical teacher's role. The absence of this classroom discourse move on the part of the students is indicative of the identities they are performing. They are acting as students rather than teachers since they do not display a "regime of competence" (Wenger 2010: 180) and they strive for the maintenance of the student community homogeneity.

Still one more reason for the absence of the correction in Excerpt 2 can be provided, which has its roots in a language transfer. Zobl (1992) found that multilingual language learners (i.e., learners who have previously learned

another second language) were on the whole less likely to reject ungrammatical sentences (e.g., *She looked for her key, but she couldn't find anywhere) than were language learners who had no prior L2s. Such behaviour, Zobl believes, indicates "an inverse relationship between the conservatism of the learning procedure and the pool of linguistic knowledge available" (p. 193). With this effect in mind, it can be concluded that the students in the debate from Excerpts 1 and 2 are proficient multilinguals tolerant of language mistakes because of their rich language learning experiences – a far reaching conclusion not supported by an analysis of the contents of the conversation: none of the students mentions any other foreign language they might have studied before.

Another striking example of cross-linguistic influences on the student's performance of the situated identity is S6's self-repair "why I chosen why I chose this specialization", and S7's non-repaired utterance "she told me that I can start learning I can become a teacher of English", which illustrate conceptual differences in time encoding in the two languages. Differences in this area involve the conceptualization of [TIME] in relation to grammaticized tense and aspect. Polish learners of English notice differences between completed and incomplete actions rather than its duration and relatedness to the ongoing situation. The English present perfect is known to present particular conceptual challenges for ESL learners (Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman 1999: 125), the consequence of which is their reliance on conceptual transfer in this area, which, in turn, marks L2 users' failure to encode temporality in accordance with the English language-specific tense system. Using English, as the examples of S6 and S7 show, means using an alternative signifying practice underlined by alternative ways of perceiving and conceiving time. It shows that ideas do not act directly on people and events but are mediated through symbolic forms that have different values for individuals in different cultures. In this sense, language mediates our existence through the symbolic forms that are arbitrary and conventional, but at the same time, representative of objective realities.

The task of a foreign language learner is to acquire those arbitrary conventions of a foreign culture and internalise them as if they become a part of his or her own personal experience. As Kramsch (2009) argues, foreign language learners are not so much concerned about monolingual encoding or decoding of standard meanings in a foreign language, rather they focus on the interpretation of the symbolic system of another culture and society and "on understanding their own and others' historical trajectories and values" (ibid.: 189). Therefore, foreign language learning can be understood as an expansion of the "symbolic self" (Kramsch 2009), i.e. a subjective experience of an individual linked to their position in space and history as well as place in an interaction. Such expansion of the self can encourage flexibility in language use and identification with foreign cultures or inhibit performance by bringing care with words and enlarging the distance between the symbolic realities. Grammatical competence,

then, is required not to become a proficient L2 user but to become a subject in varied symbolic realities, which highlights the tension between individual's autonomy and what Touraine (1992/1995) called "the tyranny of the community". In contrast, Teubert (2010) argues that the members of a discourse community are those who negotiate and determine the way in which they assign the spatial, temporal and motional elements of the world for their own purposes. The participants in Excerpt 2 resist "the tyranny of the community", that is, they have neither reframed their ways of perceiving and understanding alternative foreign language realities nor acquired meanings constructed in the teacher CoP.

Since the participants in Excerpt 2 are learners of L2, their interactional behaviour can be neatly interpreted within the sociocultural approach to L2 learning (Vygotsky 1986), where it is defined as a process by which "the L2 becomes a tool for the mind and for social interaction" (Ohta 2010: 163). She argues that learning processes, L2 learning included, may be accessed by observing changes in participation and regulation patterns, i.e. how learners use mediational tools and access (or not) various supportive resources. The meditational and supportive resources are provided within the learner's zone of proximal development. Therefore, as Ohta (2010) claims, observing growing independence in L2 use or difficulty in retaining language provided by interlocutors, or over-reliance on interlocutor's assistance, or inability to handle too-difficult conversational topics can be indicative of efficiency in the language learning processes. In the interaction at hand, certain patterns of behaviour are overt, namely the students' reliance on the moderator's performance, displayed in long silences at turn transition points and the moderator's overall longer turns than other participants'. The students seem to have settled into a pattern of relying on other interlocutors to finish their utterances, which might imply that the interactional goals are difficult for them to accomplish. In sociocultural terms, this can be described as dependence on "other regulation" (Ohta 2010). The moderator's assistance is part of the functional system they rely upon, and they do not push themselves to present their own opinion or to complete or correct their own sentences. Instead of working to become self regulated and independent L2 speakers, they rely on what the moderator would willingly supply. This lack of effort is in dynamic relationship with the moderator's over-supply of assistance, which is not withdrawn to promote independent functioning, which seems to conflict with the moderator's self-positioning as an equal party in the debate.

The students' behaviour may suggest they are participating in an interaction that exceeds their current L2 communicative ability, and that is why the interactive help falls short. In other words, the students are forced to work beyond their own zones of proximal development (Vygotsky 1978) in terms of the issue being debated and communicative competence. They cannot become core members of the community of practice since they lack adequate relevant

competency. Rather they are at the stage of "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave and Wenger 1991) in the community of teachers. They spent some time observing and occasionally performing simple tasks in the role of the teacher. In particular S2 and to some extent S10 have learned how the community of teachers works since they come from the families of teachers. They have been observing how the group operates from both sides of the desk and as the result of their long "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie 1975) of how the group works they can aspire for a core participation in the community of practice. Other participants have not managed to develop such a view of learning and teaching through years of their schooling and being pupils. The students have seen lots of teachers teaching, yet, they have understood teaching as a one-way process, and seem to have no access to the thinking and planning that underpinned their teachers' practice. Relevant knowledge of the subject creates common ground, inspires members to participate, guides their learning and gives meaning to their actions (Wenger et. al 2002).

The students' unequal degree of competency in teaching influences the degree of identification with the community and hence they do not identify with the community of teachers, which results in their reluctance to engage in the discussion since only strong identification with a community fosters interactions and encourages a willingness to share ideas. By engaging in and contributing to the practices of the community, the individuals would create their shared identity. They refrain from the participation because they position themselves as incompetent at the pedagogical knowledge and practices and to some degree their communicative competence in L2 inhibits their full engagement. Possessing the core knowledge of the community of practice, building informal connections in the community, sharing experience and expertise, learning from others, and participating in the group appear to be the factors directly influencing identification with the community.

3.6.2.4. Membership categorisation

Sacks (1992) argues that one way in which meaning construction occurs is via the rich inferential resources, carried in categories, that are available and reflexively used in everyday and institutional interaction by members of a culture. Preconceived categories help to frame our expectations and make our social world more predictable and meaningful in accordance with our own cultural and personal frames of reference. They simultaneously delimit our thinking and perceptual abilities. In interaction, they, as Sacks (1992 vol. 1: 47) claims, "are ways of introducing a piece of information and testing out whether it will be acceptable, which don't involve saying it". Therefore, possible or provisional categorisations can be implied by only mentioning category-bound activities or characteristics. Interlocutors will recognise the category because

there are conventional, cultural expectations about what constitutes a category's normative behaviour or characteristics, such that absences are accountable. In this way, interlocutors can categorise themselves or others, avoiding the interactional consequences of overt categorisation and enabling category membership denial.

In Excerpt 1, the moderator who sets out the topic of discussion overtly categorises other participants as teachers-to-be by asking about the impact they, the students, will have on their students ("you'll have a long lasting impact on the lives of your students"). The students of the future teachers are qualified as "your students", hence an inference follows that the moderator positions her students as teachers-to-be since they are expected to have their own students in the future. Moreover, the moderator sets out the case for a personal component in teaching, namely she asks about the impact that a teacher has on student's self-esteem. What is implied in the moderator's question is a kind of psychosocial relationship between teachers and students. We can observe that the students remain within this category and do not exceed its boundaries, i.e. they do not talk about other influences (cognitive, language, social) that teachers might exert on the students or any other possible student-teacher relationships. The students deliver stories about their own experiences as learners whose self-esteem was either strengthened or weakened by their teacher's attitude toward them and their learning abilities and skills.

The identity of a teacher in all the productions is constructed as relational. A teaching self is always related to the other, who is a subject of the teaching process. Teachers' identities then are always reflected in relation to their students. How this relationship is construed and performed makes for a profound change in how people think about learning and about teaching, i.e. participation by teachers and pupils in nonverbal interaction and in oral and written conversation. The moderator's view of the relations between teachers and learners is a proximal one based on conjoint participation and mutual influence of the two parties. She is pushing the identities of a constructivist teacher and learner. The teacher is not "a First Cause and Unmoved Mover, or analogous to the eighteenth-century Deist's conception of a watchmaker God who builds the universe, winds it up, and then stands at the margins of creation, letting it run its course" (Erickson 1996: 29); rather the teacher is a manger and a facilitator who initiates work, invites ideas, makes suggestions and provides social-emotional and cognitive support.

Moreover, the students are seen as having the same agentive footing (Ribeiro 2006; Schiffrin 1994; Wertsch 1991) in the interaction as the teacher. Indeed the students are active, i.e. they become agents when they, for example, resist being positioned as equal parties, while at the same time they are being influenced by the teacher who is positioning them into these new footings. They do not accept their situated identities of experts in the classroom instruction and

stick to the position of constructivist students who are capable of taking on their students' responsibilities and agentively approach the process of learning for the outcome of which they are totally accountable. Most of them use "choose" while talking about selecting a specialization in studies, which implies agency on their part. Furthermore, in turn 95, S2 elaborates on his experiences in selecting a course and says, "two years ago I studied Biology but I didn't like those studies at all so I decided to change something and because I always liked English I decided to follow (.) that direction", which emphasizes his active involvement both in selecting the course and taking responsibility for learning achievement. These are examples of the resonance of social constructivist pedagogy, that is, of the notion that knowledge is constructed by learners through their engagement in learning and thinking.

So far the students have identified knowledge mastery with foreign language mastery, and they also recognize the mastery of content knowledge as a vital facet of the teacher's identity. For example they say, "I would like to learn English good; I was influenced by her knowledge; way she shared this knowledge with her students", which reveals that they strive for achieving high proficiency in the foreign language because this will contribute to the creation of a positive professional identity. They do not appear to feel ready to take on the responsibility of the constructivist teacher who is a facilitator of learning, assisting students' performance in socially valued, purposeful activities, rather than transmitting or dispensing knowledge. Therefore the students cling to a presumption constitutive of the conventional classroom; that is, "there is a body of knowledge to be mastered and the teacher has mastery of it. It is that mastery which justifies the teacher's authority in the classroom" (Erickson 1996: 60). The students find themselves being positioned in a role for which they are unsuited. They feel that they do not have the personal characteristics or qualities necessary to perform a situated identity of a debate leader, which explains why the moderator has failed in breaking down the barrier and developing a relationship based on equality and confidence. Although she has given up her privileges and considered herself a member of the group with equal rights and duties and equal commitment to the common task she has not succeeded in positioning the students as equal parties. As Sticchi-Damiani (1979: 101) says:

> Long-established group behaviour – typical of formal educational institutions in Italy – tied the teacher to his traditional role, excluding him from any deeper communication. Sometimes I had to wait for months before perceiving signs of confidence and acceptance on the part of the students.

The students, to accept the footing occasioned by the moderator and to develop the identities at hand, must receive social support in the form of scaffolded opportunities to perform and practise the relevant ways of acting, talking and thinking. O'Connor and Michaels (1996: 64) assume that:

> facility in particular types of complex thinking follows from repeated experience in taking on various roles and stances within recurring social contexts that support those types of intellectual give-and-take and its proto-forms. This kind of learning requires that students take positions or stances with respect to the claims and observations made by others; it requires that students engage in purposive action within a social setting.

The student's limited mastery of the subject content knowledge exerts a profound influence on their classroom performance because it is understood as an initial foundation for the development of their professional identity.

Another characteristic feature of the category of the teacher that surfaces in the students' contributions is that teachers teach children. The students say: "want to work at school and with children; I like to work with children; private lessons when a child can focus on one thing and is not disturbed by other children", which illustrates that they envisage themselves as teachers of younger individuals. Seemingly the identities the students are fashioning are conflicting as far as the age of students is concerned. On the one hand, while talking about their own experiences, the students refer to their most recent past of being high school students whose lives were heavily impacted by the teachers at this level of education. On the other, when it comes to reflect upon their own characteristics of a teacher-to-be, they see themselves as teachers at the primary school level. This phony conflict in identities, however, gets easily resolved when teachers are conceived of as authority figures with necessary but adequate subject and pedagogic content knowledge. The students feel ready to make claims for their authority in relation to young learners. In constructivist educational settings less competent individuals need guidance by more competent individuals to maximize their development. The fact that the students see themselves as more competent only in relation to children, i.e. young learners, might indicate that they have not acquired the knowledge they consider adequate to take up the role of a fully competent teacher.

The view of classroom relationships the students from Excerpt 1 seem to have developed, indicates that they identify themselves as members of the Modernist Discourse (Cannela1999: 36) of education whereby learners are viewed as "those who must gain knowledge" from those who are older, more competent and those who possess "knowledge that has been legitimised". The students are orienting toward this discourse, firstly, through their performance in the interaction where they do not want to abandon the positions of students who need continued regulation of their conduct through the institution of education, and secondly in their view of themselves as teachers. They assume that there are "forms of knowledge and "experts" in that knowledge who are by definition given exhaustive rights to speak and act" (Cannella 1999: 39).

Danielewicz (2001: 4) writes: "I regard "becoming a teacher" as an identity forming process whereby individuals define themselves and are viewed by others as teachers". Apparently, the students in this case do not identify

themselves with the teacher community but they expect to gain knowledge from more competent individuals; the knowledge they will use in real classroom practice. This line of thinking parallels the work of Britzman, who argues against teaching as competence in a range of skills and techniques, arguing that:

> Learning to teach – like teaching itself – is always the process of becoming: a time of formation and transformation, of scrutiny into what one is doing, and who one can become (Britzman 1991: 8).

She argues elsewhere that "identity voices investments and commitments", i.e. efforts one takes up to accomplish certain tasks and enact group identities as well as allegiance and compliance one expresses with specific cultural and social D-discourses. The students have not made sufficient investments into the identity of the teacher, of which they are aware and consequently they are heading for the learning of a set of skills and techniques that will allow them to reference their knowledge as adequate for a teacher identity as well as name themselves as teachers.

Wortham (2003) argues that subject knowledge and academic learning always overlap with social identifications and discourse commitments one is displaying. The students, as mentioned above, make commitments to the Modernist D-discourse of social/cultural education and constructive learning. Hence they acknowledge their responsibility for learning and mastery of the subject matter along with the fact that this subject knowledge is what will empower them in the classroom setting. This might be the reason why they do not comply with the moderator's positioning as equal parties. They make the commitment with the discourses of education they have encountered throughout their learning experiences whereby teachers must possess subject knowledge which is transmitted to students. Their contributions indicate that knowledge resides outside of the students, in books and teachers' heads, and students are waiting in the classroom to take hold of it. Hence a good teacher is the one who possesses large subject knowledge that can be transferred to students. They are there ready to learn but it is the teacher who has knowledge on offer. The wider its range and the better its quality, the more is purchased and the higher the profits of the trader.

Teacher identity, in the students' view, is like that of a vendor and students are consumers. This may explain why the students seem to reject the "learner empowerment" model (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 128), introduced by the moderator and instead orient to a "transmission" model of teaching (ibid.) whereby they reject the option of taking control of, or intervening in the construction of knowledge. This becomes "an expression of the students' identities as shoppers" (ibid.) who actively and agentively select goods they want to obtain and reject those that do not fit them.

Students' decisions to become teachers have also been made under the influence of the free market economy. Knowledge of other languages is often

seen as an "asset" in the pursuit of economic profit and material success. In the situation under discussion, higher proficiency in a foreign language is indeed a means of empowerment. The students decided to become teachers of EFL rather than teachers of any other school subject because teaching this language as a lingua franca will empower them financially in the local community and open many well-paid teaching positions or other well-paid positions outside teaching. They say, "this decision gives me better job opportunities; I know that I will find a job (.) after this studies", which shows that they view teaching as a profession not a devotion.

The teacher's subject knowledge is the aspect of a complex of a teacher identity that all the students highlight. In the interaction, the attitudes of the students to education and learning are particularly shaped by the personal experiences of schooling and by specific learning contexts. They all talk about their histories of learning different school subjects. Interestingly, they mention those subjects with which they either struggled or had excellent accomplishments. Their claim is that it is the authority of the teacher that accounts for students mastery of a school subject (e.g. she was very good teacher obviously we learned a lot). They view a principal teacher's responsibility as one of inculcating correct knowledge that will enable students to achieve their goals. In their view the most important are achievements, short-term goals like passing graduation exams or getting into university degree programmes that will secure their future career. In other words, the students recognize the impact of teachers on students' lives in terms of the knowledge teachers manage to successfully pass to their students. Although they mention that teacher recognition of the student's mastery of the content knowledge exerts a positive impact on their self-esteem, they neither take into account student personality traits that impact achievements in particular academic fields nor social demands and influences. Rather they insist that teachers be sensitive to the many currents of opinions and evaluations in their communities; they must hence pay attention to student needs, attitudes and expectations regarding instruction, including the sometimes tacit evaluation of a scope and forms of knowledge that students might find useful in particularized discourses of their lives.

Almost all the students have a view of a teacher as a free agent in a full control of the teaching process. S2 is the only student who reflects on teacher's agency in a wider discourse. Delivering the conversational narrative, particularly in the evaluation line ("she was very good teacher (.) obviously we learned a lot but (erm) I don't know probably she was afraid that she'll lose her job or something"), he acknowledges that institutional and wider socio-economic discourses may impact a teacher's attitude and classroom instruction. The laughter that follows his turn may indicate that the other students do not regard such contexts as being a factor impacting teaching. For them, a good teacher must possess the ability to act in ways that produce desired outcomes or

contribute to personal goals and projects. Having personal control seems straightforward enough, but social and interactional contexts control us far more than we usually notice. Understanding the multiple dimensions that exert an impact on classroom instruction can be a first step to gaining agency by a teacher and beginning to focus more on how teachers understand and react to students, less on changing them. Understanding how powerful Discourses are in creating who teachers are, how they are understood, and how they understand their students is a lesson that the student teachers have not learned yet.

3.6.2.5. Concluding remarks

Excerpts 1 and 2 show that the moderator and the students implement a teacher-fronted classroom exchange system, which is done by orienting to IRF (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) exchange patterns. This exchange system is characterised by unequal power relationships. Students in a post-compulsory education setting might be expected to be invested in their own success and achievement, and therefore to align with institutional goals and identities. But this is only partly borne out: students display elements of resistance, both to the task at hand, and to the easy acceptance of an "intellectual" identity (Benwell and Stokoe 2006).Their resistance is evident in the long silences that occur in Excerpt 1. The students do not comply with the moderator's idea of creating an open, free debate. This is indicative of two stances. Firstly, the students manifest their agency as a party in the classroom discourse, that is they orient to such classroom organisation where the students have a decisive part in how tasks will be accomplished in the classroom. The shift in relations between the university and students becomes noticeable, which results in new identities for students as "clients or consumers of the commodity of education" (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 127). The representative of the university, the moderator, is seen as service provider of knowledge and skills and that is why her efforts to establish a collaborative pattern of interaction fail.

Secondly, the traditional structures of higher education dictate that there is a hierarchically-organised relationship between tutors and students. "The role of tutors as expert bearers of knowledge and facilitators of learning means that they may adopt a regulative mode" (ibid.). The regulative mode is associated with the unidirectional transfer of knowledge, as well as tight control and guidance on task performance that does not allow for autonomy on the part of the student.

Seemingly, the two stances are conflicting at the level of local micro-discourse, but they merge within the macro-discourses of "student centred learning" and consumerism (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 128). The influence of Vygotsky's constructivist theory of cognitive development, which suggests that learners actively co-construct knowledge (cf. Vygotksy 1978), and the industrial discourse of education concerned with producing, marketing and selling cultural

and educational commodities to clients results in the transformation of the student-teacher relationship. The teacher is no longer an authority but a product supplier and the students are not learners actively and agentively engaged in the process of knowledge acquisition but clients who demand a ready-made, high-quality product – knowledge.

The analysis of Excerpts 1 and 2 at the micro-level of conversation enable us to see how identities of the participants fluctuate and change in the course of interaction due to changing requirements of the context. The classroom is a locus of meaningful, authentic exchanges among users of English as a foreign language who are to become language teachers. Despite the attempts of the moderator to create a community of teachers-to-be, the students agentively position themselves as learners. Their aim is to learn not only new content but also new ways of speaking and participating in multiple social worlds. This might be the reason why they resist the positioning of equal parties that has been attempted by the moderator. Their sense of self-efficacy (Bandura 1997) for this classroom task is too low to actively engage in the interaction, that is they are unwilling to contribute freely to the group discussion. This cannot be directly related to the framework of the classroom since the moderator has attempted to establish a community of practice (Wenger 1998) in which she has only set the agenda and is trying to participate as any other person. The students, then, cannot be afraid of a bad grade or punishment, or a reproach from the teacher. They might fear the alienation of not being able to communicate and thereby get close to other participants; they fear looking ridiculous. The students cannot overcome their inhibitions and are trying to protect their self-esteem by refraining from the interaction. One possible reason for that is inadequate foreign language competence, whose impact on self-presentation has already been confirmed, and which will be verified in subsequent sections (cf. 3.6.4) when the interaction will be held in the interlocutors' native language.

Another reason for the students' unwillingness to communicate might be a shallow knowledge of the topic of the discussion. According to Giddens (1984), agents are positioned or situated in time-space as well as socially within a network of social relations because of the knowledgeability incorporated in practical activities. Knowledge, in this context, is seen as accurate or valid awareness that exists at both the discursive and practical levels, and discourse is accordingly seen as a mode of articulation of such knowledge (Giddens 1984: 83-92). The moderator due to her topic expertise, is controlling the conversation in talking more, correcting/commenting the students and in giving more directions. The students, in contrast, know very little about practical aspects of teaching and draw on their experience as students and they perform as active listeners rather than speakers. Such behaviour of the students can be predicted with the outcomes of the research on Interlanguage (Selinker 1989), as reported by Zuengler (1993) that has shown that how much participants know about the

topic will influence their IL use. Moreover, the Discourse Domain Model (Douglas and Selinker 1985; Selinker and Douglas 1985), which states that learners develop ILs through various content areas, or discourse domains, that are important to or needed by them, can explain the effect of knowing a topic. Subjects in Selinker and Douglas (1985) and Cornu and Delahaye (1987) appeared to speak more fluently and assertively when discussing their major field than when talking outside their major field. The major field topic engaged a discourse domain of which the subjects had more cognitive control than the other topic's domain. The students' classroom behaviour could be predicted upon the content analysis of their contributions. They all stress the importance of adequate knowledge of the subject matter by the teacher as well as the methodology of teaching. An inference can be made that they are unwilling to communicate because the topic of the conversation is too vague to get involved and they lack relevant knowledge to discuss it, especially, that some of them directly express disinterest in teaching and highlight the importance of foreign language knowledge as a tool necessary for professional growth and promotion in other professions. The interest which a participant might express in a topic is not dependent on the degree of knowledge he might have of it. This is also true of the students' conversational behaviour in Excerpts 1 and 2. Despite the similar life experiences of S2, S7, and S10 (all were raised in families with teaching career tradition) only S2 is intrinsically interested in the topic and the pursuit of this career. This leads to varied linguistic performance and interactional engagement. S2 provides an insight into both the generic topic and the historically and personally grounded one whereas S7 and S10 reflect only on the topic that directly relates to their subjective experience.

Still it is not strictly the speaker's absolute knowledge of the topic that determines how active a conversational role a participant takes; rather, it is the speaker's knowledge compared to the interlocutor's knowledge. In other words, topic knowledge within an interaction is interactionally defined. In this sense, a topic situates the speaker within the interaction, that is, vis-a-vis the interlocutor. In other words, it can shape one's conversational role. Zuengler (1989) reports that expertise differences among interlocutors, even where perceived, and not actual, led to IL variation. In Zuengler's study, interlocutors were led to have certain perceptions of their own and their partners' topic knowledge, and it was interlocutor perceptions (and not actual knowledge) that influenced IL performance. Even when actual knowledge levels are involved (see Zuengler and Bent 1991; also, Woken and Swales 1989), topic knowledge is interactionally determined according to comparisons the interlocutors make of each other.

Taking the classroom example again, conversational positioning is not simply a function of how much each interlocutor knows, or cares about teaching in an absolute sense. How the interlocutors talk about teaching, and how active

or not their roles are, are significantly influenced by what their conversational partner knows and feels about the topic. The moderator has the greatest expertise in the field, which results in her positioning and being positioned as a facilitator and manager of the interaction. She is the one who sets the topic, asks questions, summarises others' contributions and concludes them. Furthermore, a varied degree of expert knowledge and interest in the topic among the students lead to their unequal and asymmetrical patterns of the conversational participation and dominance as well as a varied employment of measures such as amount of talk, use of pause fillers to retain one's turn, topic moves, and back-channels.

The analysis shows that the students are still in the process of investing into their identities of teachers rather than putting them on the market. The main findings are that expertise in the topic, language competence and affective involvement influence interlocutors' role dynamics and conversational behaviour. The participants' situated identity is a function of the relationship between (1) the specific semiotic resources of a particular language, (2) language and culture-independent principles, and (3) the situated courses of action within which language is actually embedded. So, although the problems that the students encounter are seemingly generic, the actual form that interaction takes is shaped by and adapted to the particular resources that are locally available for their expression. The patterns of turn-taking, distribution of turn-types, and category-bound obligations differ when compared to everyday talk and display the emerging institutional nature of the interaction and its incumbent identities. Whilst familiarity with the institutional setting, in terms of its usual roles and goals, might guide the interlocutors in the situation, it is clear that these are things that are produced and oriented to by the participants in the talk itself. A possibly unexpected pattern to emerge from the analysis is the way students appear to resist the task, displayed in a number of interactional glitches. The moderator's responses to long pauses, and unmitigated dispreferred turns, include reformulating the task into a smaller and more manageable one. Whilst the students fulfil their D-discourse identities of students by taking turns in the interaction, they do not fulfil their situated identities of equal parties in the talk.

The students demonstrate the behaviours and attitudes expected of and considered appropriate for their own respective roles. They think in terms of roles and performances, which emphasises the extent to which individual and personal behaviours are heavily influenced by social contexts and by deeply internalised understandings of what, and who, other people expect them to be.

3.6.3. Varied-experience participants' classroom interaction in L2

This section presents an analysis of the discussion that was held among fourth semester (second year) graduate students of TEFL at the University Lodz. The participants (1 male and 7 females) are pre- and in-service teachers (further

referred to as participants) with a long history of FL learning, both formal instruction in EFL and L2 learning in natural contexts, and varied teaching experience. The whole discussion lasted for 90 minutes. To maintain anonymity of the participants, each individual is labelled in the transcript with the capital letter "P" that stands for "participant" followed by a numeral from 1 to 9; "M" stands for the moderator.

P1, P2 and P4 had the longest teaching experience that had continued for over 15 years. P1started her career in teaching as a teacher of Chemistry and turned to teaching English facing redundancy. Similarly, P2 who was a fully qualified teacher of History took up TEFL studies to secure her job position. P4 held B.A in TEFL and, as a secondary school teacher was forced, under the new regulations, to complete M.A. in TEFL. P3, P5, P7, P9 were all teachers of English with moderate teaching experience, who were obliged to complete M.A. in TEFL. P5 was the only male in the group. P6 and P8 had started their career as teachers one year before the discussion took place.

The analysis of the discussion is conducted within the three aforementioned theoretical paradigms, which is reflected in the structure of the subsequent sections. Accordingly, Section 3.6.3.1. contains the analysis of interactional stories that occurred in the discussion, Section 3.6.3.2. presents how interactants position themselves and are positioned in the interaction, whereas Section 3.6.3.4. is devoted to the analysis of membership categorisation unfolding in the local context. Section 3.6.3.3. attempts to display a dialectic relationship between foreign language proficiency and kinds of identities performed by the interactants.

In order to aid the navigation amongst the analysed samples, the whole discussion has been partitioned into fragments from 3(a) to 3(j). The parts have been labelled collectively as Excerpt 3, to facilitate their recognition as pieces of one discussion, whereas their alphabetic sequence is supposed to ease the navigation amongst numerous and lengthy turns.

3.6.3.1. Interactional storytelling

In the discussion, whose samples are presented below and collectively referred to as Excerpt 3, a number of interactional stories are delivered in response to the moderator's questions.

Excerpt 3(a)

2 P1: *I believe that I have impact on the life of my students because I suppose that not only can I learn chemistry, I learn how they can live honestly but how they can, what relationship they can have with others, what good relationship and I always tell them about rules of life so I think that a good teacher should teach not only subject but also how people should be*

3 P2: *I'm not sure if I have impact on lives of my students, I think I have because they often come, after graduating school, they often come to meet me, but I know teachers to have had impact on my life because after lessons of history in elementary school I decided to study history and be a teacher of history and then my teacher in secondary school convinced me in my opinion (.)*

4 M: *M. anyone else?*

5 P2: *I'm not sure if I have impact on lives of my students, I think I have because they often come, after graduating school, they often come to meet me, but I know teachers to have had impact on my life because after lessons of history in elementary school I decided to study history and be a teacher of history and then my teacher in secondary school convinced me in my opinion*

8 P4: *I disagree, I must say that the only teacher, I believe had a strong impact on me was my teacher from my grammar school, he taught me polish language and today when I'm learning english grammar I must say that I base on the knowledge I possessed during this time when I learned polish grammar so for me, I remember that teacher, it was a woman, she was very demanding, very strict, and when I was not long time ago talking with my colleagues from that time, they remember her, they were afraid of her but for me she was very good (.)*

9 P1: *I also disagree, cause I think that, for example I travelled with my students to the mountains and I know that many of them are interested in travelling in the mountains now what's more some of them are studying chemistry now but at first they didn't like this subject so I think that I have influence on their lives what's more, I tried to explain them that they should learn because they should achieve something to live better, in better conditions and to earn much more money, I tried to tell them that maybe now they didn't understand that knowledge (.) when they get older they change their mind toward life, toward rules*

10 P5: *teachers change our plans, our future plans, I used to be interested in biology and I've chosen this school with lots of lessons in this subject and the teacher enjoyed asking questions about topics which were in september and it was in each lesson during the year and after four years I was so discouraged that I completely changed my plans and I didn't want to go and study medicine, biology (...) she also didn't show us any experiences, but she only gave notes and nothing more and asked questions about it*

55 P4: *yes, I can recall many such instances, the cases or occasions from my secondary school, but there was one teacher whom I remember very well, my english teacher, she was very demanding, very severe and but on the other hand appeared to us as a kind of very distanced, I would say unfriendly in some fashion, and we were supposed to have a test, as I recall, and (…) and we were very happy that we got away (…) thank you.*

The stories are mostly used argumentatively, so aesthetics are not as relevant as notions of effectiveness, appropriacy and consequentiality for the local interaction. Through tellings of indelible life events and life stories, the

participants contribute much to understanding how meaning is made and identity fashioned. By accentuating and bringing to light certain lived experiences, they highlight the continuity of experience and detail the fabric of unified personal identity, against which their current experience is constantly resolved.

Most stories appear to be reference stories (Georgakopoulou 2006; 2007; Georgakopoulou and Bamberg 2005) since they briefly present events and/or stylize characters that have attained the status of building blocks in the participants' personal histories and thus can play a role of reference points in the interaction. Georgakopoulou (2006; 2007; Georgakopoulou and Bamberg 2005) argue that reference stories are about shared (known) events. Although in Excerpt 3(a), the stories are not regarded as shared by the interactants, as no two individuals participated or witnessed the same events, they can make sense of the tellings because of the common scripts or discourse models (Gee 2005) that the stories are drawn upon. The stories play the role of reference stories since they present events that are familiar to the interlocutors at the coarse-grained level of schematization. Local relevance of the particular characters or actions in the taleworld is recognized because they are grounded in the master narratives that the participants share. When P4 is talking about her teacher of Polish who influenced the way she has learned English, the interactants draw both on their general knowledge of the world to recognize that both Polish and English are linguistic systems that can be mastered with similar learning strategies. They also rely on the specific cultural knowledge and personal experiences of learning Polish in formal educational settings whereby a lot of formal language knowledge students attain in the classroom. This knowledge of formal language learning seems to be transferred to foreign language learning contexts**.** The figure of the teacher of Polish is outlined as strict and demanding, the qualities which are praised by P4 with this telling and which are expanded in turn 55.

The story presented in turn 55 brings another aspect of a teacher's identity into focus, namely friendliness. This time P4 presents herself as a typical pupil overjoyed with the absence of a teacher and thrilled with the view of having a free lesson instead of a nerve-racking one. She admits that the teacher was demanding but also unfriendly, which further emphasizes her understanding of a good teacher as the one preoccupied with effective subject matter delivery as well as with establishing a social-emotional bond between the teacher and students. Telling this story, she displays her awareness that students' needs should be recognized and catered for in the classroom. She advocates that the characteristics of an ideal teacher include being well-organized, alert to classroom events, and possessing a good command of subject matter delivery. An ideal teacher, then, is a caring teacher concerned about students' cognitive and social-emotional well-being.

Responsibility for student learning is also highlighted in the story delivered by P1. She frames the teacher's major goal as preparing students for

real life situations. While referring to her experience of teaching Chemistry, she highlights the importance of social skills and moral principles that students should be taught as part and parcel of the school subject. She mentions the school trips she organized to let students develop extracurricular interests and skills (turn 9). Presenting a snapshot of a trip to the mountains, she draws on the participants' knowledge of such an event and, at the same time, highlights her involvement in the students' life. She cares for their personal development as well as the cultivation of their knowledge. In her view, the former is closely associated with morality education, making teachers, in her view, not only educators but also moral guides (turn 2). For P1 being a teacher of either Chemistry or English did not prevent her from performing her role as "moral guide" (Ha 2008: 117). At the same time, she emphasizes the role teachers have in student identity construction and making career choices (turn 9). She made her students realize that the content of a subject like Chemistry or English was just one aspect of their education, and to develop fully, they also needed many others, for example interpersonal or metacognitive skills. P1 states that knowledge should be accompanied by good personal and social skills that students first learn at school.

Excerpt 3(b)

50 P7: *after two last lessons of history in 4th class when I was ten or eleven I said to my parents I will study history, they said you are not very clever girl but you are young, that woman was a headmaster of my school and she taught history in my class and in fourth class history is a little strange because there are not any processes but just pictures of history and she gave us possibility to make many performances, different interviews something what awaken our creativity and give a chance to be interested in history and in this way she got even this that after two years when she left our class and our school we still are the best class in history, and I remember it very well and last time I met my friends form this class they still remember*

Another notable example of the interpretation of discourse relying on the participants' knowledge of shared educational contexts involves P7 talking about her personal experience of learning History in primary school (turn 50). Learning History at this level of education is typically conceptualised as rote learning: memorizing dates and events. P7 is imparting more detail into her story as she recognizes that these are her unique experiences and other participants might make incorrect inferences based on their general knowledge if they were not provided with adequate content. With her story, she brings the issue of problem solving strategies into focus. She notes that teacher's self-regulation (Pressley and McCormick 1995) is of utmost importance in effective classroom instruction since the primary responsibility of the teacher is to select and execute such classroom strategies that will promote the formation of a constructive

learning environment. Mentioning her History teacher and her use of supportive scaffolding (Palincsar and Brown 1984), P7 advocates for these contemporary instructional applications, which more directly mirror Vygotsky's notion of a zone of proximal development (Vygotsky 1978). This approach to scaffolding (cf. directive scaffold; Mehan 1994; Silliman and Wilkinson 1994) is consistent with current recommendations for learner-centred instruction that values learning as a search for understanding, provides opportunities for responsive feedback, and views the educational process as occurring within a community of learners. In this respect, P7's story, the only one explicating learner-centred instruction, is not an exception.

Excerpt 3(c)

10 P5: *teachers change our plans, our future plans, I used to be interested in biology and I've chosen this school with lots of lessons in this subject and the teacher enjoyed asking questions about topics which were in september and it was in each lesson during the year and after four years I was so discouraged that I completely changed my plans and I didn't want to go and study medicine, biology (...) she also didn't show us any experiences, but she only gave notes and nothing more and asked questions about it*

28 P7: *I think that teachers don't like this kind of behaviour which is not normal or not considered normal and individuality in many cases create this kind of behaviour and because the teacher wants to judge the lessons progress and wants some (...) (..) go from the beginning to the end of the lesson without much trouble don't like persons who are different, who sometimes ask different questions, who look out of order, I mean they are different, they are more spectacular more individual like ania said sometimes this kind of, the way they look like, the way they behave is punished in some way, to eliminate and it's sometimes and sometimes it is justified because the students sometimes cross the line which should be not crossed in their behaviour but sometimes there are creativity (..) approach this way. I think that this kind of impact on the students, on their behaviour, their morality is more complex, there is a bigger impact when the child is smaller because smaller child has this, smaller children think that teachers have some kind of authority but when the learner, the student is bigger, in secondary school this feeling that the teacher means equal authority just disappear, I think, teacher is a person who is to taught some subject, not to teach morality. parent don't like teachers to interfere in this (...) it is obvious when they think they should be responsible. sometimes there's a conflict between the teacher and the parent don't (...) teachers, I think that the main factor in which teachers, roles of the teacher in this kind of teaching morality and ethics is diminishing and this impact is, is degrading in some way.*

68 P3: *(.) it's important to teach in a way, to focus on something important in the subject we taught, we should choose this kind of knowledge which is most important and we want this knowledge to remain in the brains of our students. I also think that when the student learn not by heart, by (.) understand what he's, she's talking about, understand how this works, it's better maybe he she will not remember it*

but he, she will learn and during learning (.) the logic, the reasoning is most important so there are different skills which are most important. When we talk about some knowledge for example mathematics we want students, learners to think in a logic way and this ability is important to develop not the process of solving some arithmetical equations more or less complex. maybe student won't be able to solve this kind of equation in two, three, five years but I think that what will stay in him or her is the ability to reason, to do reasoning and that is most important

90 P9: *I think that the atmosphere in the classroom is very important and that the teacher should create atmosphere without chaos, without hurry, without stress and it makes a good teacher*

Similar views on a teacher's role as a facilitator are indirectly presented in the stories delivered by P5 (turn 10), P7 (turn 28), P3 (turn 68) and P9 (turn 90). Their approval of the applications of supportive-scaffolded instruction distinguishes these moderately-experienced teachers from their older colleagues. In contrast, the stories delivered by the teachers with more than 15 years' experience endorse directive scaffolding which presumes the teacher's primary job to be knowledge transmission and assessment (Cazden 1988). From a structural viewpoint, what is defined by teacher control mechanisms, designed to assess students' content knowledge in accord with a predetermined standard for acceptable participation (Gallimore and Tharp 1990). P4 (turn 91) talks about a "person who teaches with pleasure…in an intelligible way" and P1, in similar vein, talks about "a good teacher who should teach" (turn 2) and "try to explain (…) and tell them" (turn 9), which clearly emphasize a directive model of instruction.

A different view on the teacher's roles and instruction strategies is envisaged by the trainee teachers. What follows from their stories is a gradual shift of responsibility for the outcomes of learning from teachers to students. P6, while talking about her English teacher influence, says "I learned English with pleasure" (turn 23) with the emphasis on an active and agentive attitude of the student toward the process of knowledge mastery. Effective teaching and learning occur in collaborative activities with teachers and peers. Such active learning contexts create classrooms where individual differences are respected due to the construction of multiple zones of proximal development and where collaboration as a process of inquiry also enhances the motivation to learn (Tracey and Morrow 1998). In turn 67, P6 explicates on this issue by saying "most important in learning is to understand the process and not how many live in Australia". What she expects of the teacher is explicit and positive feedback intended to guide students on learning how to evaluate the creation of a shared perspective or revise their perspective when misunderstandings occur.

Social construction of meaning and student agency is further elucidated in P8's contributions. In turn 25, saying "my teachers weren't teachers that were

interested in my social development, I think that only maybe my marks, my behaviour at school was not interesting", she suggests a central role for social factors that may manifest in the teacher's care for the social development of the pupils, and understanding of their interests and fashion. She mentions a Maths teacher who punished students not for failing to master the subject matter but for being fashionably dressed.

Excerpt 3(d)

28 P7: *I think that teachers don't like this kind of behaviour which is not normal or not considered normal and individuality in many cases create this kind of behaviour and because the teacher wants to judge the lessons progress and wants some (…) go from the beginning to the end of the lesson without much trouble don't like persons who are different, who sometimes ask different questions, who look out of order, I mean they are different, they are more spectacular more individual like ania said sometimes this kind of, the way they look like, the way they behave is punished in some way, to eliminate and it's sometimes and sometimes it is justified because the students sometimes cross the line which should be not crossed in their behaviour but sometimes there are creativity (..) approach this way. I think that this kind of impact on the students, on their behaviour, their morality is more complex, there is a bigger impact when the child is smaller because smaller child has this, smaller children think that teachers have some kind of authority but when the learner, the student is bigger, in secondary school this feeling that the teacher means equal authority just disappear, I think, Teacher is a person who is to taught some subject, not to teach morality. parent don't like teachers to interfere in this (..) it is obvious when they think they should be responsible. sometime there's a conflict between the teacher and the parent don't (…) teachers, I think that the main factor in which teachers, roles of the teacher in this kind of teaching morality and ethics is diminishing and this impact is, is degrading in some way*

Responding to her story, P7 explains in simple terms that the clothes students wear are perceived by teachers as markers of morality, i.e. students are expected to be decently dressed for the classroom. Those who are extravagant are recognized by older teachers as crossing the line of moral behaviour (turn 28). What she implies is that in a traditional teacher-lead classroom, creativity is punished and instead conventionality and conformity are promoted. Moreover, P7 claims that the role of the teacher as a moral guide (Ha 2008: 117) is no longer relevant, with which she stands in opposition to P1 who strongly emphasises this aspect of the teaching profession.

P8 further accentuates that group processes that promote positive effects for learning are often not well understood and are disregarded by teachers.

Excerpt 3(e)

65 P8: *from my point of view the teacher should be wise, friendly but should be (..) should be objective. I think that maybe teachers should see also the (..) of students*

> *and should be friendly for pupils because I remember that the atmosphere during lessons was very stressful when I was at school especially at secondary school also during my studies when a woman wanted to humiliate a student in many cases so I remember that it was most stressful for me, from time to time I tried to avoid this subject because of this teacher not because of this subject*

In turn 65, she talks about a classroom atmosphere that plays a major part in student achievement and subject matter mastery. In her view, teachers should encourage student meaning making and assist them in reasoning rather than evaluate their conduct, which will foster student development and creativity, while also lowering the affective filter. P8 favours a classroom in which students invest in their own learning, seeking out challenges, and teachers encourage their participation through such devices as eliciting reasoning to support a statement or position. In short, she advocates for a shift in the control of learning from teachers to students. She recognizes the teacher to be a key node in a network of external factors influencing student motivation (cf. Targońska 2008: 233). P8's views on the role of a teacher and teaching instruction can be recognized as a responsive follow-up to her experiences as a student. In turn 12, saying "I have very bad memories about my teachers, really, so that's why I'm here", she implies that as her agency and responsibility for learning had not been appreciated by teachers, she decided to become a teacher to execute a change in schooling. Deictic "here" refers to the university where she has been studying and where the discussion is taking place. Herself becoming a teacher is seen as an opportunity to exert an impact on the community of teachers in terms of "their system of knowledge and beliefs through a powerful series of binary oppositions, organized around a basic division between the 'traditional' teachers of the past – 'them', and the 'new' teachers of the future – 'us'"(Clarke 2008: 13).

P8's antagonism and hostility towards the school teachers are tempered in her reflection and the decision to become a teacher, through which she has demonstrated some awareness of the contingency and constructedness of the community and its beliefs. She clearly positions herself within language teacher education discourse. Her developing teacher self simultaneously operates within student discourse and teacher discourse. For transfer of identities to take place, students must eventually be capable of sharing teachers' perspectives about the purposes and goals of instruction and learning. From P8's stories, we can infer what the activity means to her in the particular setting, i.e. how to go about implementing it and, eventually, appropriating the tools of the instruction as her own.

From the analysis of the small stories in the discussion, we can see that personal experience as well as the personal practical knowledge (Golombek 1998: 459) of the participating teachers play a vital role in their understanding of learning and teaching. It is also a framework through which they make sense of

their classrooms: “It filters experience so that teachers reconstruct it and respond to the exigencies of a teaching situation” (ibid.). The stories they tell serve as a tool to reflect on particular teaching and learning situations as well as the characters of the students and teacher participating in them. We can see that the older teachers display concern for the scholastic achievements of their students and the morality of their actions, whereas the trainee teachers place greater emphasis on the student perspective and maintain that schools can and should become places that foster security and curiosity. This will happen when the responsibility for student achievement shifts from the teacher’s shoulders to the learner’s.

Undoubtedly, through telling their life event stories, the participants are creating portrayals of teachers that they either admire and respect or despise. The stories play the role of cultural tools needed to understand, remember, and express their perspectives in more literate ways. Their analysis shows that instructional practices favoured or despised by the participants are grounded in their own culturally meaningful experiences and the identities the participants are fashioning are based on them.

The analysis also shows that the precision and content richness of the story depend on the goal that the participants are hoping to achieve by telling it. Because the stories do not originate from the participants’ shared histories they make exclusive on-line decisions about the level of the story content schematization. They adjust story content to what they expect other participants should know as well as their anticipated interactional moves and their own interactional goals. The stories have their origin in past events but they are recontextualized in the current interaction. They give accounts of a certain landmark or key event or experience that is considered to be pivotal in the formation of the participant’s sense of self. They reveal the participants’ beliefs about the nature of knowledge and how students do and/or should acquire it. Their beliefs are dramatically influenced by their own learning experiences and assumptions about the nature of teaching and the way students learn. More so, they all have personal values that influence how they run their classrooms, what matters to them in terms of, among other things, classroom management, respect, academic standards and self-esteem.

All the participants seem to approve of the underlying principles of constructivism and acknowledge the role of scaffolding in learning. Nevertheless, they variably emphasise the important learning principles of constructivism. The trainee teachers, favouring a supportive scaffold, emphasise learning by doing and regulating one’s own learning; building individual meaning in a situation or experience; and learning with and from others. However, more experienced teachers favour directive scaffolding, since their underlying belief is that students first need to know the content and only then can they be taught how to apply what they have learned.

3.6.3.2. Positioning in the interaction

The application of Davies and Harré's (1990: 48) notion of positioning as a "discursive practice" and linking it with Bamberg's (1997) idea of conducting story analysis at the three levels makes it possible to investigate how participants attend to each other in an interactional setting and transport these conversational identities to larger contexts of dominant discourses. In other words, "whatever has been accomplished locally between the interactants by sharing the story can be told about the speaker elsewhere" (Bamberg 2004b: 336-7). The analysis thus moves beyond the small story content and telling to consider the normative D-discourses (the broader ideological contexts) within which the characters agentively position themselves and by which, they are positioned.

At level one of the small story analysis, two contrastive tendencies can be observed when the perspective of a storyteller is considered, namely those of the student and the teacher. The former is exclusively employed in the tellings of P6 and P8 in reference to past events, whereas both perspectives are taken by other participants throughout the interaction, as well as P6 and P8 when they talk about imagined, future situations.

Excerpt 3(f)

23 P6: *my english teacher from my middle school she had influence on me because, she taught me only one year but when I went on (..) I learned english with pleasure. I liked english but after her lessons I liked it even more. first I thought about studying history after this one year I completely changed my mind and decided to study english. she had a big influence on me*

67 P6: *I remember a teacher who wanted us to answer in the same words we had in our notes or our books (..) that people had right to tell in his own words not learn it by heart because it doesn't make any sense, after the lesson he or she doesn't remember words he was talking about and I think that most important in learning is to understand the process and not how many (.) live in australia*

P6 has no teaching experience, but has already started reflecting about her future life as a teacher. This enables her to position herself within an imagined community (Norton 2001; Pavlenko 2003) of teachers, teaching institutions, and, naturally as a member of a real community of learners: learners of English in particular. In her small stories (turn 23, 67), P6 connects with learners who have been either positively or negatively influenced by teachers. In turn 23, she recounts a story of an English teacher from her secondary school who encouraged her to study English. In turn 67, a negative image of a teacher who demanded the students recount facts verbatim is presented. By referring to these specific examples of her experiences as a student, she aims to present herself as a constructive, agentive learner who is willing to take responsibility for her learning and expects teachers to be facilitators of learning. The student's

accountability for learning, learner autonomy and the view of a teacher as a facilitator is what she aims to communicate in the conversation. She has developed such a view of learning and teaching through years of her schooling and being a pupil, through what Lortie (1975) calls "the apprenticeship of observation". Yet, as Lortie notes, although students have seen lots of teachers teaching, they have understood teaching as a one-way process, they have become accomplished observers of teaching, yet, they seem to have no access to the thinking and planning that underpinned their teachers' practice; what they saw was largely interpreted as the teacher telling or imparting information. Therefore, critically reflecting on her classroom learning experiences, P6 communicates an ideal or imagined, rather than a real, identity of a teacher.

At the start of her teaching profession, she has persistent and strong beliefs about teaching (Bailey 1996; Farrell 1999; Urmston 2003; Borg 2009) and she "inadvertently and subconsciously relies on this view that has been shaped by being an observer of teaching from one side of the desk" (Loughran 2010: 7). So in moving to the teacher's side, she acts from these superficial understandings of practice shaped by her apprenticeship of observation. In turn 67, referring to the specific experiences in her life, she is making a broader claim about the nature of learning and says that understanding processes is more important in learning than remembering individual facts. What she implies is that teachers should not present students with too many facts but make attempts to expound a less detailed but coherent picture of the subject matter. Such an identity of a teacher as a facilitator, who initiates work, invites ideas, interprets instructions, gives orders or makes suggestions about who should do what, or how to tackle the task, is an ideal she is targeting.

The identity of an active observer is performed by P6 in the interaction under scrutiny. She initiates her conversational contribution in turn 18 saying "it's my turn now", which shows that she is positioning herself as a student in a classroom following a typical IRF classroom discourse structure (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). It also shows that she is engaged in the debate and keeps tracking the path of the discussion. This unsuccessful attempt to self select as the next party in the conversation indicates that she has a lively interested in the topic and wants to present her view, yet, it also demonstrates that the competitive nature of the debate increases situational anxiety, as it happens in the classroom where students compete to take part in the activity, which in turn leads to failure in turn upholding. P6's behaviour, then, is characteristic of a student rather than a teacher.

Excerpt 3(g)

16 P8: *yes, I will understand, I have to be:*

17 P8: *(.) have to be a (.) teacher (.)*

18 P6: *(.) it's my turn*

19 M: *so what are these bad memories you have*

20 P8: *I didn't like my teachers because they tried to stop my individuality and my passions just to make me study but not make me interested in the subject, of course not all of them but most of them, some of them*

21 P8: *maybe because every teacher thinks that his or her subject is the most important*

22 M: *any other contributions*

23 P6: *my english teacher from my middle school she had influence on me because, she taught me only one year but when I went on (..) I learned english with pleasure. I liked english but after her lessons I liked it even more. first I thought about studying history after this one year I completely changed my mind and decided to study english. she had a big influence on me*

24 M: *so in most cases you mentioned here teachers had influence on your academic career, I'd say. so most of you agree that teachers have influence when the career you choose is concerned. how about the socio-social development, do teachers have long lasting impact on students or not?*

Moreover other participants in the interaction position her as a pupil. This is evident in the behaviour of the moderator, who appears not to notice P6's attempt to take floor and continues talk with P8 (turn 19). Having finished the talk with P8 the moderator poses a general question "any other contributions" which is taken up by P6 to present her story. The moderator's follow-up (turn 24) serves as a kind of wrapping up of a phase in a discussion or, to refer to classroom situation, as feedback on what has been said in the discussion so far, which further bears witness to P6 being positioned as a learner.

Level 3 analysis enables one to see how P6 transcends the story content and interactive storytelling to address the question "Who am I?" and "Who do I imagine myself to be in the future?" in relation to dominant D-discourses of education.

Excerpt 3(h)

87 P6: *I think that a good teacher should inspire students to develop skills and maybe such a teacher should understand them and help them in school problems in daily problems because I think that students are also people who have daily life, have problems with family, at school*

In turn 87, she briefly presents her views on who teachers should be and who pupils are. The use of "should" when referring to teachers and a sentence adjunct

"maybe" bear out her positioning as a member of an imagined community of teachers. In contrast, while talking about pupils she is making factual statements, using the present tense and the indicative mood, which highlights her identification with the community of learners. Studying to become a language teacher, P6 engages with a discourse of language teaching, but currently being positioned as a pre-service teacher, she is imagining her work in the years to come. Positioned, then, within the two dominant D-discourses of learning and teaching, she is making identity claims about herself, who she is, a student, and who she wants to be, a teacher.

A different interactional position is taken up by another pre-service teacher, namely P8. Barnes (2004: 13) claims that "the accessibility of positions to any individual can depend on how their interests and capabilities are perceived by others in the group" whereas Jones (1999) emphasises an individual dimension of positioning alongside the normative one. P8, in contrast to P6, is actively seeking to adopt a position of an equal party in the interaction and, despite her different life history and a lack of professional teaching experience; her self-positioning is accepted by other interactants. It appears that P6 cannot manage to position herself as a partner in the discussion whereas P8 succeeds in such self positioning, despite her life experiences similar to P6. By making a straightforward claim, "that's why I'm here" (turn 12), in the very first turn she could take, she positions herself as an actor who not only knows the screenplay and its part but also she knows that she has a degree of freedom in fashioning her image, which she uses skilfully. Tajfel (1970; 1981; 1982) suggests that when individuals see their present social identity as less than satisfactory, they may attempt to change their group membership in order to view themselves more positively. This is what P8 is targeting at in the interaction. She is much more assertive and less conciliatory than P6, therefore she is more difficult to ignore than P6, which is illustrated in turns 16-23, when the two students compete for turn taking and P8 wins. P8's conversational behaviour and actions enable her to successfully perform the identity of an informed partner, or even an expert, in the discussion, and be ratified as one.

What is more, the identity P8 is targeting at can be inferred from the story she is delivering in the discussion. In turn 27, she is talking about her Maths teacher who did not like extravagantly dressed schoolgirls and punished them for that. From this talk as well as the earlier ones (turns 12, 20), when she evaluates her teachers, we can conclude that P8 is identifying with the students who are reviled by teachers. But making these strong negative comments about her teachers from "the other side of the desk" she is trying to position herself as an "outside expert" (Barnes 2004: 9). This position becomes available to her because she is introducing specialised knowledge or expertise from outside the teacher's space in the classroom, from other aspects of school life, and uses this knowledge to illuminate the issue under discussion. This position, however,

would not be available to P8 if she did not grasp the opportunity to actively engage in the talk and present her views. P8's self-positioning is contrastive to P6, who attempting to join in the discussion, has been either ignored or interrupted or dismissed (turns 16-24), which results in her being positioned as an outsider.

Not only does P8's situational positioning result from her life experiences and the way she adapts them to local demands but also her conversational capabilities contribute to it. She is much more proficient a conversationalist than P6 in terms of interactional skills; knows how to initiate a turn and hold the floor, engage with the discussion and so on. She is trying to understand other people's thinking, explain and justify her own thinking, and critically monitor what others are doing. She displays what Goos et al. (2002: 197) refer to as "flexibility in sharing metacognitive roles". Her contributions to the talk are being recognized and ratified by others in the discussion. By presenting specific examples from her schooling histories and giving strong evaluations of them, she succeeds in taking up and securing various interactional positions. She is moving freely in and out of the positions of an expert, critic and collaborator. She expresses certain resentment at the power inherent in the position of other teachers and the moderator and she does not accept the fact that the classroom situation puts her in a less powerful position. This may follow from the positive feedback she gets from other interactants that further reinforces her self-efficacy. As Bandura (1997) claims, self-efficacy is likely to increase when feedback is supportive, and diminish with criticism. Moreover, Tschannen-Moran and MacFarlane (2011: 219) state that:

> during teacher preparation, when the self-efficacy of a prospective FL teacher is initially being developed, the feedback of supervisors is likely to have a strong impact on self-efficacy beliefs. Once in the field, supervisory or coaching conversations may play a role in either bolstering or undermining the teacher's self-efficacy.

Obviously, P8's beliefs in her capabilities are very high and supported by the in-service teachers, which is a powerful drive influencing her motivation to act, the effort she puts forth in the endeavour, persistence in that effort, and possible resilience in the face of setbacks.

From this active situational behaviour of P8, we can infer the identity messages she is communicating. The options for a future teacher identity rely primarily on her reflection as a student but such a reflection, as claimed by Cummins (2000, 2003), may become central for consistent identity choices and performances in her future professional life. P8 is opting for a teacher who plays an agentive role in the educational space. She has invested in language teacher education, with the expectation that her teacher training will yield returns for herself. She is planning to make good use of the knowledge and skills she has acquired when she starts her work as a teacher. She wants to agentively

accommodate to teaching practice situations. Accommodation means that she is consciously aiming at changing the schema of the teacher she has been familiarised with in her "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie 1975). Drawing on these experiences as a student and the theoretical knowledge she obtained in the college, she feels confident in taking on major reshaping of the teacher's role in the classroom. In seeking to redress what she considers to be fundamental flaws that characterized the teaching practice she had observed as a learner, she wants to derive insights from the participants of this debate in an attempt to incorporate them in her own language teaching practice. Such situated learning is advocated for by anthropologists (cf. Lave and Wenger 1991) who see it as an integral and inseparable part of social practice. They argue that particular social arrangements in any community may constrain or facilitate movement toward fuller participation. Norton and McKinney add that:

> Through a process of legitimate peripheral participation, newcomers interact with old-timers in a given community setting, become increasingly experienced in the practices that characterize that community, and gradually move toward fuller participation in that community (Norton and McKinney 2011: 79).

Such learning, conceptualized as a relational activity that occurs between specific speakers situated in specific sociocultural contexts, leads to the construction of a different mode of belonging, that is "a creative process of producing new images of possibility and new ways of understanding one's relation to the world that transcend more immediate acts of engagement" (Norton and McKinney 2011: 80). As a result of this situated learning, P8 advocates for the changes that relate to all aspects of learning/teaching operations: classroom teaching, outcomes assessment, syllabus design, and teacher education. Her target is the teacher who, being open to new professional possibilities and aspirations, will, at the same time, satisfy the academic and affective needs and expectations of the students.

The analysis of the interactional behaviour of P6 and P8 demonstrates that the positioning of people in any situation depends on the context and community values and on the personal characteristics of all the individuals concerned, their personal histories, their preferences and their capabilities. P6 and P8 share much of their histories as learners and teachers, yet their personalities as well as conversational skills account for their varied performance and different positioning in the interaction, which has a direct influence on the discursive identities that are occasioned by the two participants. Definitely, the belief in one's abilities to accomplish desired outcomes powerfully affects P8 and P6's behaviour, motivation and, ultimately, their conversational and future professional success or failure (Bandura 1997).

Furthermore, participants in the interaction are positioned socially within a network of social relations (Giddens 1984). Their social position is constituted within structures of signification, domination, and legitimation, within which

social interaction takes place. Giddens maintains that the knowledgeability incorporated in practical activities is a primary constitutive feature of the social world. Knowledge is seen as accurate or valid awareness that exists at both the discursive and practical levels, and discourse is accordingly seen as a mode of articulation of such knowledge (Giddens 1984: 83-92). It is fairly clear in Excerpt 3 where the participants, who have been in the teaching profession for some years, are being positioned and position themselves as authorities whose claims for power are legitimate and recognised as well as acknowledged by the preservice teachers. It seems that the ways they are acting, as well as their view of the teacher, are a consequence of their reflection on the teaching and learning possibilities, their actual teaching practices, their personal characteristics, and limitations of this particular interactional context.

The teaching approach they develop is a result of their pedagogical reasoning; that is, a teaching procedure used for a particular reason to achieve a particular purpose in response to the nature of the teaching and learning environment. P3 (turn 68) and P7 (turn 50) are telling stories of the teachers they met in their school life, who being interested in the subject matter themselves and having broad knowledge, aimed not only at promoting students' interest in the subject but also made attempts to teach them in innovative ways that fostered creativity.

The stories delivered by these more experienced teachers illustrate the importance of learning through reflection on experience in the development of expertise. It seems that "the apprenticeship of observation" is not sufficient for the development of an understanding of the problems teachers encounter in schooling, rather knowledge of practice is crucial for a transformative advancement in teaching, as well as a better understanding of the problems derived from teaching and learning. The experienced teachers acknowledge shifting responsibilities of students and teachers, i.e. in expecting students to be active learners, they reflect on how they themselves construct schooling experiences to encourage the desired behaviours in the students. They do not only impart knowledge that, they believe, will make a difference in the students' lives but also they want the students to see that the knowledge being developed should help make difference to their learning.

The agentive attitude to classroom instruction is highlighted in the contributions of the teachers with the longest teaching experience. P1 (turn 9), P2 (turn 3), and P4 (turn 8) make direct claims about a teacher's influence on students' lives. They believe that teachers have a long lasting impact on the life of their students not only because of the subject content knowledge they should impart but also the general knowledge they should pass on. They claim that "school knowledge represents a narrow selection from wider possibilities" (Paechter et al. 2001: 169). Hence the teacher role is to empower learners by supplying them with as much as possible general knowledge or "life

knowledge". They value all learning and all knowledge. They emphasise that "knowledge serves different purposes: some of it vocational, some practical, some engaging the theoretical mind, some the aesthetic, and so on. Knowledge is not compartmented; its value is often in the links between, not in the separation of, its insights" (Kerry and Wilding 2004: 66).

Despite the prevailing view that what the teacher should do is to "deposit knowledge into the student" (Kerry and Wilding 2004: 65) the experienced teachers are aware that students must give their permission to being taught. They seem to identify with Northfield's statement: "quality learning requires learner consent" (Loughran and Northfield 1996: 124). In other words, they are aware of the fact that no matter how much teachers want their students to learn; in the end students are responsible for their own learning. Nevertheless, the experienced teachers believe that they have to present students with as much content knowledge as possible since it will foster "deep learning" (Loughran 2010: 28). Being presented with large amounts of information, students can develop a manageable big-picture view of the topic rather than try to make sense of isolated facts that may not warrant the expenditure of time and energy necessary to do so. Hence, as P1 (turn 30) says, the teacher's role is to teach even if students are not aware of learning, in other words, teachers need "to create ways of inviting students to choose to learn through engaging with pedagogic situations" (Loughran 2010: 49), which will instigate metacognition in learners. The in-service teachers insist that learners should be in tune with current affairs; inquisitive about what happens in the world around them; in touch with new developments in their own specialism.

All in all, when the interactional behaviours of the pre- and in-service teachers are compared the connection between knowledge and "organized practices of speaking" (Heritage and Raymond 2005: 16) becomes obvious. What participants can "accountably know, how they know it, what experiences they have, whether they have rights to describe them, and in what terms, is directly implicated in organized practices of speaking" (ibid.). The in-service teachers have developed a personal approach to teaching against the background of the respective statutory requirements by which they are bound and of what they know about teaching and learning from research. They understand that teachers are active agents in their own development and professional growth but often do not act in contexts entirely of their own choosing. School is not a desert island; on the contrary what goes on inside the classroom is not at all separate from what is outside, namely the political, economic geographical and social forces that shape schooling. In other words, school and teaching cannot be separated from the wider social practices as well as personal experiences (Day, Kington, Stobart, and Sammons 2006).

The pre-service teachers, on the other hand, believe that teaching needs to be informed by a body of knowledge, drawn from various areas, theories and

approaches, which both help to render the teaching experience coherent and provide a basis for evaluating their effectiveness. Their view of teaching is "atomistic", that is, the process is seen as comprising two sets of molecules, teachers and learners that are fairly independent in their operating. Although they rely on the input they receive from the other molecules, the way they process it depends on their individual traits, dispositions, and interests. The trainee teachers expect students to accept responsibility for their own learning. If so, teaching practice must be constructed in such a way as to allow that responsibility to be recognised and grasped by students. Not surprisingly, they opt for a supportive scaffolding in the classroom since it is difficult to imagine how students might be active and responsible learners if the type of teaching they experience totally directs what they do, as well as how and why they do it.

In addition, the trainee teachers do not acknowledge the fact that teachers in their instruction practices depend on the educational settings in which they work. They have not developed "the ability to relate theory to practice in different ways, to use personal theories in practice, to infer personal theories from practice, to use and reconstruct public theories, to generate personal theories from public ones, and to generate public theories from personal ones" (Williams 1999: 15). They need "to make dialogic connections between personal theories, public theories and their own experience, rather than being in thrall to any one of these" (Clarke 2008: 6). The gap between theory and practice is a decisive factor for the trainee teachers to be recognised as core members in the teacher community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). The knowledge, grounded in experience, is an integral part of fluent performance in the classroom and is also embedded in skilful actions undertaken in other interactional contexts. This is evident in the positioning routines found in the interaction in Excerpt 3. The in-service teachers, like P1, P2 and P4, position themselves as dominant parties in the discussion. Their practical professional knowledge provides a theoretical underpinning for viewing experience in real classrooms and real teaching situations as the vital foundation of competent teachers' knowledge. Formal education, on the other hand, is not always an empowering experience, though (Wortham 2003). P6, who bases her interactional moves on her classroom experiences and schooling is positioning herself as a student and her position is validated by other interactants. P8, whose teaching experiences in terms of duration are comparable to P6's, is positioning herself as a member of the teacher community of practice. This is accomplished not so much by her direct active engagement in the classroom instruction, which she does not accomplish, but by the passion and commitment with which she embraces and takes up particular discourses of education that she encounters as well as accepts through conscious critical reflection. She is constructing her identification with the teacher community in terms of their system of knowledge and beliefs through binary oppositions, organized around two basic categories of

teachers: the "traditional" teachers of the past – "them", and the "new" teachers of the future – "us" (Clarke 2008: 13). The dichotomies also embrace viewing learners as a homogenous, rather than heterogeneous, group and a vision of a teacher-centred, as opposed to learner-centred, classroom with an emphasis on active learning and agentive involvement of learners in knowledge pursuit and acquisition. P8's contributions are heard as forms of reification of particular ways of understanding teaching while at the same time excluding others. She is constructing her identity through what Danielewicz (2001) labels an "oppositional affiliation" in relation to the practising teachers thus positioning herself, and accomplishing her interactional goal. P6, in comparison, is being guided by her "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie 1975), and her genuine experiences as a student. What she needs, therefore, to become a member of a teacher community of practice, is to reframe her understanding of teaching. Reframing, as described by Schön (1983), is crucial to questioning what students and teachers alike take for granted in their practice and as a result what counts a "regime of competence" in the community.

What the analysis of interactional practices of the participants in Excerpt 3 shows is varied positioning of the participants that appears to be an outcome of their individual experiences, self-reflection and commitments. Teaching experience is a necessary but insufficient condition in developing teacher identity. Individuals need to engage in reflection on their own practice to find strengths and weaknesses as well as eliminate flaws or errors (Wysocka 2008). Such critical reflection develops and is enhanced when individuals are instructed or at least guided in it. Therefore participation in the community of teaching practitioners is critical for their development. Individuals do not autonomously construct their identities in a social, cultural and political vacuum; rather, sociocultural and socio-political and situated discourses will determine what resources are available for use in the ongoing project of identity construction. Such discursive identities are complex and multidimensional, constructed across innumerable sites and situations and within a range of contexts by individuals as they negotiate and make sense of multiple, often competing discourses. As such, any resulting identities are likely to be only a temporary and localized stability.

3.6.3.3. Language competence

As argued in 3.6.2.3. linguistic competence is neither unique nor an isolated factor that has an impact on the L2 user's interactional behaviour. Yet, its impact on the quality of L2 performance has been recognised widely in psycholinguistics and applied linguistic research (Becker 1983; Corder 1983; Kumaravadivelu 2006; Schachter 1983). With this in mind, L2 knowledge displayed by the participants will be briefly discussed to verify whether the impact of L2 competence on the participant's interactional positioning is critical.

Studies in Psychology and Linguistic Anthropology show that L2 users as well as bilinguals may perform differently on a variety of verbal tasks and may be differently perceived and evaluated by other individuals. As Kanno shows (2000a; 2000b) the relationship between bilinguals and their languages is much more complex than the one captured in the native language vs. target language dichotomy; a range of multiple social factors have to be considered in order to capture the complexity of L2 users' dynamic relationship with their multiple languages and identities they perform.

A claim that will be made here is that linguistic signs can have different meanings for different people within the same linguistic community. Hence, it is neither the language system per se that guarantees the meaning of signs nor the linguistic community having its own set of signifying practices that gives value to the signs. Rather, the signifying practices of societies are sites of struggle, and linguistic communities are heterogeneous arenas characterized by conflicting claims to truth and power. What is endorsed here does mean that neither language use nor users' proficiency impact their position in the interaction. On the contrary, it is acknowledged that L2 users "are painfully cognizant of the fact that in different languages their voices may sound differently even when telling the 'same' stories" (Pavlenko 2006: 3). These differences are commonly attributed to different semantic associations, linguistic repertoires, and cultural scripts, frames of expectations, imagery, and memories activated by the respective languages. Pavlenko (2006) reports that the first source of difference in self-perceptions mentioned by bilingual respondents were distinct verbal and non-verbal repertoires and cultural perspectives offered to them by their languages and cultures.

Canale and Swain (1980: 29), by presenting a comprehensive framework of communicative competence and defining grammatical competence as "knowledge of lexical items and the rules of morphology, syntax, sentence-grammar semantics, and phonology" claim (cf. Celce-Murcia and Olshtain 2000) that discourse competence forms "the core" of communication process, because it is where everything else comes together: "It is in discourse and through discourse that all of the other competencies are realized" (ibid.). In similar vein Brown (2007), discussing pedagogy of conversation, argues that people do not actually talk by stringing sentences; rather they built on what has been provided by other interactants. That is why, as conversation analysts Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) have shown early on, the sentence is not the basic unit of conversation and the very fundamentals of language competence are intertwined with social concerns as linguistic form is derived through interaction between individuals.

An identity approach to SLA further highlights that language learning is not a gradual individual process of internalizing a neutral set of rules, structures, and vocabulary of a standard language. Rather, such theoretical principles

suggest that language learners need to "struggle to appropriate the voices of others they need to learn to command the attention of their listeners; and they need to negotiate language as a system and as a social practice" (Norton and McKinney 2011: 81). Moreover, the investments of learners in the practices of their communities, whether real or imagined, are also important for SLA. An imagined community assumes an imagined identity, and investments in target language practices can be understood within this context.

Since an identity approach to SLA characterizes learner identity as multiple and changing, a quantitative research paradigm relying on static and measurable variables is generally not appropriate: a fact which can be easily observed in the analysis of the contributions made by the individual participants in Excerpt 3. The quantitative analysis of the contribution distribution in Excerpt 3 might suggest that the moderator is controlling the debate since she has made the greatest number of contributions. The teacher-fronted classroom frame seems to dominate, despite the interactants' efforts to create an equal party debate. Nevertheless, when the moderator's positioning is viewed as the debate organiser, the one who has invited all other participants, selected the topic and organised the discussion space, her greater engagement becomes a natural phenomenon and can be validated. She is responsible for opening and closing the debate and she is managing turn taking, thus, quite naturally she is allotted more turn taking possibilities than other participants. In addition, the length of her turns does not exceed that of other participants'; on the contrary she refrains from commenting and focuses on conversation management. Hence the discourse is not a typical IRF classroom discourse; rather all the participants contribute to the discussion and provide various moves of the exchanges. But it seems that although the length and number of the moderator's turns are similar to those of the students, the students tend to respond rather than initiate (and vice versa for the moderator). P1 has been keeping up with the moderator and the three participants, P2, P8, and P9 have made comparable number of contributions. The three participants, P2, P3, and P7 remained relatively uninvolved. The question that arises is whether such varied engagement in the interaction results from the participants' varied proficiency in the foreign language.

Two contrastive views dominate scholarly discussions on the issue of FL proficiency and learners interactional behaviour. One view that has its roots in Chomsky's idea of the Language Acquisition Device (Chomsky 1965), is that speech emerges on its own as a result of building competence. Hence a positive correlation should exist between a learner's competence and level of performance. In the productions under scrutiny, the lack of language proficiency does not appear to couple with the lack of output or success in message delivery, though. P1's contributions are spotted with heavy grammatical and lexical transfer errors (turn 2 "I suppose that not only can I learn chemistry, I learn how

they can live honestly"; turn 9 "I tried to explain them; I tried to tell them that maybe now they didn't understand that knowledge"; turn 54 "tak, yes") that in other language conditions (multi-cultural setting) might lead to conversation breakdown. The debate, however, continues and P1 frequently engages in the subsequent discussion. Her contributions are never qualified as unjustified, on the contrary, they are appreciated and ratified by other participants (turns 2-10).

A contrastive view on the impact of language competence on the learner performance in L2 (Swain 1985) states that learners are "stretched" in their production as a necessary part of making themselves understood. In so doing, they may modify a previous utterance or they may try out forms that they had not used before. Students are pressed to produce more because their language may not be clear, and they struggle to come up with the appropriate expression. As Swain claims, students are "pushed toward the delivery of a message that is not only conveyed, but that is conveyed precisely, coherently, and appropriately" (Swain 1985: 249). This seems to be pertinent of some participants in Excerpt 3. P1, for instance, is talking a lot because she wants to convey meanings that are beyond her language proficiency. Therefore, by using simplistic vocabulary and syntax, she engages in frequent circumlocutions and paraphrasing (e.g. turn 9 "I tried to explain them; I tried to tell them"; turn 2 "what relationship they can have with others, what good relationship"; turn 78 "Polish teacher. The worst person in my life; she was asking questions about previous lessons and she was able to spend next whole lesson asking about information from previous one"; turn 83 "first two years – yes but then I said OK"; turn 88 "pay attention to abilities, not only abilities"). Despite the errors, there is no corrective feedback from the other participants, only responses that push the debate forward. P1 does not receive any hints about her language errors, which might indicate that the situation is not perceived by the interactants as a classroom discussion, rather it seems to be a casual meeting. Alternatively, another possibility could be that they do not notice the errors.

Whichever is the case, it is obvious that the participants in Excerpt 3 focus on the successful delivery of the message rather than its form. Ellis (1984) refers to such interaction as message oriented in contrast to a medium-oriented one. P1 seems to be an expert in terms of content knowledge and on this expertise she is building her dominant interactive role. P8 and P9, whose contributions constitute a significant portion of the debate, resort to similar communicative strategies, namely, to get the message across ("teachers are more important when the child is small, they should taught how to, the teachers should taught their learners how they might taught themselves"; "teachers should see also the (..) of students and should be friendly for pupils because I remember that the atmosphere during lessons was very stressful when I was at school especially at secondary school also during my studies when a woman wanted to humiliate a student"; "but on the other hand, the impact is rather better remembered when children are bigger

and older, (..) of my pupils, and I work with young learners, they won't remember my name in twenty years because they are too small and they don't think about my name (.) OK"; "most my teachers weren't teachers that were interested in my social development, I think that only maybe my marks"). Apparently, as the division of interactional labour is influenced by the topic of the conversation, the flow of information is from the topic experts/authority to the topic trainees or from the "core participants" to the "peripheral" ones (Wenger 1998).

Crafton and Kaiser (2011: 112) argue that "every time teachers participate as knowledgeable professionals, capable of engaging in reflective practice and collaborative inquiry, that is who they become". Therefore, "Language...is not merely representational (though it is that); it is also constitutive...It actually creates realities and invites identities" (Johnston 2004: 9). The intellectual work in which these teachers engage, follows an inquiry of their own determination. This session opens with the moderator posing a question and then, as the dialogue unfolds, participants "incorporate the thoughts, ideas, questions and opinions of their peers into the field of their own interpretations" (Jewell and Pratt 1999: 846) by engaging in genuine talk. Meaning unfolds through the progressive interactions with each teacher participating in sharing their thoughts.

The conversation stops and starts, speakers begin and then try again – these uneven, unfinished utterances are characteristic of talk for meaning-making, cycles that eventually move the learning forward. All the interactants, then, learn through social participation and learning is viewed as a process of enculturation that leads to greater and greater competence (Wenger 1998). From this perspective, the trainee teachers are apprenticed into the profession and therefore they can develop their abilities over time by engaging in the debate with the experienced "old-timers" (Norton and McKinney 2011).

It appears that the lack of adequate vocabulary and structures does not deter the participants from presenting their views, making claims and constructing their identity (cf. Kasper and Kellerman 1997). Some participants (P1, P8) are able to successfully overcome language limitations due to a highly developed strategic competence. They resort to gestures, facial expressions and talking around to present their message accurately and coherently. Also they do not perceive the moderator as a teacher figure through whom all the interaction should take place. Rather they actively and agentively seek the opportunities to take the floor and communicate the message. Definitely they are self-directed in both learning the language and learning to teach it. They are fairly comfortable with the idea of their own responsibility which, in turn, leads to greater confidence and involvement.

In contrast, the participants who are neither contributing much to the discussion nor joining the group inquiry, remain outside of the group, but they are actively and respectfully listening. They are sitting back and watching as the

other "agents" are getting engaged into a multilayered conversation about something they considered important, i.e. teaching practice. They learn by soaking up what they can from other, more experienced members or by replicating what is already in practice. Infrequently, they make contributions to the development of the community, bringing their unique inquiries, values, opinions, and ways of knowing. There is reciprocity, then, as the participants with varying experience construct a learning trajectory together. Through ongoing participation in the community of practice all the interactants play out efforts to learn to teach better. Yet, it is a "contrived collegiality" (Hargreaves 1994), and strategic competence, turn taking decisions as well as the quality of contributions impact the positions, relationships and identities of the participants.

All in all, it should be noted the language we use signals the meanings we aim to convey but it neither determines neither the quality of our knowledge nor the shape of our situated identities. Rather identities are relational. Who we are and the way we are positioned locally is transported to larger contexts. If we are in the position of power, it diminishes the power of the person with whom we are interacting. As we participate in particular social activities over time and are positioned in particular ways repeatedly, we develop identities consistent with these social structures and who we are within them. Therefore the trainee teachers who have become accustomed to the position of students readily adapt to the position of the learner and observer in the interaction regardless of their language competence. In contrast, "the old timers" position themselves as "empowered with experience" (Norton and McKinney 2011) and they successfully control and direct the debate route just as teachers do in a teacher-centred classroom. They are more independent interlocutors, that is, they negotiate for meaning and go beyond the respond mode, making attempts to engage with the interlocutor rather than perform for an audience (the class), and making turn-taking decisions they do not expect an immediate corrective feedback or criticism.

L2 competence is not a decisive factor in whether, if at all, individuals get engaged in an interaction, or how they do so. Rather, they need to know how "to command the attention of their listeners and they need to negotiate language as a system and as a social practice" (Norton and McKinney 2011: 81). In other words their identity as a member of a community of practice is recognised through their investment into the community language practices. In this case this is the community of teachers. If the interactants appropriate their voices to the context they get recognised as legitimate members despite their inadequate L2 competence. It parallels Lave and Wenger's (1991) view that particular social practices may constrain or facilitate progress toward fuller participation. P8 through a process of legitimate peripheral participation is interacting with the "old-timers" (P1, P2, P4) in the community setting and as a result she becomes

increasingly experienced in the practices that characterize that community. She gradually moves toward fuller participation in that community. P6 is a newcomer to the community of teachers and she needs to learn the social practices of the community of teachers and thus she is "struggling to appropriate the voice of others" (Norton and McKinney 2011: 81). Other participants are recognized as core members of the teacher community because of their expertise and reification they bring to the community practices. Their participation is always legitimised on the grounds of their practical content and pedagogical knowledge regardless of their L2 competence.

3.6.3.4. Membership categorisation

Sacks (1974, 1992) argues that social identities are resources that participants use in interaction with other participants. While talking, speakers evoke a membership categorisation device, that is "ordered collections" (Gafaranga 2001) such as male/female, mummy/baby, tutor/student, doctor/ patient or black/white. In a similar vein, Bucholtz and Hall (2005; 2010) claim that resources for identity performance in any interaction derive from resources developed in earlier interactions, ideologies and language systems. Hence identity is not a simple psychological mechanism of self-classification but rather it is constituted through social action, and especially through language. In particular, linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions through the mechanism of "indexicality" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; 2010). Indexical processes occur at all levels of linguistic structure and use and may include overtly mentioned identity categories and labels, evaluative orientations to ongoing talk and linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific persons or groups (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 21). The most obvious way to investigate intothe identity formation in the ongoing talk is to analyse "indexical processes of labelling, implicature, stance-taking, style-marking, and code-choice work to construct identities, both micro and macro" (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 23). Linguistic forms that index identity at the interactional level may further be associated with particular social-cultural categories, such as gender, race or class.

In the discussion under analysis (Excerpt 3), there is a number of interactional categories that participants seem to be fitting themselves, or are being fitted into. These are conversation initiators (turn 1), respondents (turns 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 20, 23, 67), interviewers (turns 5, 24), interviewees (turn 6), inquirers (turns 31, 45, 47, 64), engaged listeners (turns18, 33, 37, 38), evaluators (turns 8, 10, 16, 17, 21, 24, 28, 65, 68, 87) joke tellers (turns 58, 86). These categories have been delineated for the ease and clarity of the analysis and some of them seem to overlap whereas the boundaries of others are blurred. The category of the conversation initiator and the interviewer, for instance, are in a hyponymic

relationship since an interviewer usually initiates the interview or a conversation whereas the category of the respondents overlaps with the interviewees. Nevertheless, they have been delineated to emphasise that an interviewee is directly addressed and expected to respond, which is not necessarily true of other participants who are less obliged to supply answers than the former. This distinction becomes observable in two different types of classrooms. In a teacher-centred classroom, students are like interviewees who have to provide answers to the questions posed, whereas in a constructivist classroom, students are granted more autonomy in how they react to the teacher's questions and how they tackle the tasks.

Moreover, the two categories originate from the sequential organisation of talk, that is they are 'turn generated categories', such as 'caller-called' because they display similar characteristics to that of membership or social categories, (Watson 1994). Extending this notion it is possible to conceive of such sequential actions as questions and answers as providing further examples of members. So "although questions and answers are sequential actions they may also be seen as categories-in-action" (Fitzgerald and Housley 2002: 582).

The two categories, respondents and interviewees, in turn, overlap with evaluators and joke-tellers since the former can always select a type of response they will supply whereas the categories of evaluators and joke-tellers focus on the content of the contribution rather than its position in the structure of the conversation. The temporary roles of respondents and interviewees are usually played by students in educational discourses, whereas evaluators are teachers who are expected to give feedback on student's performance. Joke-tellers are a peripheral categorisation in classroom contexts. Sometimes teachers can engage in telling a joke but this activity is more frequently associated with student's behaviour though not typical in a classroom.

The analysis of the micro details of identity in situational contexts is indispensible for identity investigation in larger socio-cultural contexts since "these temporary roles contribute to the formation of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in discourse" (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 21). Considering these multiple micro identity constructs enables an analyst to achieve a more complete understanding of macro level identity categories. In other words, these interactional positions that social actors briefly occupy and abandon may accumulate and transpire in macro discourses. Every time learners speak, they are negotiating and renegotiating a sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship in multiple dimensions of their lives. Therefore, on the basis of the analysis of local identities, large identities can be inferred. From the analysis of the identities performed in the situated context of the classroom debate, following macro identities have been inferred: students (turns 18, 20, 23, 67), teachers (turns 2, 3, 9, 50), friends (turns 50, 54-60, 86), researchers (turns 21, 28, 65, 68, 87), and inquirers (turn 5). Since each category

corresponds to a set of category-bound predicates, rights and obligations and category bound activities (Sacks 1992), further specification of the categories becomes possible. P8, for instance, says that her teachers tried to stifle her individuality. "Individuality" is understood as a belief in the primary importance of the individual and in the virtues of self-reliance and personal independence. Individuality promotes interests of the individual that take precedence over the interests of the state or social group; Individuality endorses mutual respect, creativity, motivation and accomplishment. Another category she is using is "passion", which here is understood as a very strong interest that enables one to bring energy into what one is doing. Finally P8 says that teachers forced her to study. "Studying" evokes an image of a pupil who pursues knowledge by reading, observation and memorization rather than active engagement, creative solutions or critical thinking (Ciepiela 2012). What follows from the MCD analysis of P8 is an identity of an independent student whose efforts, despite her readiness and determination to acquire knowledge, were suppressed and channelled according to teachers' demands.

A different student category emerges when P6's interactional behaviour is analysed. She initiates her conversational contribution in turn 18 saying "it's my turn now", which shows that she is positioning herself as an engaged listener in the debate, which reproduces a position of a student in a typical IRF classroom exchange (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). It also shows that despite tracking the path of the discussion she is not able to successfully engage into it since the anxiety level inhibits her behaviour alike a student in a testing situation (Ciepiela 2012). Her identity of a student can also be found behind the wording of her contributions. In turn 23, P6 admits that she learned with pleasure. "Learn" means pursue knowledge and apply one's mind purposefully to the acquisition of knowledge or understanding. "Pleasure" is a feeling of being pleased or gratified and a state of enjoyment, delight and amusement. Upon the production of the utterance "I learned with pleasure" we hear that not only is the student responsible for the acquisition of knowledge but also knows what to study and how to approach learning. Hence P6 aims to focus on the student's accountability for learning and the learner's autonomy.

Both P6 and P8 question the central importance of the teacher in the classroom, whom they associate with a direct formal instruction. The discourses of teaching, however, seem to be contrasting in both cases. P8 relates to discourse of blame and derision towards teachers whereas P6 takes pride in their profession and satisfaction when their students succeed. P6 sticks to "one of the most revered and abiding cultural myths associated with education: the assumption that the key to educational success lies with the teacher" (Larsen 2010: 208) and academic achievement depends upon the educator who can rightly recognise and satisfy the needs of every individual student in the classroom. Conversely, P8 contests the legitimate, traditional discourse on

teaching to advocate for a change in classroom social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations. Her emphasis is on commitment of students and their agency in learning.

The in-service teachers' contributions like those of P1 or P2 promote the image of the individual teacher who inspires his/her students to success and who plays a powerfully positive role in their students' lives. They claim the indispensability of the teacher in students' cognitive and socio-emotional development. P7 (turns 28, 50) talks about the influence teachers have on students' meta-cognitive development, namely the growth of creativity, critical thinking, perspective taking and tolerance. P9 (turn 49) highlights the importance of teaching learning strategies and metacognition to students and P3 (turn 68) calls attention to the value of meaningful learning which she contrasts with rote learning and memorisation. She also stresses context free learning and cognition vis-a-vis context-bound cognition.

In-service teachers also emphasise the moral role of the teacher to inculcate in students appropriate moral values and habits to survive in a difficult and dangerous world. P2 underscores the morality aspect of education saying "if you are lying to the teacher you will remember and P1 (turn 2) says that she teaches her students to "live honestly" and "how people should be". Further on, in turn 9 she adds that she teaches her students "how to achieve something to live better, in better conditions and to earn much more money". P7 (turn 28) openly complains about the diminishing role teachers exert on their students' morality and ethics and juxtaposes the stance of a moral authority teacher with the stance of the students' parents, who not only disapprove of such moral guide efforts but also demand that the teacher does not interfere with the moral development of their children.

All in all, the in-service teachers focus more on teaching than on the person of the teacher herself but they do not undermine the centrality of the teacher in schooling. P1 makes a straightforward remark on the issue "there's no lesson without a teacher and no teacher without a lesson". They also consider the problem in a wider context, that is, translate the individual problems they face in situated classroom contexts to larger social discourses. They neither ignore the complex and contextualised nature of teaching nor the broader socio-political contexts within which they work. In contrast, the stance of pre-service teachers toward these complex phenomena associated with schooling is reduced to simplified generalisations. They argue that teachers alone are responsible for student outcomes. They consider teaching and being a teacher can be improved through disciplinary mechanisms such as rules and regulations, inspections and college training.

Although the relationship between identity categories and activities is quite rigid in Sacks' framework (1974; 1992), each category may be paired with different activities depending on the occasion, which follows from the fact that

identities and activities are occasioned and because the relationship between activities and categories itself is occasioned. Moreover, categories are duplicatively organised (Stokoe 2003) so they come together as units: the category "teacher" gets duplicated in the category "learner" since the former reproduces the latter. Categories are also paired in Standardised Relational Pairs (SRPs) because each has duties and obligations in relation to the other. Applying these rules of category organisation, participants in an interaction recognise relevant memberships that other parties are targeting at.

Sacks (1974) refers to one of the recognition procedures as the hearer's maxim. This maxim holds that, if, on a particular occasion, there appears to be a bound relationship between an activity and a category, hearers "hear it that way" (1974: 221). For instance, in turn 12 ("The influence that my teachers had on me is that I don't like school, I have very bad memories about my teachers, really, so that's why I'm here") differential knowledge reference to one event corresponds to differential category claims. In this turn, it seems to be inconsistent of P8 to claim membership to the category of students followed by another contrastive category membership - teachers. What characterises her identity is ambivalence that "involves the conflicting feelings of love and hate and it is the simultaneous affirmation and negation of such feelings" (Block 2006: 35). Elliot argues that, "the ambivalence of identity ... [is] the tension between self and other, desire and lack, life and death, consciousness and unconsciousness" (Elliot 1996: 8 quoted in Block 2006: 35). Definitely P8 identifies with the community of students who are, semantically speaking, patients of the argument of teaching. At the same time, she categorises herself as an actor of teaching who wants to exert impact on the process.

Ambivalence seems to force P8 to make choices, and because individuals strive for coherent identities, seeking to resolve conflicts and assuage their ambivalent feelings, P8 needs to "assume" an identity and work on it to let it fully develop (Mathews 2000). She admits that there are things that she does not want to take from someone who is "just a teacher". She expresses certain resentment at the power inherent in the position of teachers and she does not accept the fact that the classroom situation puts her, a student, in a less powerful position. What is heard from P8's categorisation device is that students pay attention, listen, solve problems and speak only when asked and allowed by a teacher. She, however, affiliates with students who question, discuss, create, and engage in classroom activities. It shows that on different occasions, varied activities are bound to the same category. This diverse relationship between categories and activities in one MCD is used by P8 in her own actions, descriptions and assessments of other people's conduct. It is possible to account for these activities because there exists an "ever-present possibility of having one's actions, circumstances, and even, one's descriptions characterised in relation to one's presumed membership in a particular category" (West and

Fenstermaker 2002: 541). P8 describes herself as an agent who is ready to take responsibility for her acts because she is competent and has sufficient knowledge to play that part. As Ortner claims:

> actors are always at least partially 'knowing subjects', that they have some degree of reflexivity about themselves and their desires, and that they have some 'penetration' into the ways in which they are formed by circumstances" (Ortner 2005: 34).

Because actors are rarely found in the classroom in the student position, P8 succeeds in performing the two seemingly conflicting identities of a student and a teacher because the conflict is "rooted in the ambivalence of the learner's desire both to learn and to refuse learning that accompanies learning's perpetual state of emergency" (Granger 2004: 99). Although the P8's teacher identity is not "named out loud" (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998: 5), it can be inferred from the acts which have been accomplished. Through the analysis of connections P8 produces between categories and attributions, we can find the courses of social action implied: descriptions of how categories of actors (students and teachers alike) do, could or should behave.

Excerpt 3(i)

8 P4: *P4. I disagree, I must say that the only teacher, I believe had a strong impact on me was my teacher from my grammar school, he taught me polish language and today when I'm learning english grammar I must say that I base on the knowledge I possessed during this time when I learned polish grammar so for me, I remember that teacher, it was a woman, she was very demanding, very strict, and when I was not long time ago talking with my colleagues from that time, they remember her, they were afraid of her but for me she was very good*

The analysis of turn 8 shows another example of parallel performance of at least two situated identities. The identity "respondent" is observed with the phrase "I disagree, I must say", which is followed by a short report of an episode from P4's school life to be completed with an evaluation of this episode. These local identities of a respondent and an evaluator are reproduced in dominant discourses in the category "researcher". The activities that are bound with this category are: formulating hypotheses, putting them to the test, collecting data to support or refute assumptions, conducting continuous development of knowledge and practice. A form of research, "action research" is often conducted in the classroom by teachers themselves in order to improve the practice of teaching and instruction. Hence, the categories "teacher" and "researcher" are neither as conflicting as "student" and "teacher" nor are they duplicative, nor are they a Standardised Relational Pair. Rather by being understood as a researcher, P4's identity of a teacher is enhanced. She is heard as an autonomous, reflective practitioner capable of constant self-reflection leading to a continuous process of professional development (Wallace 1991).

Excerpt 3(j)

56	P9:	*I liked learning at school but of course me and my friends were always overjoyed when we didn't have any lessons and I remember one case when we didn't have geography and I ran downstairs from third floor and when I run down I broke my leg*
57	Ps:	((laughter))
58	P9:	*it wasn't so bad because we didn't have to sit in the lesson*
59	Ps:	((laughter))
60		(…)
61	P9:	*but I think that every student is overjoyed when he doesn't have to have lessons, it's difficult for old generation of teachers*

In turn 56, P9 recounts an episode from her school life: a story about a school accident in which she broke her leg when she was running down the stairs. Other interlocutors do not react as might be expected, judging from the content of the story. They neither sympathise with P9 nor express their support but burst in laughter, which indicates that they hear the story as humorous rather than sad. What is more, P9 does not get confused with their reaction but adds an evaluation which brings further evidence that their perlocutionary act has been correctly performed. Sharing this story with other interactants, P9 self-disclosed, through which she simultaneously made herself vulnerable to them and also acknowledged the goodwill the others, she believed, had for her. Through honesty, self-disclosure, and trust, intimacy is developed and maintained (Ciepiela 2011). Such a view of intimacy based on sharing an evaluative framework is characteristic of friendship. It is not that friends are passively directed by the values of another friend; rather they actively transform each other's evaluative outlook as well as interpret and direct each other's behaviours and interests. Such an MCD is deployed by P9 and recognized by other interactants who categorise P9 on an equal footing. In ancient times, Cicero stated that in a friendship those who possess any superiority must put themselves on an equal footing with those who are less fortunate. Delivering the story of the unhappy event and evaluating it as a joke, P9 produces her local identity of a member of the community of practice. Since the community can be reproduced differently in dominant cultural discourses, P9 can be categorized as a student, a teacher or even a friend. The activities of telling a story, a joke or self-disclosing can be bound to a number of categories that become relevant in local contexts.

P9's case illustrates another recognition procedure that Sacks (1974) postulates, namely the economy rule. It holds that, although people may have

many identities, one category will generally be enough on a particular occasion; one category may be "an adequate reference" (1974: 219). For example, the participants in Excerpt 3 can be described in many different ways, e.g. teachers, students, friends, females, having particular careers, having different teaching experiences, and so on. For the purposes of this particular context, of all these possible correct descriptions, the category "friend" is enough to describe P9's position in the interaction hence, is an adequate reference.

Conversely, speakers can display their own category and, by so doing, reveal their recognition of other participants' identities through, what Sacks labels, the consistency rule. This rule says that, "if one member of a population has been recognised as belonging to a particular category, other members of the same population fit themselves into the same or different categories within the same categorisation device" (1974: 219). In Excerpt 3 the anticipation is that, on recognising other participants' claim of membership to the categorisation device "teachers" or "students", P6 or P8 will make attempts to fit themselves into the same category by performing specific bound activities or displaying attributes that enable such categorisation. Likewise, in turn 3, after speaker P1 has established the device "teacher", P2 fits herself into the category. Upon recognising this, P8 in turn 12 adopts a different category, which is duplicated within the same device, namely "student". As a consequence, the actual category which has made a particular act possible remains a matter of negotiation between participants. In turn, the possibility of negotiation is built into the application of the rules. On recognising a co-participant as being a member of a particular category, the current speaker fits him/herself in the same or different category within the same categorisation device. Recursively, interpretation of this new act is arrived at by applying the same recognition rules and the same production rules are enacted. Thus, through this interaction, participants confirm "the correctness observation" (Sacks 1974: 226). Identities negotiated in and through social interaction are, therefore, interactionally accomplished objects.

The above examples also show that the same identity can do "different things at different times and places" (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998: 8). On one occasion, P6, heard as "student", answers the question posed (turn 23), on some other tells a story (turn 67) or reviews what others have said (turn 87). Similarly, the same activity can be done by different identities depending on occasions. P1, for instance, tells stories as a teacher (turn 9) and as a student (turn 78). The activities of self-disclosing and of self-deprecating appear to be bound to the category "friend" (P9 in turn 56; P5 in turn 86) and the activity of blaming teachers appears to be bound to the category "students" (P8 in turn 12; P6 in turn 67; P9 in turn 69; P1 in turn 78). Therefore the hearer will take these activities to index those categories. In other words, it is the occasion itself which allows particular categories to be seen as forming a device and particular

activities and particular identities to be "hearable" as standing in a bound relationship (Hester and Eglin 1997).

In talk-in-interaction, the rights and obligations of category members, in this case members of the teaching community of practice, are maintained as the category-bound activities and category-tied predicates. Identity construction and maintenance work partly by defining the conditions for assigned membership, as well as by nominating the characteristics and activities of those who are excluded from particular categories.

3.6.3.5. Concluding remarks

On the evidence presented in Section 3.6.3., teacher identity cannot be perceived as a pregiven construct but rather as a project that intaractants are trying to complete in interaction. The data show teacher identity to be situationally performed and increasing in its complexity with the course of the interaction. Identity is neither taken on by individuals nor imposed by others. It emerges in an interaction as a consequence of the participants' concerted efforts and goals.

Evidently the narratives of the participants about themselves and their practice, as well as the discourses, in which they engage, provide opportunities for exploring and revealing aspects of their identity. Considerable importance in the analysis has been placed on the understanding that stories are a way to perform identity. The power of narrative to perform teacher identity within a changing professional knowledge landscape' has been considered indicative of the participants' growing understanding of their professional identities within changing contexts.

The performance of multiple identities has been shown to transpire through participants' narrative positioning, as for example, the identity of a caring or a creative teacher. Such storied dimension of teacher identity, can be seen as "a discursive activity", and "identity-making as a communicational practice" (Sfard & Prusak 2005: 16). Hence, discursive practice allows to confront participants' existing notions of their identity in formative ways. Therefore a strong argument can be made here for the impact of discourse as powerful in the shaping of identity.

3.6.4. FL teacher identity performance in L1 discussion

In this section, an attempt will be made to show that language competence is not the key element in identity construction. Rather it is only one of a number of social factors that play a major role in this process. To achieve this aim and because L1 always offers a frame of reference system for L2, an analysis of interaction in the participants' native tongue will be conducted. "It is in the nature of linguistic and communicative competence that we behave as if the L1 is the yardstick and guide to our new L2" (Stern cited in Kumaravadivelu 2006:

282-283). Therefore the analysis of the conversation in the participant's first language should reveal further details of the interlocutors' situated identity performance that might be inhibited in a foreign language discussion.

Moreover, a native language and culture "are deeply bound up with our personal lives. A new language and culture demand a personal adjustment" (Kumaravadivelu 2006: 283). In particular, the links made between particular wordings and concepts enable language users to indirectly refer to particular discourses made through lexical or stylistic choices. L2 use allows for a different intertextuality, that is, the use of actual words from other sources or direct references to the sources, and finally their value judgements differ in linguistically varied situations.

Language system, being a part of discourse, enables reference to a particular world view, ideology, or perspective embodied in ways of talking about a particular phenomenon and also entails certain behaviours. According to Bakhtin ([1935]1981), any utterance can be claimed to be a link in a chain of speech communication, as the context of any utterance is past, present, and future utterances on the same topic. "The historical, present, and future positioning of speakers and those of their interlocutors are expressed in the words that constitute an utterance – words that are not neutral but express particular predispositions and value systems (Norton and McKinney 2011: 78).

At the same time the role of language competence should not be exaggerated. Rather the focus should be put on language as "the locus of social organisation, power, and individual consciousness, and as a form of symbolic capital" (Pavlenko and Norton 2007: 669). Describing the symbolic power of language, Bourdieu (1991: 170) shows that language can be used as an instrument of communication, control as well as constraint and contempt. According to him, "what creates the power of words and slogans, a power capable of maintaining or subverting the social order, is the belief in the legitimacy of words and of those who utter them". Every time people speak, they engage in a social context which is characterised by specific power relations. Therefore, participants in any community negotiate and renegotiate a sense of self in relation to other interactants and the larger social world.

The members of the community are, as Wenger (2010) argues, social participants, active meaning-making entities and the degree of their participation in a community can be explained with the degree of their competence in a particular domain of practice. In the case of the foreign language teacher community, the practice embraces use of the target language, pedagogy, didactics and language instruction methodology. A community of practice involves, thus, much more than the technical knowledge (L2 knowledge) or skills (effective teaching instruction) associated with undertaking some task. Members are "involved in a set of relationships over time" (Lave and Wenger

1991: 98) and communities develop around things that matter to people (Wenger 1998).

Although language production which is frequently taken as evidence of language proficiency is a form of practice, identity construction involves a deepening process of participation in a community of practice, which goes far beyond growing efficiency and control over the target language system. Identity development involves learning to become a member of the community and participation in it based on the proficient use of language is only one aspect of the complex process of identification. Identity develops with learning to speak and act in ways that are legitimate and make sense in the community. It is "the activity structured by social relations that is fundamental to the formation of the self" (Burkitt 1991: 138). To become a member of a community of practice, a person needs to generate and appropriate a shared repertoire of ideas, commitments and memories. S/he also needs to develop various resources such as tools, routines, vocabulary and symbols that in some way carry the accumulated knowledge of the community. In other words, becoming a member of the community involves practising ways of doing and approaching things that are shared to some significant extent among all the members of the community.

Aston (1993) argues that participants in the interaction minimally need to find common ground for sharing attitudes toward features of the world or for showing affiliation with the other in order to achieve their interactional goals, whereas Zuengler (1993) indicates that superior topic expertise, whether real or subjectively perceived, results in more control of the discourse by the expert participant, regardless of native or non-native speaker status. Norton (2000, 2001) demonstrates that students' non-participation in a community can be explained through their investment in specific imagined or real communities of practice and through their access (or lack) to them rather than level of language competence.

We live and learn across a multiplicity of practices; therefore our individual identity will embrace myriad practices produced across social worlds and times. Direct verbal involvement in community practices and concrete relationships is not the only way in which we belong to a community. With regard to the FL classroom, Norton and McKinney (2011) referring to Duff's (2002) study on language performance, argue that the student's identification with the target community cannot be assessed on the basis of their command of the target language. Rather the participation in the community practices should be viewed in terms of "the investment" in the target language (p. 75). Language investment signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it. "If learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital" (p. 75).

By way of analogy, participants in any community expect to have a good return on their investment. The extent to which they participate in the community practices is revealing of the investment they made on the community that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources. And in consequence increase their "cultural capital".

All in all, an assessment of the interlocutors' degree of competence in the target language is argued not to provide a sufficient account of the situated identities the participants are targeting at. Identity includes socioculturally mediated actions in situated contexts comprising various components such as a subject, individual investments and goals, a community, tools, rules, division of tasks and power and outcomes. The individual identity, therefore, is the composite of activity in a context and space, which implies that it derives from multiple lived experiences and sociocultural histories that converge.

3.6.4.1. Data characteristics

The discussion whose samples are presented and collectively referred as Excerpt 4 took place in a university classroom while the participants were attending a compulsory Saturday class that led to the completion of their Masters' degree in TEFL. They were asked to participate in the debate and reflect on the topic of "what makes the teacher?". The discussion was led by the moderator, the TEFL course teacher and the author of this book. It was audio recorded (of which the participants were informed) and subsequently transcribed by the author herself. The discussion lasted 90 minutes and was conducted in Polish. The transcript of the discussion labelled as Excerpt 4 was divided into shorter samples to enable the reader to follow the analysis easily. Therefore the organisation of the samples is neither chronological nor thematic but rather utilitarian.

The participants were the same people whose debate in English has already been presented and analysed in Section 3.6.3. The debate in Polish followed the discussion in English which had taken place two months earlier. For clarity and ease of the contrastive analysis, each participant's label corresponds with the label used in Section 3.6.3. In this discussion, nine participants, including the moderator, took part. P5, the only male, was absent on the day of the discussion.

The guiding research question for this inquiry relates to what constitutes the identity of the teacher participants and how the negotiation of identity interfaces with their language and communicative competence. That said, the purpose of this particular inquiry, as part of the larger study, is to capture the lived experience of teacher identity performance.

3.6.4.2. Situated teacher identities

Our concern is to suggest that an analysis of the participants' talk reveals their participation trajectory in relation to the teaching and learning activities they have engaged in. The participants carry out goal-directed actions that are flexible and constructed in the interaction (cf. Holland and Reeves 1996; Middleton 1998). By focusing on their talk, the attention is on what they treat as relevant, as well as how they try to deal with these concerns. Their accounts relate not only to their experiences, but also to what is justified as legitimate within the context of a particular situation (Shotter 1984; Ottesen 2007).

In Excerpt 4, the session opens with the moderator posing an opening question ("Czy wierzą panie w to, że mają wpływ na całe życie swoich uczniów?" [do you believe you have an impact on the lives of your students?]) and then, as the dialogue unfolds, the participants contribute "the thoughts, ideas, questions and opinions of their peers into the field of their own interpretations" (Jewell and Pratt 1999: 846) by engaging in the genuine talk. Meaning unfolds through the progressive interactions with each participant sharing their thoughts. The conversation stops and starts, speakers begin and then try again – these uneven, unfinished utterances are characteristic of talk for meaning-making, cycles that eventually move the learning forward. The participants talk about their lives and activities in school and the system of education in general.

This time P2 engages first, commenting on the importance of a teacher authority that, in her opinion, is a key to successful teaching.

Excerpt 4(a)

2 P2: *myślę, że na całe życie to nie, ale jeżeli będziemy miały wpływ na jakąś część tego życia, to uważam, że będzie to sukcesem*

[I think not for a lifetime, but if we have an impact on any part of their life, I think it will be a success]

Her further, responses indicate that she knows what is expected of a teacher from her own experience, which in her opinion is to take responsibility for the students' learning and development. She appears to subscribe to a holistic model of teaching in which a teacher is a nurturer of a learner. Her further contributions reveal her "pedagogic concerns" (Breen 1991). She emphasises the affective domain of learning by highlighting the relevance of teacher's actual values, moral obligations, beliefs regarding teaching and learning, and attitudes toward learners (turn 82). She says that especially young learners are often in need of a supportive adult (turn 103) and that there is a risk of students being abandoned if teachers focus too much on subject content teaching (turn 55).

Excerpt 4(b)

55 P2: *przede wszystkim jesteśmy w szkole wychowawcami wychowawcami później dopiero uczymy tego przedmiotu, który być powinien*

[first of all we are educators educators at the school teachers only later we teach the subject we should]

82 P2: *ja myślę, że nawet do grupy, bo ten sam materiał każdej grupie trzeba będzie inaczej go przekazać, bo jedna grupa będzie jakaś dowcipna zabawna która będzie lubiła takie a w innej grupie się okaże się te same dowcipy w ogóle nie działają bo tych ludzi to nie śmieszy i to też jest ważne*

[I think that even in the group because the same material in each group you will have to pass differently, because one group will be witty and amusing and in another group the same jokes will not work because these people do not have that sense of humor and this is also important]

103 P2: *nawet jeżeli lubimy nauczyciela, to normalne (.) kiedyś byłam chora i koleżanka mi mówi że dzieciaki powiedziały że szkoda bo pani nie ma a ja jej mówię przestań mi oczy mydlić bez przesady też się uczyłam ileś lat temu ale to było miłe jak wieczorem dostałam maila jak się pani czuje czyli było to zainteresowanie wiem że mnie po prostu akceptują natomiast to że się cieszą że nie ma angielskiego, to jest naturalne, bym się zdziwiła gdyby było inaczej inaczej co pani robiła jak pani nie było? a ja byłam chora*

[even if we like the teacher it's normal (.) once I was sick and colleague told me that kids had said that it was a pity that their teacher wasn't at school and I said to her stop pulling the wool over my eyes do not exaggerate I have been a teacher for some years and I know what kids are like (.) but it was nice as in the evening I received an e-mail asking how do you feel so there was this interest and it was nice but I knew that they were glad they did not have english it is natural I would be surprised if it were different otherwise what would you do if you were not there? and I was sick]

P2 also talks about a cognitive and language passion in teaching thus making it clear that teaching is less like a profession but more like devotion. Such an attitude towards teaching is revealed in her interactional behaviour. She takes many turns and speaks in an emotionally charged language as, for instance, in turn 43 "Yet it is important to be perceived as someone who is passionate about his subject, and not only does a job and goes home" or in turn 55 "First of all, we are educators, educators at the school, teachers only later, we teach the subject we should" or in turn 142 she talks about her History teacher who was proud of his high-achieving students as much Napoleon was of his soldiers.

Excerpt 4(c)

142 P2: *przede wszystkim jesteśmy w szkole wychowawcami wychowawcami później dopiero uczymy tego przedmiotu który być powinien*

[first of all we are educators educators at the school, teachers only later we teach the subject we should]

Another important aspect of the teacher identity that is endorsed in P2's talk and shared by virtually all the participants, is the teacher's authority.

Excerpt 4(d)

17 P2: *dużo zależy od tego, jak kogoś postrzegamy (.) nawet ja jak oddawałam trzecią klasę to na przykład dzieci pytały się kogo dostaną. było kilka pań, które oddawały ósmą klasę (.) dzieci a kogo byście chciały tą ładną elegancką panią. dzieci jaką ładną no tą, no i rzeczywiście okazuje się, że taka u nas lucyna, taka bardzo elegancka kobieta, codziennie na tiptop, szpilki, bluzeczka, wszystko dopasowane. dzieci nie znają, nie wiedzą, jaka ona z charakteru była, bo nigdy nie miały ani jednej godziny zastępstwa, ale przez to, że jest tak ładnie ubrana, taka elegancka, to im się wydawało, że jest miła, że po prostu będzie świetną kolejną wychowawczynią. zresztą, dyrekcja poruszyła to kiedyś właśnie na spotkaniu, że tak nas dzieci postrzegają właśnie, a w ogóle drugi taki ostatni nius, że dzieci uważają, że nauczycielki chodzą tak ładnie ubrane, więc na pewno dużo zarabiają, bo muszą się tak ładnie ubierać, bo mają za co*

[a lot depends on how you perceive someone (.) when I was handing over the third grade children kept asking who could be their new form master to get someone. there were a few teachers who taught the eighth grade (.) children, and who would you want to have - this pretty, elegant lady (.) children what nice (.) well that (.) and indeed, it turned out that there was lucy (.) that very elegant woman, a daily tiptop, high heels, blouse, everything matched. children do not know, did not know the character of the teacher, because I never had a single hour replacement, but by the fact that she was so nicely dressed, so elegant they thought that she was nice that she'd be a great next educator. In any case, the headmaster once told us at the meeting that children perceived us, in general the news was that children believed that teachers erned a lot and so they could afford such smart clothes]

29 P2: *sama sztuka takiego wyjścia z takiej sytuacji, to też chyba nie jest tak, że do końca, jak ktoś nie zna tego słówka, to się trzeba umieć zachować, albo, że np. ja nie jestem słownikiem, sprawdź, ja chętnie też się dowiem*

[the art of going out of difficult situations, it is probably not the case that by the end, and if you do not know a word you need to know how to behave, for example, you can say I am not a dictionary, look it up and I'll readily learn too]

72 P2: *ważne żeby nie ośmieszać, ja miałam nauczyciela w liceum od matematyki i on miał zwyczaj odpytywania z nowego tematu przez godzinę. oprócz tego, że ja byłam licha z tej matematyki okrutnie i patrzyłam na zegarek na każdą upływającą minutkę, to on jeszcze wyłapywał takich właśnie, te ofiary, to jowisza, to teraz ty. Ja pamiętam stałam przez te czterdzieści pięc minut przy tablicy, chyba widział, ż już nic z tego nie będzie i mówi tak ty to jesteś humanistka, a ja rzeczywiście byłam humanistką, byłam ulubienicą pana profesora od historii, geografii, bo byłam dobra z tego i on humanistka? ja*

mówię, no tak, widzisz Jowisza, to jest taka różnica, jak maja ubrana i maja rozebrana, a ja ległam i wolałam nie chodzić na tą matmę, niż wysłuchiwać takich uwag. on potrafił mnie bardzo skutecznie zniechęcić.

[important is not to ridicule (.) I had a teacher of mathematics in my high school, and he had a habit of calling students and posing questions on a new topic for a lesson. apart from the fact that I was damn poor at math and I kept checking time every minute he thived on such victims (.) then jupiter now you(.) I remember I was standing forty five minutes by the blackboard, before he saw nothing would come out of it and said yes you're a humanist, and I actually was a humanist the teacher of history, geography liked me because I was good at those subjects, and he said a humanist? I said, yes, so can you see Jupiter, it is such a difference, as maja dressed maja dressed and undressed, and I gave up and I preferred not to go to math rather than to hear such comments. he managed to discourage me sufficiently.]

103 P2: *nawet jeżeli lubimy nauczyciela, to normalne. kiedyś byłam chora i koleżanka, mi mówi, że dzieciaki powiedziały, że szkoda bo pani nie ma, a ja jej mówię, przestań mi oczy mydlić, bez przesady, też się uczyłam ileś lat temu,ale to było miłe, jak wieczorem dostałam maila, jak się pani czuje, czyli było to zainteresowanie, wiem, że mnie po prostu akceptują, natomiast, to, że się cieszą, że nie ma angielskiego, to jest naturalne, bym się zdziwiła, gdyby było inaczej inaczej co pani robiła, jak pani nie było? a ja byłam chora*

[even if we like the teacher, it's normal. once I was sick and colleague, told me that kids had said that it was a pity that their teacher wasn't at school and I said to her, stop pulling the wool over my eyes, do not exaggerate, I have been a teacher for some years and I know what kids are like, but it was nice, as in the evening I received an e-mail asking how do you feel, so there was this interest, and it was nice but I knew that they were glad they did not have English it is natural, I would be surprised if it were different otherwise what would you do if you were not there? and I was sick]

Teachers need to be prepared to tackle many unpredictable needs, wants and situations (turns 17, 29). They also serve as role models not only when they teach students but also while they perform their duties outside a school context as parents, women, shoppers or church-goers (turns 72, 103).

Recognition of the teacher identity as an authority is interwoven in the contributions made by other in-service teachers as well. They admit that a traditional responsibility of the teacher is to pass on to learners the information, knowledge and understanding in a topic appropriate at the stage of their education. Therefore, the traditional role of the teacher, one of a provider of information in the lesson context, is frequently acknowledged in their talk. P7 in turn 13 says that being a teacher relates both to being a knowledge provider and a role model ("bycie nauczycielem, to nie może być tylko związane z wiedzą i jej przekazywaniem, ale też bycie jakimś wzorcem osobowym"). P1 in turn 15 tells stories of a Physics teacher who was so poor at classroom instruction and pedagogical knowledge that she (P1) almost failed her exam in physics despite

being a very good student at the beginning of her schooling. In contrast, P3 in turn 16 talks about teachers who were very good at knowledge delivery but their clothes and garments were filthy and sluttish, which discouraged students from studying the subject they taught.

It seems that teacher authority for the participants in the discussion does not equal expertise in the subject content knowledge, though. Reflecting upon the nature of the teacher authority from different perspectives, i.e. from the point of view of the self, other teachers, the students and the students' parents, they argue that their role is to promote individualised teaching, and the school is supposed to meet pupils' personal needs. They do not accept the old form of authority where school authorities control without listening to students' views.

Excerpt 4(e)

51 P9: *a wydaje mi się, że i tak, przede wszystkim każdy, obojętnie, czego uczy, powinien być najpierw wychowawcą, bo prawda jest taka i to na wielu lekcjach i nie tylko na moich, bo mam muzykę i to pół muzyki nieraz zejdzie na sprawy wychowawcze i czy to jest moja działka, czy nie moja działka, bo przede wszystkim wydaje mi się, że trzeba ich nauczyć poprawnego zachowania, szacunku do drugiej osoby, tym bardziej, że teraz jest tyle agresji wśród dzieciaków, tyle tych złych zachowań, że naprawdę każda lekcja może być, że tak powiem, położona w połowie, bo trzeba się tym zająć, a wydaje mi się, że to jest ważniejsze niż kolejny temat z muzyki czy czegoś, bo ewentualnie, jeżeli faktycznie położymy to mogą to doczytać w jakiejś książce, a po prostu takich norm społecznych, których powinni się nauczyć, to tego z książki nie wyczytają, tylko po prostu to jest samo życie*

[and it seems to me that above all, everyone, no matter what you teach, should be an educator first, because the truth is, and that follows from many lessons on my own, because I teach music and a half of the music lesson often comes down to matters of education and whether this is my field or not, it seems to me that you need to teach them proper behaviour, respect for another person, more so that now there is so much aggression among kids, so many instances of bad behaviour that you really can devote half of each lesson because you have to take care of it, and it seems to me that it is more important than another topic of music or something, because eventually, if we do not cover the subject material they can read it and make up for it from the book, and social norms, they should learn, cannot be learned from the book, but this simply is life itself]

82 P2: *ja myślę, że nawet do grupy, bo ten sam materiał każdej grupie trzeba będzie inaczej go przekazać, bo jedna grupa będzie jakaś dowcipna, zabawna, która będzie lubiła takie, a w innej grupie się okaże, się te same dowcipy w ogóle nie działają, bo tych ludzi to nie śmieszy i to też jest ważne*

[I think that even in the group, because the same material in each group, you will have to pass it on differently, because one group will be witty and amusing and in another group the same jokes will not work, because these people do not have that sense of humor and this is also important]

84 P4: *ja miałam takiego nauczyciela w szkole średniej, że jak przychodzi i zaczyna tekst i od dzień dobry pisze na tablicy magister taki i taki, że na piątkę to umie pan Bóg, na czwórkę to ja, wy najwyżej na trójkę. do tej pory, ja słyszę od znajomych, których dzieci chodzą do szkoły, żeby to dziecko umiało naprawdę najlepiej, to tam wyjściową oceną do zaliczenia jest trzy, a jeżeli chcesz mieć czwórkękę, to musisz chodzić na dodatkowe zajęcia u niego oczywiście, nie to, że odpłatnie, zostawać po lekcjach, udzielać się*

[I had a teacher in my secondary school who came and from the very beginning of the course he pronounced the text like god knows the subject for five I know it for four and you know it for three at most (.) since then I have heard from friends whose children go to school that a startin point is always three and if you want more you have to go to extracircullar classes, not that you pay him but you must get involved and be active]

85 P4: *dla mnie jest bardzo ważne, żeby w tej naszej pracy, chociaż pracujemy na ogół z grupą, brać pod uwagę indywidualne możliwości dziecka, bo co innego jest, jak dziecko bardzo zdolne poświęci dziesięc minut na powtórzenie czegoś i nam to zda świetnie, ale ja nie mogę tak samo oceniać dzieciaka, które jest gdzieś na pograniczu, czy ma bardzo duże problemy i oceniać go tak samo na wejście. inną skalę, zindywidualizowaną tego nauczania, to jest bardzo istotne i bardzo trudne, o na to trzeba czasu żeby poznać dzieci, natomiast nie można wszystkich pod równą kreskę na pewno stawiać*

[for me it is very important that, in our work, although we are working with the group as a whole, to take into account the child's individual abilities,a different case is when a gifted child devotes ten minutes to repeat something and she passes a test great, but I can not assess a borderline kid, who has big problems and evaluate her in the same way at the start. a different individualized evaluation scale is needed, it is very important and very difficult, it takes time to get to know all the children,our students but they for sure cannot be treated as a homogenous group]

88 P1: *Dlatego mówię, do zadań z gwiazdką biorę trochę lepszego ucznia, a nie maltretuję przez czterdzieści pięć minut tego, o którym wiem, że i tak sobie nie da rady*

[that is what I say asterisk marked problems are for gifted students and I do not abuse a poor student who I know will not be able to manage it for forty five minutes

They explicate that the teacher's most important tasks are to promote the construction of a student's individual identity, self-worth (turns 72, 85), positive attitudes towards the subject (turns 82, 84, 88) as well as teach theoretical issues and basic skills in the subject domain. They emphasise that the role of the teacher is to create learning opportunities for students and to organise their school learning. On the other hand, they have developed their own local rules which have helped them to prioritise the different aspects of their work in teaching. They see particular value in the feedback given to students by teachers

within and outside school since they have found such feedback to be more important for students' development than the feedback given solely within the boundaries of the subject domain (turn 51).

The essence of what it means to be a teacher for the in-service participants is presented, in a nutshell, in turn 48.

Excerpt 4(f)

48 P1: *to też jest praca, gdzie tak naprawdę naszą metodą podstawową pracy i jakąś techniką jesteśmy my sami, więc to, jaką jesteśmy osobą, co sobą reprezentujemy, to jest to, czego tak naprawdę uczymy, oprócz jakiejś tam merytorycznej strony przedmiotu. dla mnie jest to praca trudna i taka, która jest wyzwaniem, bo nie wszystko da się tu wyuczyć, bo po prostu pracując sobą, to jest i zmęczenie materiału i mamy nieraz też zły dzień, itd. i to jest trudne, że po prostu tu nie da się jakby oddzielić naszej osoby, tu nie są numerki, cyferki, że my sobie pozliczamy, czy mamy gorszy, lepszy dzień, nie wiem, koniec kolumny wyjdzie nam taki sam w rozliczeniu, tylko po prostu pracujemy sobą, tutaj te nasze emocje i nastroje też mają znaczenie i właśnie umiejętność operowania tym wszystkim, to jest chyba w tym wszystkim najtrudniejsze*

[this is also a job where our method of work and some basic technique is really ourselves, so the kind of person we are, what we represent ourselves, this is what they really learn, in addition to the subject content. for me, this is a difficult job and one that is challenging, because not everything can be taught because when you are working yourself that is, the fatigue and sometimes you have a bad day, and it is difficult, simply you cannot separate yourself from the job. it's not like accountancy that you add and subtract numbers and the balance will be fine. simply we work with ourselves with our person. here go our emotions and feelings and sentiments that matter and that ability to operate with all this stuff, this is probably the toughest thing]

P1 talks of her understanding of the teacher as a whole of a human being. She, using inclusive "we", says that a teacher is "a method and a technique of instruction as well as subject content". For her, the quality of teaching is not determined by the teacher's subject content knowledge alone. Rather, the teacher's expertise embraces subject matter, Didactics and Pedagogy (Shulman 1986). Her view is shared by other in-service teachers who make their contributions in subsequent turns. They primarily base their expertise on pedagogical content knowledge. From their perspective understanding, human thought, behaviour, and communication is considered essential knowledge (Beijaard, Verloop, and Vermunt 2000). The emphasis is on relationships, values, and the moral and emotional aspects of development. In their view of teacher expertise, "teaching cannot be reduced to instrumental action automatically resulting in learning by the students" (Löfström et al. 2010: 169). For them, education is not only about knowledge and attainment in exams but also about students' happiness and well-being and caring about their future. Therefore they promote the model of the teacher as a reflective practitioner

(Wallace 1991) who experiments with new learner-centred teaching methodologies, creatively adapts teaching methods, tasks and techniques to his/her context and then reflects on the outcomes of the learning and teaching processes.

Excerpt 4(g)

26 P7: *na przykład moje zajęcia wyglądają tak, że ja np. pierwszy raz przychodzę i mówię, no dobrze nie chcesz możesz iść, w porządku, och, już mu się podoba, że pani go nie zmuszała. ach, fajna pani, bo już mi nie kazała czegoś robić, drugi raz przyjdzie, będziesz chciał iść? nie, bo drugi raz pani powiedziała, że nie muszę iść, o, coraz fajniejsza, już zyskuje uznanie w oczach dziecka.pPrzyjdzie za miesiąc, ja mówię chciałbyś iść, chciałbym, ale, już stawia warunek będę siedział z boku, okej,będziesz siedział z boku i takimi drobnymi kroczkami ja sobie zyskuję sympatię tego dziecka, ale to dziecko musi samo dojść do tego, że ono coś lubi (.) takie poczucie*

[for example, my class looks like that (.) the first time I come to the class I say, well, well you can not go wrong, oh, I would like to, that you did not force him. Ah, nice lady, because I'm told to do something, the second time comes, you'll want to go? No, because the second time you said that you do not have to go on, more and more fun, already gaining recognition in the eyes of a child. there will come a month, I say-would go, I would, but, I put a condition I was sitting on the side, okay, you sit on the side and such small steps I myself gain the compassion of the child, but that child must come to the same thing, that it was something like (.) such a sense of]

31 P1: *nauczyciel nie musi wszystkiego wiedzieć, on ma tylko wskazać jak dziecko ma się uczyć, prawda, chce znać surogatkę, no to czyta w encyklopedii, przychodzi na następną lekcję i przedstawia, jak znajdzie jak się nazywa ta surogatka po angielsku, przecież nikt nie jest omnibusem, to tego trzeba dzieci nauczyć, powiedzieć, że ja też nie wiem wszystkiego, ja nie jestem nieomylna, ja też mam prawo nie interesować się o kosmosie te wszystkie planety, ja miałam naprawdę dzieci, które miały w pierwszej czy drugiej klasie takie zainteresowania, że mi samej włosy dęba stawały, co te dziecko w ogóle mówi, a on po prostu mały naukowiec siedział i czytał kolejną książkę o kosmosie i był w stanie powiedzieć mi wszystko, ale wtedy na przykład zrobił dzieciom cały wykład, miał godzinkę poświęconą, przygotował się, dzieci słuchały chętnie, ciekawie i ja mówię Andrzej, ja też mogę czegoś nie wiedzieć, też nie jestem nieomylna, też muszę sprawdzić i nie budowanie takie, że ja wszystko wiem najlepiej, tylko chodzi o to, że też jestem człowiekiem, mam prawo czegoś nie wiedzieć, mam prawo się pomylić, każdy się myli, jeżeli coś robi, może się pomylić, o to chodzi, takie właśnie zrozumienie*

[the teacher does not need to know everything, he has only to show how the child is to learn, you know, she wants to know what the surrogate is so she reads the encyclopedia comes to the next lesson and shows how to find the name of this surrogate in english, yet noone is an omnibus and that is what children need to learn (.) say that I do not know everything I'm not infallible (.) I also have the right not to be interested in the outer space, all the planets, I had really the

children who were in the first and the second grade who had such interests that hair stand on end I did not know what the child was talking about, and she was just a little scientist who sat and read another book about space and was able to tell me anything on that topic, but if the kids did such a lecture, she devoted an hour prepared herself, the children listened eagerly and I say andrew, I do not know everything, or I'm not infallible,and I have to check if I am right and that I do not know all things best, but the point is that I am a man, I have the right not to know something, I have the right to be wrong, all wrong, if I do something it can go wrong (.) that what matters that kind of mutual understanding]

49 P8: *umiejętność zostawienia swojego życia osobistego, kiedy się wchodzi do szkoły i zajęcia się tylko tymi dziećmi, bo nie można na nich odreagować swoich stresów, prawda?*

[the ability to leave your personal life behind when you enter the school and deal with the children alone, because you cannot vent your stress on them, or can you]

In this model, the teacher is neither a model nor a source of information, but a moderator and facilitator (turn 26) who helps raise the learner's awareness of the relevant issues, gives possible answers to questions and provides feedback on learners' ideas and their output produced (turn 31).

P1's turn further explicates that the in-service teachers cannot separate their professional life from their social-emotional sphere. These are in a dialectical unity of the self and the situated teacher identity. Palmer (1998) argues that teaching takes place at the intersection of personal and public life and in Nias's (1986) study, teachers are seen to invest their sense of self in their work, and to have similar personal and public identities as a result. Atkinson (2011: 143) says that "Like all organisms, human beings are ecological organisms - they depend on their environment to survive." By way of analogy, the experienced teachers characterize themselves as adaptive organisms that continuously and dynamically adapt to their environment to survive. It implies that they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. In other words, how they forge their identities depends partly on who they are on a particular day in a particular situation and how they relate to the social world.

Interestingly, P8 engaging in the debate in turn 49, seemingly presents a follow up to P1's contribution but a deeper analysis of this piece shows that it is a completely reverse view of a teacher. Emphasising a separation of the personal and professional aspect of the teacher identity, she aims to marginalize and repress the private sphere and individual experiences as irrelevant and subjugating to the needs of students and aims of the system (Dillabough 1999). What prevails in her talk is the concept of rationality in the notion of teacher competencies. This Enlightenment discourse is contrary to the humanist notions that are being held up by the in-service teachers (turns 13 in 4(h); 48 in 4(f); 51 in 4(e); 81 in 4(h)).

Excerpt 4(h)

13 P7: *wpływ na pewno jest, zresztą to bycie nauczycielem, to nie może być tylko związane z wiedzą i jej przekazywaniem, ale też bycie jakimś wzorcem osobowym, nie wiem, dla mnie zawsze było istotne też, na przykład starałam się żeby idąc do pracy, nie wiem, był odpowiedni ubiór, bo dzieci są obserwatorami, nauczenie dziecka zachowań typu kulturalnego się zachowania, odpowiadania także to wszystko jest wpływem na to małe dziecko, to trwa całe życie, to jest gdzieś nauczone, natomiast, to, co będzie dalej, to też zależy od dalszych wpływów i dalszych kontaktów dziecka*

[there is influence for sure, moreover being a teacher can not only be related to knowledge and its transmission, but also to being a role model, I do not know, for me, it has always been important for example, I have tried going to work, I do not know, follow the dress code, because children are observers, to teach the child behaviors cultural behaviors, responding as it has impact on a small child her whole life, it is learned somewhere, but what happens next also depends on further inflows and further child surroundings]

43 P2: *ważne jest jeszcze to żeby być postrzegana jako osoba, która pasjonuje się swoim przedmiotem, a nie tylko odwala robotę i idzie do domu*

[yet it is important to be perceived as someone who is passionate about his subject, and not only does a job and goes home]

44 P6: *dokładnie*

[exactly]

45 P8: *w ogóle swoim zawodem, nie tylko* swoim *przedmiotem*

[be passionate about the profession not only the subject]

46 P6: *tak*

[yes]

59 P6: *ja myślę, że też uczniowie bardzo szybko wyłapują, jak nauczyciel jest nieprzygotowany do lekcji, mi się wydaje, że dzieci to wyczuwają i bardziej cenią takiego nauczyciela, który jednak przychodzi przygotowany i ma coś do powiedzenia, coś ciekawego. ja miałam takich różnych nauczycieli od angielskiego na swojej drodze, że po prostu przychodzili z książką, ja sama nawet w domu jeszcze przed lekcją dobrze wiedziałam, że dziś będzie od ćwiczenia piątego do ósmego, bo tak po prostu szło w książce, po kolei i tak się odbywało, ja mogłam wcale na te zajęcia nie chodzić, bo już tak naprawdę wcześniej wiedziałam. natomiast, taki nauczyciel, który przychodził na lekcję i czymś zaskakiwał, czymś nowym, to myślę, że takich nauczycieli się lepiej docenia. tak samo inny przedmiot, tak jak historia, pani leci po kolei w książce, to też to takie nudne, bo już uczeń przed lekcją wie, że dzisiaj będzie temat taki. taki troszeczkę rodzaj zaskoczenia, po prostu kwestia zaskoczenia dzieci czymś, co one nie będą się spodziewały, powoduje to, że one się interesują i przez to pamiętają*

[I think that students can pick up very quickly when the teacher is unprepared for the lesson, it seems to me that the kids are sensitive to it, and they more appreciate the teacher, who, comes prepared and has something to say, something interesting. I had such a variety of teachers of english in my life, some just came with the book, and even well before the lesson, I knew that today we would do the exercise five to eight, because that was the book order and so it was done, I could do these tasks without attending the lesson because I had really already known the program. however,there were teachers who came to class with something surprising, something new, I think that such teachers were appreciated much higher just another school subject, such as history, the teacher followed the book blindly it was so boring because students before class had known that on that day a given task would be done, so take students by surprise just a matter of taking them by surprise with something that they will not be expected, the result is that they get interested in and remember better]

81 P1: *ale to, że ci się przysnęło, to dla niego powinno być takim sygnałem, że coś jest nie tak, albo, że właśnie masz zły dzień. nauczyciel powinien też być refleksyjny do siebie, powinien reagować na to, co się dzieje, powinien się zastanowić, nie udawać, nie udawać, że ta metoda jest najlepsza, że ja jestem najlepszy, tylko dostosować elastycznie do materiału*

[but the fact that you fall asleep, should be the signal that something is wrong, or that the students just have a bad day. the teacher should also be reflective, should react to what is happening, should think about it, should not pretend, not pretend that this method is the best that I'm the best, but adapt flexibly to the material]

83 P8: *po to mamy tyle metod żeby je wykorzystywać*

[after all there are so many methods we can use]

Jeffrey (2002) notes that the humanist discourse in education, to which in-service teachers subscribe has been challenged by a policy culture which emphasises ability and creates hierarchical and depersonalised relationships. P8 as well as P6 subscribe to these market-driven managerial discourses that lead to the introduction of teaching standards and create a performative culture which stresses accountability and the public demonstration of professional attributes (turns 43-46; 83 in 4(h)) above teachers' ethical and emotional qualities (Forrester 2005; Jeffrey 2002). They overlook the role that personal values play in teacher's work, which is highlighted by P1 (turns 48 in 4(f); 81 in 4(h)). O'Connor (2008: 119) says that teacher competencies designated in a rationalist manner "are not intended to recognize, affirm or deal with the more complex nature of teachers' socially situated and negotiated identities".

Moreover, when articulating their sense of a teacher self, the student teachers are preoccupied with the relationship between teachers and learners. They indicate the importance they place on establishing effective relationships and promoting a community within the classroom conducive to learning (turn 59 in 4(h)). They demonstrate a need to establish good relationships, to create a

caring community. But presenting such views, they do not recognize a teacher as a living person. Nias (1989) argues that teachers as people cannot be separated from their craft, and the act of teaching requires individuals to possess a genuine emotional understanding and empathy towards others (Hargreaves 2001). P6 and P8 take a reductionist view on teacher competencies that tends to downplay or ignore the emotional dimensions of the teacher identity. They subscribe to the teaching and educational standards they have been taught. O'Connor (2008: 119) says that "Even the prescribed set of standards for "knowing students" and "communicating with students" concentrate solely on a knowledge of the diverse needs of students and the communication of strategies and subject matter". P6 and P8 appear to be ignorant of the fact that teachers personally interpret the demands placed upon them, and that teacher identity "requires the connection of emotion with self-knowledge" (Zembylas 2003: 213). The analysis has shown that despite a professed engagement of the student teachers in the on-going discussion, marked differences occur between the contents of the talk as presented by the two groups of the participants.

Excerpt 4(i)

48 P1: *to też jest praca, gdzie tak naprawdę naszą metodą podstawową pracy i jakąś techniką jesteśmy my sami, więc to, jaką jesteśmy osobą, co sobą reprezentujemy, to jest to, czego tak naprawdę uczymy, oprócz jakiejś tam merytorycznej strony przedmiotu. dla mnie jest to praca trudna i taka, która jest wyzwaniem, bo nie wszystko da się tu wyuczyć, bo po prostu pracując sobą, to jest i zmęczenie materiału i mamy nieraz też zły dzień, itd. i to jest trudne, że po prostu tu nie da się jakby oddzielić naszej osoby, tu nie są numerki, cyferki, że my sobie pozliczamy, czy mamy gorszy, lepszy dzień, nie wiem, koniec kolumny wyjdzie nam taki sam w rozliczeniu, tylko po prostu pracujemy sobą, tutaj te nasze emocje i nastroje też mają znaczenie i właśnie umiejętność operowania tym wszystkim, to jest chyba w tym wszystkim najtrudniejsze*

[this is also a job where our method of work and some basic technique is really ourselves, so the kind of person we are, what we represent ourselves, this is what they really learn, in addition to the subject content. for me, this is a difficult job and one that is challenging, because not everything can be taught because when you are working yourself that is, the fatigue and sometimes you have a bad day, and it is difficult, simply you cannot separate yourself from the job. it's not like accountancy that you add and subtract numbers and the balance will be fine. simply we work with ourselves with our person. here go our emotions and feelings and sentiments that matter and that ability to operate with all this stuff, this is probably the toughest thing]

49 P8: *umiejętność zostawienia swojego życia osobistego, kiedy się wchodzi do szkoły i zajęcia się tylko tymi dziećmi, bo nie można na nich odreagować swoich stresów, prawda?*

[the ability to leave your personal life behind when you enter the school and deal with the children alone, because you cannot vent your stress on them, or can

you?]

50 P6: *oczywiście*

[no, you cannot]

In addition, the structural organization of the discussion brings further evidence for a varied engagement of the interlocutors, with which different degree of participation in the community of practice manifests. Apparently, P6 and P8's contributions (turns 49 and 50 in 4(i)) do not stick to the core of the discussion and therefore structurally they are not adjacent to P1's turn 48 despite their temporal adjacency. Sacks (1992) observes that in a conversation, although talk drifts imperceptibly from one topic to another, turns must display "why that now" and speakers usually place utterances by tying them grammatically and topically to what has gone before. In turns 43-50 (4(h), (i)), there is a kind of competition going on between P8 and the in-service teachers in the discussion. The latter develop the topic according to the lines of their life stories whereas P8 grasps every opportunity to say what she wants to. It does not mean that they all do not talk in a topically coherent way (Sacks 1992), rather the focus of their talk is on different elements of the topic and the vantage points they take are opposite. P8, frequently supported by P6, (Excerpt 4(h)) concentrates on the well-being of the learner in the classroom. In their opinion, the comfort of the student in these contexts should be created and secured by the teacher who is a person deprived of her personality, emotions and desires, which becomes evident in turn 49 (4(i)) when P8 says "leave your personal life behind when you enter the school", "deal with the children alone", "you cannot vent your stress on them". These statements are strongly idealistic, suggesting her serious desire to connect with learners and the notion that they are central to the establishment of a warm and open atmosphere in the classroom. P8, then, displays her strong commitment to the community of learners. Other in-service teachers do not take up her arguments, and in this way they acknowledge her positioning as a core participant in the interaction as illegitimate. P8 talks about a teacher's role as a subject expert and as a person with great responsibility for the care and well-being of pupils whereas the experienced teachers seem to consciously attempt to integrate the subject matter, Pedagogy and teacher's comfort.

In the talk carried out in the native language, the trainees and the in-service teachers alike make their ideas and understandings public, which comes as evidence for their varied participation in the community of practice. Such interactional practices indicate that it is not the language competence that puts limits on the participants' performance of identity. On the one hand, the student teachers engage directly in such conversational activities as storytelling reflections, justifications, and other forms of personal participation in the interaction. On the other hand, they do not produce conceptual artefacts or other

"forms of reification" (Wenger 1998) that might reflect their shared experience around which they could organize their participation. Their productions reveal a gap between what they know and what they are able to do. Many of their comments stem from their recent student teaching experiences. They appear to be highlighting areas that had been problematic or challenging for them, and they therefore included these desirable qualities as an identity for which to strive. They experience a double bind situation when dealing with a conflict between ideal type of work and reality in practice.

Developing a teacher identity in the context of the classroom debate requires "realignment between socially defined competence and personal experience" (Wenger 2010: 180). Each participant in the discussion has their own experience of practice. P6 and P8's experiences seem not to reflect "the regime of competence" of the community (Wenger 2010: 180). Despite their attempts to make claims to the community competence by sharing their opinions and making contributions to the debate, the student teachers are perceived as newcomers to the community in the sense that their experiences neither pull the competence of the community along nor bring new conceptual artefacts or forms of reification. On the contrary, they are presented with new conceptual resources (teacher is a living person not a learner's solace) that might pull their competence along if accepted and embraced by them. While talking about teacher roles, P8 takes a learner stance, hence appears to identify more with the community of learners than teachers. In turn 28 she argues "The teacher cannot encourage, the teacher should be a stimulant, she has to be someone who leads us through it". Her identification with learners is visible with the use of the pronoun "we" whose reference is "learners". In this spontaneous talk, she focuses on the message, and the form is beyond her conscious control, therefore the occurrence of the pronoun in this context is revealing of her subconscious identification with the community of learners. P8 however understands that in order to become a core member of the community of teachers, she needs to become accountable to "the regime of the community competence". Therefore, she makes many longer contributions to the debate and explicates on different aspects of the practice of teaching and learning (turns 19, 28, 49, 58).

Excerpt 4(j)

19 P8: *myślę, że jeszcze ważnym elementem w tym wychowywaniu jest to, że tak naprawdę te dzieci od najmłodszych lat, od przedszkola spędzają połowę, a czasem większą część dnia w szkole, nie mówię o weekendach, ale codziennie, mało tego, są dodatkowe organizowane jakieś kółka zainteresowań, też już od najmłodszych klas i myślę sobie, ze w zależności od tego, jak ten nauczyciel tę wiedzę przekazuje, jakim jest człowiekiem w ogóle, jakie ma podejście do tych dzieci, to też wpływa na takie dziecko, czy chce na te zajęcia chodzić, czy nie, niekoniecznie dlatego, że się tym interesuje od początku, przynajmniej, myślę, że jeszcze ta świadomość nie jest tak rozwinięta żeby on mógł sobie jakoś tak*

ocenić, on bardziej podchodzi do tego ja to lubię, mi się to podoba, niekoniecznie, że jest bardzo tym zainteresowany. natomiast, właśnie nauczyciel, jako ten pedagog i wychowawca, ma duże szanse i możliwości w tym żeby przy pomocy rodziców, sobie nie wyobrażam sobie żeby było tak, że jedni sobie, czyli nauczyciele grają jakby w jednej drużynie, a rodzice w drugiej i to się gdzieś tam gryzie, te wszystkie zdolności wykreować i takie perełki wydobyć ze szkoły. bardzo często, przecież to nauczyciel kieruje osobę na jakąś olimpiadę później, czy wyłania jakieś zainteresowania. ci rodzice nie mają nawet zielonego pojęcia o tym, że dziecko wykazuje takie zdolności, a nie inne, bo w domu to może mieć inne

[I think we have an important part in the upbringing because the thing is that children from an early age, from kindergarten spend a half and sometimes most of the day at school, I'm not talking about the weekends, but week days, nay, there are interest clubs from the early grades, and I think myself that a lot depends on how the teacher passes knowledge, what a man she is herself what attitude she has towards children, it also affects the child,whether she wants to go to these classe sor not, because they are interesting from the beginning, at least, I think that child's awareness is not developed enough so that she could evaluate these classes she goes there because she likes them, not necessarily she is very interested in the subject. however, just as a teacher and educator, she has a good chance and ability to do so with the help of their parents, I can not imagine that some people the teachers play as a team, and the parents in the other and it conflicts out there, all the abilities have to be developed and all the gems mined in school. very often, after all this is the teacher who decides who should go competition and interest awakes. these parents cannot even imagine that their child has the ability and not the other, because at home she has some other]

28 P8: *nauczyciel nie zachęci, nauczyciel ma być jakimś stymulatorem, ma być kimś, kto nas prowadzi przez to, ten wpływ na dziecko, czy to starsze, bardziej może starsze w tym przypadku również poprzez wiedzę nauczyciela. bardzo często dzieci są sprytne i cwane i bardzo często jest tak, że jak szczególnie przychodzi nowy nauczyciel, to trzeba go wytestować i to nie tylko pod względem charakteru, ale również wiedzy, którą posiada, może jakieś dodatkowe słówka, proszę pani, a jak to, a jak to i złapie się, czy się nie złapie, uda się, czy się nie uda i przez to też się buduje jakiś taki autorytet i to też ma wpływ.*

[the teacher cannot encourage the teacher should be a stimulant, she has to be someone who leads us through it, the impact on the child either the older or, the older in this case is more likely to be stimulated through the knowledge of the teacher. very often children are clever and cunning, and very often the case is, especially when a new teacher arrives, she needs to be tested, not just in terms of character, but also the knowledge she has, maybe some extra words, miss how can I say just to catch her and if not caught, so this is how authority builds, and it also has an impact]

49 P8: *umiejętność zostawienia swojego życia osobistego, kiedy się wchodzi do szkoły i zajęcia się tylko tymi dziećmi, bo nie można na nich odreagować swoich stresów, prawda?*

[the ability to leave your personal life behind when you enter the school and deal with the children alone, because you cannot vent your stress on them, or can you?]

58 P8: *ja miałam taką nauczycielkę z liceum, że rzeczywiście ona bardzo dużo wymagała, ale bardzo dużo też nas nauczyła z języka angielskiego. Rzeczywiście, dzięki niej mogłam zdać na studia z językiem angielskim, bo miałąm iść na historię, jednak ona mnie przekonała do tego żeby w klasie maturalnej starać się już o przyjęcie na studia na język angielski i za jej namową poszłam i jakoś teraz się udaje przebrnąć dalej. natomiast, nie spotyka się takich nauczycielek rzeczywiście bardzo często, myślę, a była młodą kobietą, miała bodajże dwadzieścia pięć lat, jak przyszła nas uczyć w drugiej klasie liceum, przyszła po naszej innej nauczycielce, która była w ciąży i poszła na urlop i w ogóle było od razu, że strasznie nie lubimy, bo tamta była fajniejsza, bo była laytowa i w ogóle, a wcale nie prawda, byliśmy bardzo słabą grupą, jak ona odchodziła, a potem jak przyszła ta nowa nauczycielka, to minęło pół roku i byliśmy najlepsi w szkole. także, bardzo dużo się zmieniło, ale rzeczywiście ona prowadziła zajęcia bardzo ciekawie, interesowała się tak bardzo językiem angielskim, opowiadała nam o wszystkim, bardzo też dużo wyjeżdżała do Anglii, miała wspaniały akcent, nigdy w życiu czegoś takiego nie słyszałam, także chodzący ideał nauczyciela, także też to zapamiętam chyba do końca życia i kiedy się z nią nie spotkam (.)naprawdę, bardzo przyjaźnie ją wspominam.*

[I had such a teacher in my secondary school that actually she demanded a lot but also many of us learned the english language well. Indeed, thanks to her I could pass through to the english studies first I wanted to study History, but in the senior year she convinced me that I should try english studies and for her advice I took up english and now somehow I can manage to move forward. however, one does not meet such teachers very often, I think, and she was a young woman, she was probably twenty five when came to teach us in the second year of my secondaryschool to replace our previous teacher who was pregnant and went on maternity leave and from the outset we did not like her because she was scary, because the other was more fun and so on and that was not true, because we were a very poor group at english, and it took her half a year to turn us into the best group in the school. also, a lot has changed, but in fact she taught in a very interesting, and she herself was so interested in the english language, she told us many things about it, she travelled to england a lot, she had a great english accent, and never in my life did I hear anything like that, simply an ideal teacher of english , I'll probably remember her for a lifetime and when I meet he (.) reall,my memories are great]

Her contributions can be divided between an idea of the importance of the teacher in promoting learning, and at the same time the concern with adopting a role that would allow for this learning and development to happen. As examples of the reflection, she notes the need for a teacher to provide inspiration, and expressed her desire to be the type of teacher who would engage and motivate the learners (Excerpt 4(j)). Through the process of modulation of her practice she displays the need to belong to the community, which is becoming part of her identity. Although the perspective that prevails in her talk is that of the learner,

she makes attempts to adopt the perspective of the teacher as well (turns 19, 28, 49 in 4(j)), which is recognized by other interactants as her competence in the practices of the community and as a result, they expand on her talk in subsequent turns.

Excerpt 4(k)

59 P6: *ja myślę, że też uczniowie bardzo szybko wyłapują, jak nauczyciel jest nieprzygotowany do lekcji, mi się wydaje, że dzieci to wyczuwają i bardziej cenią takiego nauczyciela, który jednak przychodzi przygotowany i ma coś do powiedzenia, coś ciekawego. ja miałam takich różnych nauczycieli od angielskiego na swojej drodze, że po prostu przychodzili z książką, ja sama nawet w domu jeszcze przed lekcją dobrze wiedziałam, że dziś będzie od ćwiczenia piątego do ósmego, bo tak po prostu szło w książce, po kolei i tak się odbywało, ja mogłam wcale na te zajęcia nie chodzić, bo już tak naprawdę wcześniej wiedziałam. natomiast, taki nauczyciel, który przychodził na lekcję i czymś zaskakiwał, czymś nowym, to myślę, że takich nauczycieli się lepiej docenia. tak samo inny przedmiot, tak jak historia, pani leci po kolei w książce, to też to takie nudne, bo już uczeń przed lekcją wie, że dzisiaj będzie temat taki. taki troszeczkę rodzaj zaskoczenia, po prostu kwestia zaskoczenia dzieci czymś, co one nie będą się spodziewały, powoduje to, że one się interesują i przez to pamiętają.*

[I think that students can pick up very quickly when the teacher is unprepared for the lesson, it seems to me that the kids are sensitive to it, and they more appreciate the teacher, who, comes prepared and has something to say, something interesting. I had such a variety of teachers of english in my life, some just came with the book, and even well before the lesson, I knew that today we would do the exercise five to eight, because that was the book order and so it was done, I could do these tasks without attending the lesson because I had really already known the program however,there were teachers who came to class with something surprising, something new, I think that such teachers were appreciated much higher just another school subject, such as history, the teacher followed the book blindly it was so boring because students before class had known that on that day a given task would be done so take students by surprise just a matter of taking them by surprise with something that they will not be expected, the result is that they get interested in and remember better]

74 P6: *ona liczy na to, że ma poczucie humoru*

[she thinks she has a sense of humour]

86 P6: *niektórzy nauczyciele traktują, że ich przedmiot jest najważniejszy, nieważna jest matematyka, ja i mój przedmiot i wy wszyscy musicie tutaj być geniuszami praca domowa sześćdziesiąt ćwiczeń.*

[some teachers think their subject is most import ant and all of you in here have to be genius your homework has sixty tasks.]

94 P6: *trzeba traktować uczniów jak ludzi, poważnie do nich podchodzić, niezależnie, czy to jest student lat trzydzieści, czy to jest dzieciak lat sześć, to jest człowiek i*

należy go traktować w miarę poważnie

[you have to treat people as humans have a serious attitude regardless of whether he is a thirty-year-old student or a six-year-old kid he is a human an you need to take him relatively seriously]

95 P8: *i być człowiekiem dla niego*

[and be human to him]

96 P6: *i byliśmy zadowoleni, jak nauczyciela nie było*

[and we were glad when teachers were absent]

P6 does not bring so many forms of reification to the community debate. Her contributions are shorter (Excerpts 4(h), (i)) and supportive of the productions of other participants rather than original opinions stemming from her own reflective practice. In addition, she rarely brings evidence for the claims being made and, if this is the case, her arguments and justifications are presented from the point of view of the learner rather than the teacher (Excerpt 4(k)). She is behind P8 on her trajectory to becoming a participant of the teacher community of practice since her experiences do not reflect "the regime of competence" in the community of teachers. She is more concerned about learning efficacy, student achievement and well-being rather than teacher obligations and rights so she displays her participation in the community of learners. In contrast, P8 is an example of an individual change agent working on implementing a better model of practice in teaching based on learning. She encountered the old form of teaching practice as a student and is heading for change, working out new solutions and trying them out (Excerpt 4(j)). Her education alone enables her to secure and enhance her position as a teacher, allowing her to stand up and make arguments for change, using newly acquired knowledge from the university courses (turn 83 in 4(h)).

Excerpt 4(l)

70 P8: *ona nie umiała do końca już szkoły odizolować się od tej sytuacji, obojętnie, co ja bym robiła, to zawsze pokazywała na tle klasy, lubiła po prostu, kiedy miałam jakąś wpadkę, czy zaznaczyć, ja wiem, że ja zawiniłam, na pewno. też dla mnie nauczyciel powinien pokazać, jak powinien się człowiek w tym momencie zachować, bo dla mnie urazu trzymanie dwa lata to jest chore.*

[she couldn't separate from the school no matter what my conduct was she was always manifesting In the class it did not matter if I got into trouble, or not I was always to blame, for sure. also it appears to me, the teacher should show how a man should behave in such situations because holding a grudge for two years is pathology to m.e]

71 P1: *nie uprzedzać się*

[not to get biased]

72 P2: *ważne żeby nie ośmieszać*

[important is not to ridicule]

73 P8: *też takiego mamy wspaniałego profesora, który ma takie poczucie humoru, że aż się słabo robi*

[we had such a great teacher he had such a dreadful sense of humor]

75 P2: *ja zostałam zniechęcona*

[I got discouraged]

89 P8: *wydawałoby się, że nauczyciele, a szczególnie na uczelniach są o ludzie na jakimś wyższym poziomie. to są ludzie, którzy mają też bardzo duże ego*

[one could except that university teachers are elite these are people whose ego is really boosted]

125 P8: *ja miałam taką kobietę od fizyki u siebie w liceum, która już miała iść na emeryturę, cztery lata przekładała, tak wszyscy następnym roku już pójdę i wszyscy bardzo będziemy za panią tęsknić na pewno i ona doszła do takiej absurdalności, już była śmieszna dla wszystkich uczniów, jako, że przychodziła na zajęcia, ja byłam ulubienicą w klasie, stałam pod tablicą tak stałam czterdzieści pięc minut, a fizyki nikt nie czaił kompletnie, wyuczyłam się wszystkiego na pamięć i pani, za każdym razem jak robiliśmy zadania, a robiliśmy cały czas takie same zadania, bo przychodziła i zapominała o tym, że robiliśmy to tydzień temu i za każdym razem, jak robiliśmy zadania, wynik wychodził jej inny i w tym momencie jak takiego nauczyciela lubić, szanować, jak się z niego nie śmiać, bo to nie jest możliwe. mieliśmy te same zadania, za każdym razem wynik był inny, pusty śmiech po sali szedł. jeden z uczniów, który rzeczywiście był geniuszem powiedział jej coś a'propos jakiegoś doświadczenia i ona mówi, to zrobimy to u nas, mieliśmy taką bardzo dużą salę, no i eksperyment, wlała coś do czegoś i wybuchnęło, właśnie miałam taką panią fizyczkę. I podejrzewam, że chyba jeszcze na te pół etatu u mnie w szkole jest, uczyła moją, mamę, tatę i mnie, mojego dziecka bym nie posłała*

[I had such a woman of physics in my secondary school, who was about to retire, and she kept postponing it for four years saying next year I'll retireand we all pretended we'd miss her and it aome to this absurdity, she was funny for all students, I was her darling of the classroom, I was standing at the balckboard for forty five minutes and no one ever underpicked up anything at physics nothingy, we learned everything by heart and you, every time we were doing the task, and all the time we were doing the same job, because she kept forgetting the fact that we had already done tthat task a week before and every time we did the task, the result was different how to respect such a teacher empty laughter went around the room. one of the students, who really was a genius told her something a'propos an experiment and she said we'will do it again we had such a large hall, and in the experiment, she poured something into something and it exploded, I had such a teacher of physics. Im afraid she

> *she keeps teaching part-time at my school she taught me, my mom, and dad I would not have sent my child]*

She wants to change the image of the teacher in the community (turns 73, 89). She wants to change how teachers talk about pupils and how they interpret the role of the school and of teachers (turns 70, 125 4(l)). This is a "reification" she brings to the community of practice, which is acknowledged by the in-service teachers (turns 71, 72 4(l); 43-46 4(h)).

It appears that P6 cannot draw on her current experiences as a teacher, which hinders her development as a professional teacher. The present of P6 seems to be "dead and barren, devoid of future orientation" and that is why "it becomes a complement to the past" (Cackowski 1990: 29-30, cited in Kwiatkowska 1997: 15). She is unable to make dialogic connections between personal theories, public theories and her own experience. Williams makes the same point:

> What is important in teacher education is to develop the ability to relate theory to practice in different ways, to use personal theories in practice, to infer personal theories from practice, to use and reconstruct public theories, to generate personal theories from public ones, and to generate public theories from personal ones (Williams 1999: 15).

These emphases find echoes in sociocultural theory, which emphasizes "knowing-in-action", as part of "situated activity" (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). In contrast, the present P8's "life creatively opens up to the future and though the future turns to the past to obtain experience she needs in the present living" (Cackowski 1990: 29-30, cited in Kwiatkowska 1997: 15). In similar vein, researchers such as Furlong and Maynard (1995) argue that practical professional knowledge does not reside in books or courses or waits to be transferred to teachers' heads; rather it is literally embodied in teachers' practices. Such notions draw on Schön's (1983) concept of "knowledge-in-action" that is the deployment of intelligent action in dialogue with a given situation. Such knowledge, grounded in experience, is an integral part of fluent performance and is embedded in skilful action.

3.7. Concluding remarks

The analysis of the interaction in the native language has revealed that it is not simply the provision of a shared language that appeared to facilitate useful interactions between teachers. In line with Van Huizen et al. (2005) we have observed the interaction also being facilitated by the expectation of a shared and inclusive participation where individuals have "an expanded notion of professional autonomy" (Edwards 2005) and where true collaboration can lead to the creation of distributed and shared knowledge of how to teach.

Furthermore, the relationships among the in-service teachers are very much characterised by trust, care and mutual respect, comfortable in sharing doubts without feeling of failure. The trainees need to adapt to "the regime of competence". Adaptation takes place over time and no one person's experience is exactly the same as another's. As the learning occurs, changes take place in the person. The analogy can be made between learning to become a member of the teacher community of practice and learning to adapt to a new culture and a second language: "when a person learns another language it is not at the expense of their first language; it enhances their ability to communicate and contributes to their growth" (Kim 2001: 67).

Learning and growth are, in this view, the core or essence of the individual experience. Trainees in the community of practice are capable not only of adapting to new cultures but also, and more important, of undertaking modifications within themselves' (Gudykunst and Kim 2003: 379). The resultant transformation enables the individual to function more effectively in a strange place, which is a case of the student teachers. However, it is not effortlessly achieved and is the outcome of a long process involving stress as well as adaptation and growth. Because trainees' identities and habits are placed against the systematic forces of the host community, they are at least temporarily in an unsettling state of disequilibrium.

Becoming a member of the community of practice is like becoming intercultural rather than multilingual. As Gudykunst and Kim (2003: 385) argue:

> In becoming intercultural, we rise above the hidden forces of culture and discover that there are many ways to be 'good', 'true', and 'beautiful'. In this developmental process, we acquire a greater capacity to overcome cultural parochialism and develop a wider circle of identification, approaching the limits of many cultures and ultimately of humanity itself.

In conclusion, becoming a member of the community of foreign language teachers requires adaptation to the "regime of competence" as well as adopting the practices of the community in terms of participant roles, control of the movement of thinking in the group, and discourse patterns. This means that professional identity is negotiated as part of a complex interdependence between the individual's intentionality, one's commitments and values, and social suggestions which include cultural norms, contextual practices and situational demands (Billett 2007; Kirpal 2004). The relational interdependence between the individual and social domains is continually being negotiated, and the relations between these constantly transformed.

Conclusion

The foregoing chapters have attempted to clarify that a foreign language teacher identity in all its personal, interactional, societal, and cultural diversity both influences and is influenced by individuals themselves, by other interactants and by local as well as dominant discourses.

Education, language education in particular, is the site where, on the one hand, broad social and political forces are reflected in the kinds of educational opportunities offered to speakers of different language varieties and, on the other, language use mediates the participation of the speakers in those opportunities and, ultimately, their potential contributions to society on the whole. An individual self, conceived of as a product of mental processes, may seem to be some distance from identity, and does not faithfully represent it as "both mind and selfhood must be understood as embodied within the routine interaction of the human world, neither strictly individual nor strictly collective" (Jenkins 2008: 59). Such a view of the self as embedded in social practices that afford for its continual negotiation and (re)shaping has formed the underpinning of this book.

From the study of a teacher self-concept presented in Chapter 2, I have concluded that teachers of different ages and teaching experience develop a coherent representation of what it means to be a teacher, which comes as no surprise since, semantically, "identity" entails sameness and sharing the common attributes of the group (Tajfel 1981; 1982; Tajfel & Turner 1986). Therefore, in the act of identification, the singular teacher describes himself or herself as one in the class of teachers. This act demands the application of a criterion of sameness that has permanence in time. As Edwards (2009: 19) notes:

> It signifies the 'sameness' of an individual 'at all times or in all circumstances'. (...) It signifies continuity, in other words, that constitutes an unbroken thread running through the long and varied tapestry of one's life.

On the other hand "identity" also refers to "ipse identity" (Hoveid and Hoveid 2008: 130) which is linked to the successive challenges of being particularly oneself (Ricoeur 1994 cited in Hoveid and Hoveid 2008: 130) and "the uniqueness of the individual comes about through the particular combination or weighting of building blocks drawn from a common human store" (Edwards 2009: 20). We are all humans and this entitles us to assume that we share the core features of humanity.

By way of analogy, the same process of identification applies to social groups. We may, then, identify ourselves and others by classification as members of a specific profession. The teacher, for instance, does the teaching; s/he is a member of the group of teachers. But even though s/he is as a teacher a member of a profession, s/he is also a unique teacher.

The teacher's practices are closely bound to the agent and his/her self. Therefore, both sameness and difference in the prototype structure can be envisaged due to the individualistic nature of the self-concept. Sameness over time reassures individuals of their continuity, which brings a sense of integrity to their personalities and at the same time, at the level of the group, it affords connectivity born in history and carried forward through tradition. Therefore, the structure of the prototype reveals the uniqueness of the individual embedded in the social-cultural and professional-institutional discourses of their private and professional lives.

In the study presented in Chapter 2, certain attributes of teachers have been found to have null validity for the respondents. Among the physical features, for instance, "shrewd" and "dumpy" were found irrelevant. In other sets such features as "aggressive", "reticent", "submissive" or "materialist" were not recognised as necessary in the construal of the teacher, which indicates that they are not unique for the teacher class and may characterize any other professional category. In contrast, features like "communicative", "creative", "tolerant" or "patient" and "responsible" were noted. Their cue validities were very high and therfore these are considered to form the "core" of teacher identity.

Variation in the structure of the teacher prototype was particularly evident when the groupings were based upon the teaching experience and chronological age of the participants. Within the group of the young teachers, "enthusiastic" and "creative" scored high while the older, experienced teachers preferred "fair" and "practical". This may indicate that any computation of possible combinations of group allegiances is possible but "we tend to hang on to existing traits and attributes, for obvious reasons of ease, comfort and familiarity, until new circumstances suggest that alterations need to be made" (Edwards 2009: 18), which, in turn entails that the prototype structure is a reflection and internalization of the social values. Therefore, the teacher identity prototype, as with all other prototypes of groups, appears to be intrinsically interactional, that is, it emerges from the reciprocal relationship between the individual's dialogue with culture and society.

Nonetheless, idiosyncrasy in the structure of the prototype, as revealed in the study, is not only possible but, in fact, quite regular. Perhaps context or circumstances may bring some identifications to the forefront and relegate others to the background. In fact, as Jenkins (2008: 7) says, "classification is never disinterested", it always has an element of evaluation. For instance, the participants in the survey might have been anxious while completing the questionnaire because of the classroom context which they might associate with bad memories of their school years, or the situation would cause test anxiety, or they would anticipate trouble to come later on that day, or other participants in the classroom might have interfered with their well being. These are all aspects

of the local context that remained uncontrolled in the experiment, yet they could exert an impact on the responses given by the participants and thus affect the final results. Therefore, it must be borne in mind that the prototype structure might have been contaminated with individual differences, such as specific tasks, goals or relevance and personal circumstances. Hence, all findings summarized in Chapter 2 should always be relativised to more complex situation analyses, and, of course, to the fundamental notion of the subjective model people construe of such situations.

Despite an obvious advantage of the study reported in Chapter 2 that relates to its power of documenting variation in large samples of data, the power that enables generalisation about the population, its obvious limitation is simplification of the obtained results. In order to track detailed patterns of identity construction or explain the transmission of the observed changes, "we must look at sites where a community's social and linguistic style is being constructed, questioned and evaluated" (Moore 2010: 124).

The teacher identity prototype, therefore, should be studied in relation to broader notions, such as "communities of practice" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992; Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998) or at least with respect to a combination of constructed social categories as represented in dominant discourse models (Gee 2001; 2005). Extending Van Dijk's (2008) claim that language users not only construct representations of meaning but also mental models of the events, I could argue that the meaning of teacher identity cannot be explained in terms of its "reference" alone but also its "coreference, that is, reference to the related facts or mental models" (Van Dijk 2008: 58). In other words, the meaning of teacher identity, as meanings of any other word, cannot be analysed if "we do not invoke institutional and local socio-cultural details" (Cicourel 1992: 296, cited in Pawelczyk 2010: 259).

In other words, accounting for the mental representation of the teacher identity construct in terms of its abstract, universal structure does not explain either its local or global meanings. Why, for instance, is a prototypical teacher construed as a woman not a man or as traditional rather than extravagant? We may simply say that the prototype is meaningful if it has a discourse model in which it is embedded. What this implies is that, firstly, people represent everyday experiences or situations in subjective mental models, and, secondly, these models form the basis of the construction of the semantic representation of the discourses about such experiences (Van Dijk 2008). Hence the prototype of teacher identity can encompass the language skills while leaving out the managerial skills whereas teacher's religious beliefs would be important for one person and thus included in the structure, ideology may be construed as irrelevant for another. Therefore the prototype does not objectively represent the referent but rather the way language users variably interpret or construct such

entities or events, for instance, as a function of different personal aims, knowledge or previous experiences.

The subjectivity of prototypes does not imply that they are totally original, though. As they are derived from the accumulated experiences shared by other participants of the discourse, their structure will encompass both personal elements that make them unique and social elements that make them common. Kintsch (1998), for instance, argues that mental representations of events and situations develop from accumulated experiences that appear to be "more related to "objective" frequencies than to an active, constructive and subjective approach to mental models" (Van Dijk 2008: 60). This entails that the more frequent or common the experience is the easier it is to process it and accommodate to the knowledge network. In other words, general, socially shared and frequently used personal knowledge is easier to retrieve than most unique personal knowledge or general but infrequently accessed knowledge, which is confirmed in the present study.

The teacher identity prototypes reflect those qualities of teachers that were most typical of teaching profession discourses of the specific periods in history and culture in which the participants lived. Features like "woman" and "clean-shaven" may appear inconsistent in the prototype of the teacher in the oldest generation of the professionals because, in fact, they are an accurate manifestation of a modern "metrowoman" identity found in 21st century discourses of femininity and therefore they were more likely to be incorporated into the teacher prototype of the younger generation professionals. In a similar vein, as discourse models of contemporary teaching can embrace such props as laptops or inter-active boards that were absent from the 20th century discourses on teaching, the older teachers do not conceive of them as essential aspects of teaching while these features are included into the prototypes formed by the youngest participants.

Even if the prototype is, in many cases, rather routine and conventional, there is always the potential for less routine assemblies. Such cases will reflect idiosyncrasies in cognitive organisation of meanings. For instance, a teacher could be construed as an aggressive man bullying the weaker because these could be the experiences of an individual. If the prototype strays too far from those used by others in a given discourse, the social practices of other language users will seek to "discipline" and "renorm" that mind (Gee 2001: 52), that is, in the example above best exemplars of teachers should be presented to relegate that one to the periphery of the category.

Taken together, all these points made so far suggest that mental representations are unlikely to be a sufficient guide on their own, but an ongoing discrimination between them in subtle and fine-grained ways is apparent in interactional performance. Language is a dynamic form of social practice that shapes such aspects of the social world as identities, social relations and

understandings of the world. This premise entails the view of mental processes and categories as constituted through social, discursive activities rather than as internal structures or mechanisms (Edwards and Potter 1992). The teacher, for instance, reveals who s/he is when acting or speaking; that is, s/he projects the teacher-self into the world. Thereby these teacher-acts can not only be understood in terms of an essence, a core without which teachers would not have sameness, but also as the potential for being the teacher-self s/he cares to be and is recognised to be.

Teaching is an inherently social profession that is dependent upon formative interactions between teachers and students (Nias 1986), teachers and educational institutions as well as teachers and socio-cultural contexts. Teachers depend on field experience to practice participating in the social interactions where pedagogical skills must be employed, and they construct their teacher identity or professional self through discourse with students, social interactions with colleagues, and the presentation of self as teacher (Zembylas 2003).

Because the teacher's workplace is neither fixed nor static, but a site for intersecting networks of relations, technology (tools) and practice which extend in complex interrelations beyond what is seen as the institution (McGregor 2003), teaching and teacher identity cannot be viewed as pre-established mental constructs, nor as a professional role played out in classroom contexts, but as lived experience. It is true that teachers' actions, as it is argued in Chapter 3, are mediated by history, and by the social-cultural systems in which they struggle to find "identificational" meaning, but it is equally true that they are being instantly performed in the process of ongoing social interactions. The individual identity, therefore, is the composite of activity in context and space.

Chapter 3 has discussed the way the teachers see themselves as professionals and how they compose and perform their identities in professional communities of practice. This view of teacher identity represents a more situational outlook, with the substantial self finding expression in actual classroom discussion. Identity work is in progress and seems to continue as long as teachers have to find ways of relating to rapidly changing situational contexts. These changes in teachers' identity commitments and performance are mapped and compared to the mental representations of teacher identity that have been revealed in Chapter 2.

Themes in the debates presented in Chapter 3, disclose teachers' changed commitments and professional identities. The teachers who have a vocational commitment and strong service ethic are the oldest teachers in the sample, and they have identified with teachers and teaching from an early age. In their view teaching is a "valuable service of special moral worth" (Lortie 1975: 28). P1 in Excerpt 3 says: "a good teacher should teach not only a subject but also how people should be", with which she makes it clear that service to society proved to be a lifetime project for these old generation teachers. Despite a lack of

instrumental rewards like money or social status, they survived in the profession in which learners' scholastic achievement was seen as the only reward they could expect (P1: "I tried to explain them that they should learn because they should achieve something to live better, in better conditions" - Excerpt 3). Their interactional contributions reveal that the lack of institutional system of promotion, along with high demands of on teachers imposed by society, led to gradual job dissatisfaction, vocational stagnation or even burn-out (P1: "It's not like accountancy. We work with ourselves with our own personality. Here go our emotions and feelings and sentiments that matter and that ability to operate with all this stuff"; P4: "I attended therapy that helped me to vent stress and anxiety and get relief" P1: "you cannot be in this profession and hate it. It's impossible. It's like being a nurse, you must love people" - Excerpt 4). As for their teaching ideologies, humanism seems to be the best descriptor. They note that students are individuals whose well-being and holistic development are key commitments in teacher vocational practice (P2: "teacher is not an enemy"; P1: "teacher is a close friend"; P4: "we, teachers and students play in one team"; P1: "the kind of person we are, what we represent ourselves, this is what they really learn, in addition to the subject content" – Excerpt 4).

The aforementioned themes realized in the debate to some extent parallel the prototypical features of the teacher selected by the oldest teachers. A fair, honest, serious and professionally-oriented teacher comes out of their descriptions; a teacher who is traditional and knowledgeable as well as attentive and interpersonal. The image that transpires is that of a committed public servant with a clearly defined career trajectory and place within the wider community, and affiliations with a wider public based on relationship of trust.

Such a humanistic approach to teaching, definable by key concerns, vocationalism, commitment, recognition and respect, is visible in the interactional behaviours of these old teachers. They present their beliefs and ideas carefully and logically refer to their own life experiences as justification of the arguments they give. On the other hand, they also listen carefully and respectfully to other (younger) participants' opinions, which is indicative of their caring attitude towards the younger generation colleagues. They appear to acknowledge that "to learn is to err" and hence make frequent attempts to support but also repair what seems to be immature, incomplete or partial in the talk of other participants.

In summary, what can be observed in the situational performance of teacher identity by the oldest generation of the group of the teachers is the realization of the teacher prototype conjured up in the survey. They behave like competent and knowledgeable practitioners who are capable of bringing reification to community practices, by which they can contribute to the community development. They are capable of participating in local events and

activities, as well as enacting these practices in larger contexts of the community of practice.

Teacher identity seems to grow in complexity as the age of the teacher decreases. The younger teachers appear to be developing complex identities in order to deal with the new and uncertain roles brought on by rapid social, cultural and economic change, as well as the changing experience and meaning of work in post industrial society (Kwiatkowska 2005). In particular, the middle-aged teachers express a deeply conflicting identity, for they are taking on a national educational ideology manifested in the commitment to raising achievement, which may not have been seen as part of the teacher's role in the past: when they started their career and when beliefs in static abilities of any expert prevailed. The new institutional and corporate requirements have meant a radical reassessment of the "teaching-self". The introduction of the National Educational Reform and "the use of inspection and league tables began to erode the principle of student-centeredness in the name of accountability and results" (Kirk and Wall 2010: 630) (P7: It's not about early retirement scheme. We simply do not have time to go to the toilet running up and down and the headmaster following you, checking whether you've been on duty at break". P9: "If you're a teacher you must self-control anywhere and any time" – Excerpt 4). The new policy initiatives from the Ministry of Education undermined the ethos of teaching and led to disregard and disrespect of professional judgement or trust. The middle-aged teacher identity is marked by an emphasis which falls on "competencies, such as subject expertise, coordination, collaboration, management and supervision' (Woods and Jeffrey 2002: 95). These middle-aged teachers are more managerial, as they are incorporated into sharing responsibility for the institution's development and they are more accountable now to parents and the community. Woods and Jeffrey (2002: 90), argue that the changes in teachers' self-perceptions result from the profound structural changes in education, in particular "economic rationalism, an emphasis on marketability, on efficiency (...) the growth in management systems and audit accountability and an attack on moral systems, such as child-centeredness".

What is more, because these middle-aged teachers have been in the profession for several years, while at the same attending post-graduate courses in TEFL, they are able to critically evaluate teaching and teaching institutions and to bring a fresh outlook on their own position, both in the profession as well as the institution. The teachers in the group note that the new curriculum implemented with the Educational Reform brought opportunities for creative teaching and making lessons interesting for "both sides of the desk". But getting pupils to improve against national average scores is frequently seen as an impossible venture and created additional stress and anxiety in these teachers. Especially they acknowledge an official ingratitude expressed by parents in not

thanking them for reaching the high targets they had been set, and not recognising other accomplishments of the school.

What is also characteristic of the interactional behaviour of the middle-aged teachers is their "struggling voice" (George, Mohammed, & Quamina-Aiyejina 2003; Kwiatkowska 2005; Werbińska 2010; 2011). They are not mentors to their younger colleagues in the debate; rather, by sharing their views on teaching and education they aim at giving friendly advice to the younger, inexperienced teachers (P7: "It's true we work under pressure. We don't know what will happen in the future. Your nerves let go. You'd pull ears but you mustn't, because parents will come and you'll get punished not for your own sins really" – Excerpt 4).

In contrast to the older generation of teachers, the middle-aged ones do not consider teaching to be their life vocation or career. They see that "modernisation" of school and teaching has brought both "satisfiers" and "dissatisfiers" (Nias 1989) in their work. This ability to objectively evaluate the contemporary education system in Poland with all its pros and cons is the competence they bring to the community of practice. They do not want their role to be limited to propellers of knowledge. Rather they want to actively engage in the process of professional and corporate discourse construction (P7: "A teacher shouldn't be afraid of doing something new." P9: "the teacher should create atmosphere without chaos" – Excerpt 3). Yet they seem to be forced into conflict with new, official discourse forms which profoundly contradict their established teaching selves. This leads to a project of reassessment, retrenchment, or outright rejection of the teacher identity by these teachers, as manifested in P5's humorous comment about a good teacher: "teacher has a good car and a nice wrist watch" (turn 86, Excerpt 3). Therefore, their target is to effectively alter their professional identity rather than engage with the assigned one (Woods and Jeffrey 2002: 96).

This conflict between their own teacher identity target and the officially assigned identity becomes apparent when the prototype structure is confronted with the middle-aged teachers' interactional performance. A prototypical teacher for them, as reflected in the survey, is an outgoing, student-centred pedagogue. What distinguishes this teacher prototype from that of the older teachers is the emphasis on creativity, openness to experience and keeping up with teaching methodology. Thus, the high value attached to the autonomy of the teacher as well as deep personal and emotional investment characterise the teaching professional in this group. They engage in self-composing as "a way of imagining or re-imagining the past" in order to make sense of the present and situate themselves within it (Kirk and Wall 2010: 631). When such an alignment is impossible, a kind of disillusion and disinterest appear. Because teachers compose the self in a dialogue with the public and dominant discourses, the teacher self needs to conform to these master discourses. If it does not, a

disjuncture between the self and the master system emerges, as well as an inevitable tension between what might be viewed as hegemonic ways of seeing and understanding the teacher and the private feelings of the teacher (P7: "Parents don't like teachers to interfere. It is obvious when they think they should be responsible. Sometime there's a conflict between the teacher and the parent"- Excerpt 3, P3: "it is important to be a pedagogue not only a teacher or lecturer", P3: "you have to teach and to be a role model to your pupils and there cannot be any conflict between your teaching and behaving" – Excerpt 4).

A contrastive attitude towards teacher identity has been revealed by the trainee teachers in the present study. They embarked on a training programme with a narrow conception of learning and teaching; one confined to the development of practical skills and a body of knowledge that are of immediate use (P6: "a good teacher should inspire students to develop skills", P8: "teachers weren't teachers that were interested in my social development" – Excerpt 3). Their educational experience of learning, however, seems to have equipped them with an unproblematic vision of knowledge and of their relationship with knowledge acquisition. Learning and knowledge matter; but they believe that "there is still much to learn about the knowledge which successful teachers possess and about the relationship between knowledge, values and practice" (Poulson 2001: 52) (P8: "I have very bad memories about my teachers, really, so that's why I'm here", P6: "most important in learning is to understand the process", P8: the teacher should be wise, friendly but should be (..) should be objective" – Excerpt 3). Therefore they make attempts to actively engage in the debate that they consider to be a good opportunity to try to fit themselves into the community of practice.

Such agentive self-positioning in the debate as displayed by P8 indicates that some of the trainee teachers place their faith in an open approach to risk-taking. They value divergent and risky thinking in themselves, their colleagues and their students, and they intend to assist their students in the development of their own critical and transformative capacities. They are also ready to collaborate at a deep level with both colleagues and students, and necessary for such collaboration is a willingness to be open to change and transformation in themselves.

Implicit in the contributions of the trainee teachers is a belief that ultimate responsibility for learning rests with the learner (P8: my teachers stopped my individuality and my passions" – Excerpt 3), and as such they intend to take a risk in devolving that responsibility and developing new ways of supporting and sustaining learning. The emphasis put on the responsibility that learners take for their own learning may also indicate that the trainee teachers make attempts to fit themselves into the ideology of the constructivist learning discourse (P8: "I wanna be a teacher, that is why I am here" – Excerpt 3). It reflects the view that "language teaching is an educational endeavour which should seek to empower

learners by enabling them to assume an informed and self-directive role in the pursuance of their language-related life goals" (Tudor 1996: xii).

They advocate for personalising of one's teaching, which is an important aspect of learner-focused instruction (P6: "we have so many methods to use them" – Excerpt 4), but they seem to be ignorant of the fact that in the real classroom situation they may not be able to centre one's teaching on the individual students and their lives, concerns, goals, and interests. They, hence, appear fairly idealistic about their profession, that is, they need further investments in their professional identity. They appear to be eager to adopt an "activist identity" (Sachs 2003) where the best path for growth and development diverges from that set by the state or curriculum. They aim at working collaboratively for improvement and fostering real autonomy through holding appropriate expectations and exercising trust in the capacity of others (P8: "teacher should also have a good contact with students and understand that not only his or her subject is important" – Excerpt 3).

The characteristics of the teacher that were highlighted by the youngest teachers in the debates also transpired in the structure of the prototype that had emerged from the questionnaire. The trainee teachers consistently conceive of a teacher as an enthusiastic, fair and imaginative individual. In contrast to the oldest group of the teachers, the trainees consider knowledgeability to be less important than creativity and openness to experience. Also stress control is more important to them than self-control, implying that the initial challenge for trainee teachers is to acquire the basic classroom skills needed to present and navigate their lessons. Good teaching from their perspective is viewed as the mastery of a set of skills or competencies, which contrasts with the older teachers' view who stress experience of teaching in a variety of different situations, with different kinds of learners and different kinds of content. Over time, experience, as the oldest teachers argue, leads to the development of routines that enable these kinds of skills to be performed fluently, automatically, and with less conscious thought and attention (cf. Tsui 2009; Borg 2006).

In the light of the aforepresented line of reasoning based on the empirical research presented in Chapter 3, one must conclude that teacher identity formation is a discursive process, taking place as a result of interactions with others (Alsup 2005; Danielewicz 2001; Giddens 1991). Such identity formation may be seen as "a constitution of oneself within a range of possibilities and meanings" (Zembylas 2003: 107). For teachers at the beginning of their career, interactions with colleagues seem to be crucial to this construction of the self. Successful engagement in the construction of the new self seems to be assisted in professional contexts where new and different ways of thinking can be accommodated, both by teachers at the start of their careers and by more experienced colleagues.

Because of its inherent static, rigid and systemic nature, the prototype model cannot successfully account for teacher identity without taking situational factors or individual differences into account. Neither are the cognitions of teachers such as the ability to make pedagogical decisions addressed in this model (cf. Strugielska & Siek-Piskozub 2007). However, the model does provide established and clear categories through which individual development and emerging teacher identity is possible to profile and so it can function as a springboard for the analysis of developing teacher identity in interaction. Hence it is important to be mindful of Zembylas' (2003: 113) description of identity as, "the self, never completed", by which I claim that identity categories are selected by the participants in order to explain themselves, but these choices are always made in the presence of other individuals and within discursive contexts that can impose constraints on the performance of the chosen identities. Identity is unimaginable without mental processes, and vice versa. Therefore, both mind and identity must be understood as embodied, enacted and performed within the internal-external dialectic model.

The uncovered existence of an underlying relationship between the internal and external processes involved in teacher identity construction points to the necessity of a reconsideration of theoretical approaches operative in language teacher training in Poland, as well as the need to formulate a new revised approach that should underpin language teacher education. Such an approach would view educational theory not so much as a source of truth, but rather from a perspective whereby "theory effectively becomes a tool kit that offers different ways of analyzing and theorizing social and cultural phenomena and practices" (Weedon 2004: 9). The revision of educational ideologies should open new possibilities for understanding the community of teaching practitioners. Language teacher identity should be seen as a dynamic process of identity development alongside the development of the community of practice.

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Appendix

QUESTIONNAIRE

INITIALS: **AGE:** **SEX: M/F**
NATIONALITY:
PROFESSION: STUDENT/TEACHER/OTHER
TEACHING EXPERIENCE:
duration: level of education:

Select and **evaluate** qualities that , in your opinion, characterize a **TEACHER**. There are seven lists of qualities that can be associated with an **image of a teacher**. **Select five** (5) features in each list and **grade** them according to the following criteria:

4. – ESSENTIAL; 4 – REQUIRED; 3 – IMPORTANT; 2 – SUFFICIENT; 1 – DESIRABLE;

Physical characteristics

1. tall
2. short
3. woman
4. man
5. long-haired
6. clean-shaven
7. make-up
8. pale complexion
9. bald
10. young
11. middle-aged
12. dumpy
13. slender
14. old-fashioned
15. muscular
16. fragile
17. granny knot hairstyle
18. Roman nosed
19. piercing eyes
20. manicure

Personality

1. outgoing
2. introverted
3. diligent
4. reserved
5. enthusiastic
6. serious
7. persevering
8. dependent
9. self-reliant
10. conscientious

11. trusting
12. adaptable
13. imaginative
14. inner-directed
15. practical
16. shrewd
17. worldly
18. fair
19. agreeable
20. honest

Behaviours

1. aggressive
2. polite
3. egocentric
4. empathetic
5. ethical
6. extravagant
7. independent
8. loyal
9. moral
10. patient
11. pushy
12. respectful
13. responsible
14. reticent
15. submissive
16. eccentric
17. authentic
18. task-focused
19. professional achievement- oriented
20. student-centered

System of beliefs

1. conformist
2. conservative
3. conventional
4. cosmopolitan
5. democratic
6. easily-swayed
7. idealist
8. liberal
9. materialist
10. nationalist
11. patriot
12. politically involved
13. socially involved
14. radical
15. tolerant
16. traditional

17. rule-evading
18. religious
19. atheist
20. moderate

Cognitive abilities

1. attentive
2. creative
3. analytical
4. executive
5. eloquent
6. far-sighted
7. open to experience
8. knowing a foreign language
9. knowledgeable
10. logical
11. practically minded
12. reflective
13. theoretically minded
14. with good verbal memory
15. critically thinking
16. knowledgeable about educational theory
17. information technology literate
18. up-to-date with teaching methodologies
19. thinking outside curriculum
20. judicious

Skills

1. adaptable
2. assertive
3. argumentative
4. communicative
5. competitive
6. cooperative
7. flexible
8. interpersonal
9. linguistic
10. managerial
11. transferable
12. risk-taking
13. self-controlling
14. strategic
15. stress-control
16. time management
17. organizational
18. self-presentation
19. problem-solving
20. public-speaking

1. bike
2. blackboard
3. book
4. briefcase
5. rucksack
6. car
7. cell phone
8. chalk
9. cup of coffee
10. diary
11. glasses
12. jeans
13. laptop
14. ruler
15. pen
16. smart clothes
17. mini-skirt
18. apple
19. handout
20. cassette player