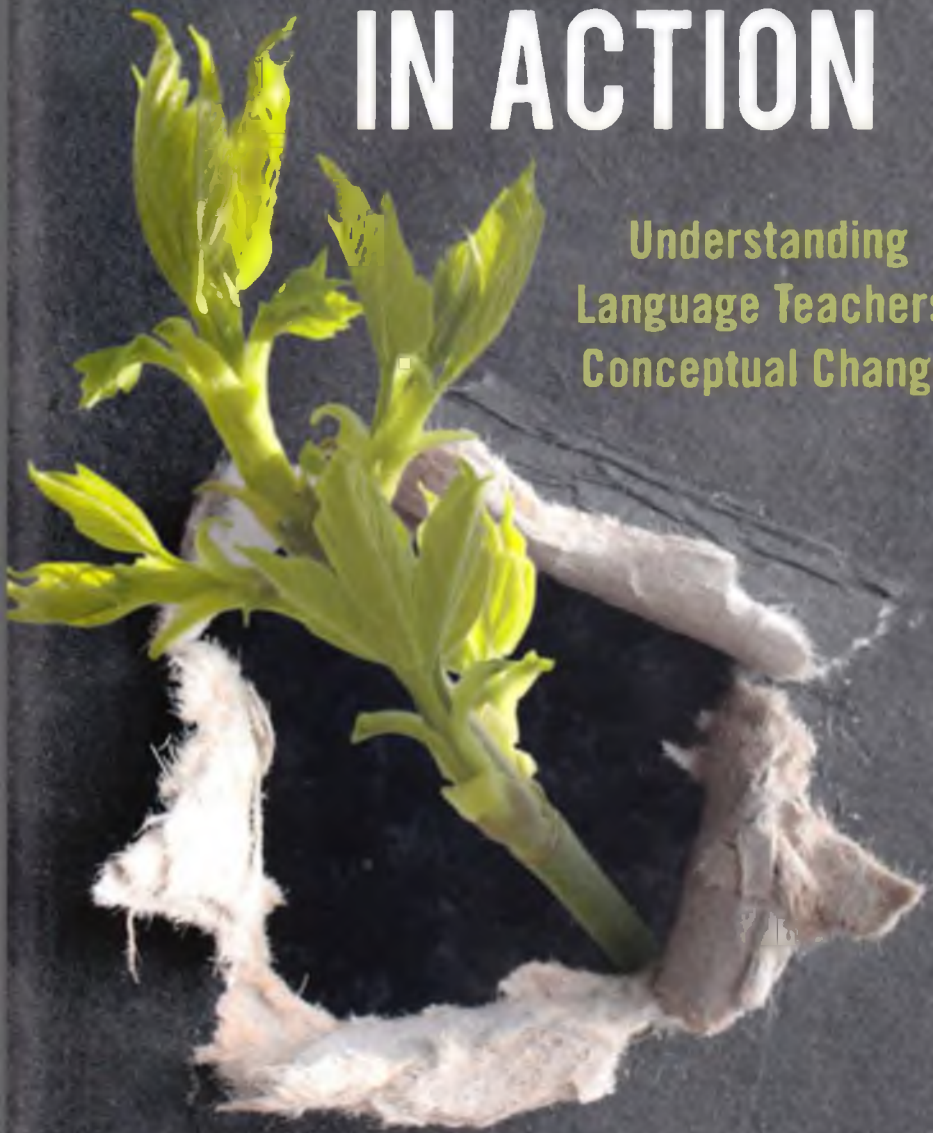
TEACHER DEVELOPMENT IN ACTION

Understanding Language Teachers' Conceptual Change



MAGDALENA KUBANYIOVA

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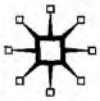

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To Mirka

In memoriam

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Prologue

As part of their supervised teaching practice on an MA in TESOL course, student teachers were preparing to teach a class of undergraduates for one semester. The English course in question was literature-based and required the student teachers to design their own teaching materials and tasks rather than rely on a standard textbook; something which most of them had no prior experience of. To inspire them and help them enlarge their repertoire of suitable tasks and activities, a series of practical workshops was organised on teaching English language through literature by a team of supervisors.

One of these demonstrations included a choral reading task (described in Kubanyiova, 2002) and two of my supervisees decided to try it out in their own lessons. I observed both of them on separate occasions, discussed their lesson with each supervisee in a post-observation conference and concluded with a final evaluation. When the two student teachers next met and compared their evaluations, the one with a considerably lower score almost screamed in disbelief, turning to the other: 'But you did the same thing!'

Yes, having observed both classes, I can indeed confirm: it was the 'same thing'; and yet it could not be more different. The two teachers attended the same workshop. They used exactly the same materials. They 'performed' the same activity. They did it with students of similar language proficiency, age, motivation, socio-economic background, and previous language learning history in the similar-size classroom at the same time of the day. Yet, in one teacher's class, the classroom atmosphere was soaked with enthusiasm and engagement: the students eagerly debating over the right kind of intonation, practising pronunciation of difficult words, often eliciting the teacher's help, the whole class roaring in laughter as they were performing the task together, asking the teacher to let them 'do it again'. In the other teacher's class, however, there was such a strong sense of tension, reluctance, embarrassment and boredom, all of which only intensified upon the teacher's command to 'do it again', that made me want to weep and run away.

Inquiry begins in wonder and this is how mine started: I began and have continued to wonder about what exactly transforms the same task in the hands of different teachers in a way that has such a profoundly different impact on the students' experience. And I have continued to

wonder about whether those who work with teachers can make any difference to what happens in their classrooms. How is applied linguistics research and theory transformed into practice? And what do applied linguists, language teacher educators, language education policy makers and language teachers need to know and do to enhance students' language learning experience? As Diane Larsen-Freeman (2000) has said, 'Much is mysterious about the teaching/learning process, and those who approach it as a mystery to be solved (recognizing that some things about teaching and learning may be forever beyond explanation) will see their teaching as a continuing adventure.' This book documents my journey in this mysterious land.

Acknowledgements

I have been blessed with opportunities to meet and work with people I deeply respect and whose ideas, professional guidance and friendship have been invaluable in contributing, directly or indirectly, to the development of my thinking summarised in this book. Special thanks go to Zoltán Dörnyei whose sharp intellect, discipline and rigour with which he approaches his work have pushed me beyond the boundaries of my 'possible selves'. This book, let alone the research project behind it, would never have become a reality without his continuing support and friendship. I am grateful to Simon Borg, Norbert Schmitt, Karen Johnson and Thomas Farrell who engaged with the material in this book at various stages of its development and offered very constructive and generous feedback. I thank my editors Priyanka Gibbons and Olivia Middleton at Palgrave Macmillan for their wonderful support and endless patience as I was nearing the completion of the manuscript, to Melanie Blair for her assistance, and to Philip Tye, my copy-editor, for his efficiency. I am immensely grateful to the academic staff at the University in Nitra, particularly Professor Zdenka Gadušová, Dr Janka Hart'anská and Professor L'udmila Jančovičová, who have been instrumental to the success of this project, and to Chaz Pugliese who contributed generously with his creative ideas to the initial workshop. Special thanks are due to the Overseas Research Scholarship (ORS) awards scheme from which the first year of my study was funded and to the University of Nottingham for supporting my fieldwork. My conversation with Susan Nolen gave me a fresh perspective on my findings and Pat Bazeley's inspirational workshops transformed my thinking about qualitative research. Rani Rubdy, a colleague at the Assumption University in Bangkok and a dear friend, patiently listened to my puzzles about teacher learning and shared with me her vast resources on teacher cognition. I cannot thank her enough for igniting my interest in this fascinating field of study. Alan Maley has had a profound influence on my professional development and without his encouragement in the early stages of my career I would never have found the courage to embark on this project. I would also like to thank Angela Creese, a wonderful colleague, mentor and friend at the University of Birmingham whose care and support allowed me to keep writing when it seemed an insurmountable task. I am forever indebted to my parents and all my family for always being there

for me and to my husband, Jan, for his unwavering faith in me, infinite optimism and support at every stage of this project. I would never have done this without him.

Finally, and most importantly, I owe a debt of gratitude to the eight teachers who participated in this study and without whose many sacrifices and admirable commitment this study would never have materialised. I will always be indebted to them for letting me into their lives and allowing me to learn about, with and from them. It is the hardest thing to write these words knowing that one of these eight young and energetic teachers is no longer with us. I dedicate this book to her as a tribute to the work of all educators who are passionate, like Mirka was, in their quest to become the best teachers they can be.

This book includes copyright material and I am grateful to Christopher Logue and Rosemary Hill for their very kind permission to reprint the poem 'Come to the Edge' (from Logue, C. *New Numbers*, published by Cape in 1969) in Chapter 8.

1
Introduction

1.1 Why a book on failure?

This book documents the impact of a language teacher development programme that had a grand mission to transform language classrooms – and failed. The naivety of such an objective and the predictability of this outcome in the context in which the programme was delivered are admittedly all too obvious in the light of the latest theorising about how language teachers learn. We have come to understand that language teachers develop in unique and individual ways (S. Borg, 2006). We also know that their prior experiences, personal histories, beliefs and knowledge, often gained through many years of the 'apprenticeship of observation' (Lortie, 1975), play a critical role in influencing their teacher education experience. And there is no doubt also that the unique sociocultural contexts in which the teachers do their work shape the influence that teacher education has on actual classroom practices (K. E. Johnson, 2006).

This awareness is a result of important epistemological shifts in second language teacher education research which has moved away from the behaviourist focus on the implementation of discrete sets of techniques and skills to understanding why teachers do what they do in the classroom and how they engage with and interpret the content of teacher education (K. E. Johnson, 2009). Our understanding of the nature of teacher learning and change has been greatly deepened thanks to these shifts and has led to some important and fruitful, if at times a little heated, debates about what should constitute the language teacher education knowledge base and how we should go about the business of educating teachers (Freeman and Johnson, 1998, 2004, 2005a; K. E. Johnson, 2003, 2006, 2009; Tarone and Allwright, 2005; Yates and Muchinsky, 2003).

Yet, the results of the research project described in this book testify that, as illuminating as these debates have been, they have not eliminated the need to study 'failure'.

The teachers who took part in this study can without exaggeration be described as the best of the best, conscientious and hard-working individuals who deserve much respect for the work they do, often in the face of adverse conditions. They are highly qualified professionals open to a wide range of opportunities for continuing professional development (such as attending national conferences and workshops, involvement in national and international educational projects with their students, and pursuing further studies, including MAs and PhDs), even though most of these were, at the time of the project, not formally recognised in the state school sector as professional development and certainly did not count towards the teachers' heavy teaching load. Most of these teachers were highly regarded by their students and colleagues and some held senior advisory positions in their schools. And, quite remarkably, all of them voluntarily sacrificed their time, including their weekends, to participate in this yearlong research project.

At the same time, the teacher development course which was at the heart of this research was carefully developed to reflect, as much as was practically possible, the latest developments in applied linguistics and language teacher cognition. The content responded to the teachers' specifically articulated concerns regarding learner motivation and group dynamics in their English language classrooms. The teacher education processes, in turn, were developed to account for how teachers learn; recognising the importance of experiential knowledge and the need to bring to a conscious level teachers' tacit beliefs about language education through reflection. A conscious effort was made not only to create a caring and supportive environment, but also to extend teacher learning opportunities beyond the confines of the training room.

And yet, despite the conditions appearing 'right', the said teacher development course failed to inspire these teachers' conceptual change; that is, change in their understanding of the principles for creating a motivational climate for language learning, a shift in their beliefs about the role of teachers in creating these conditions and a transformation of their teaching practices, which would make a difference for students' language learning. Individual and variable ways of teacher learning, the unfavourable sociocultural context or, quite simply, an ineffective course may be perfectly valid research conclusions explaining the failure. Yet, without extending the inquiry and offering an in-depth anatomy of the intricacies of teacher change (or, crucially for this book, the lack

thereof), this project would risk painting an incomplete and unconstructive picture of language teacher development. Incomplete, for it would not allow us to address questions about why teacher change does not come about even if the latest theorising in applied linguistics is translated into teacher education course design. Unconstructive, for it would remain powerless and silent on the issue of alternative teacher education interventions that are needed to facilitate development. This book has been written with the purpose of addressing these concerns.

1.2 Aims of the book and who it is for

This book's inquiry has been motivated by concerns very similar to those outlined in Hattie's (2009, p. 3) recent synthesis of research on student achievement:

> How can there be so many published articles, so many reports providing directions, so many professional development sessions advocating this or that method, so many parents and politicians inventing new and better answers, while classrooms are hardly different from 200 years ago ...? Why does this bounty of research have such little impact? (Hattie, 2009, p. 3)

Yet, being fully aware of the complexity of such questions, I do not for one moment pretend to offer a comprehensive solution, nor do I claim to have once and for all cracked the code of teacher conceptual change. This study is far less ambitious in its scope and, admittedly, tackles no more than just a fragment of the immense complexity of educational change in classrooms and schools around the world. Yet, I have written this book in the belief that, as Georgia O'Keeffe, the American painter, once noted about her paintings, it is equally if not more soul-nourishing to take just a small slice of things and blow it up than to try to describe the whole.

In this vein, then, the book offers a detailed account of a 'small slice' of specific language teachers' lives as they engaged with the latest research in second language motivation on a yearlong teacher development initiative. It does so in the hope that the insights might inspire some answers to important questions that applied linguists, language teacher educators, second language acquisition lecturers, school managers and policy makers around the world may be asking about how research is enacted in the classrooms, why educational reforms are not always implemented in the intended ways, and why language classrooms do not always become 'acquisition-rich' and 'motivating' environments when teachers

are introduced to 'revolutionary' findings in SLA and innovative pedagogies, which are not only assumed to be highly relevant to the teachers in question, but for which there is also abundant anecdotal as well as empirical evidence of their effectiveness.

It is important to note that this book does not aim to analyse the effectiveness of educational reforms (for an excellent recent discussion of this issue, the reader is referred to Wedell, 2009a), but rather offers an in-depth account of how language teachers mobilise (or not) their vast inner resources when they make sense, individually as well as in collaboration with others, of the new teacher education content and attempt (or not) to come to terms with it in the light of their own personal and professional histories in the specific sociocultural contexts of their teaching activity. In doing so, I hope to open up a new space for exploring second language teaching, which would be useful to anyone working with or researching language teachers, be it language education researchers, lecturers on MAs in applied linguistics or TESOL courses, research students, teacher trainers, mentors, as well as those language teachers who wish to explore their own development.

1.3 On theories, paradigms and epistemologies

In the introduction to her recent book-length discussion of second language teacher education, Karen Johnson makes the following point:

> What does a sociocultural perspective have to offer L2 teacher education? The professional education of teachers is, at its core, about teachers as learners of teaching. And if the learning of teaching constitutes the central mission of L2 teacher education, then as a field we must articulate an epistemological stance that enables us to justify the content, structure, and processes that constitute L2 teacher education. In essence, this is the central goal of this book: to articulate the various ways in which a sociocultural perspective on human learning transforms how we understand teacher learning, language, language teaching, and the enterprise of L2 teacher education. (K. E. Johnson, 2009, p. 2)

My purpose for this book is quite different. I initiated the study in the hope to piece together an empirically supported mosaic of how language teachers' thinking and practices are transformed through formal teacher development programmes and how a teacher educator can facilitate the process. This research did not start with an allegiance to a particular world

view, although it is true that in developing the theoretical framework, I have predominantly borrowed from disciplines which have traditionally been researched from a specific paradigmatic stance, most of them aligning with the social cognitive perspectives in psychology (e.g. Bandura, 2002). This is simply because the concepts I discovered in this perspective seemed to facilitate my sense-making of the data best, to an extent that even surprised myself and forced me to revisit and re-evaluate my own epistemological beliefs and pedagogical practices. It is my hope, however, that researchers working from a range of epistemological positions will still find the conceptual framework developed in this study useful and be able to apply their sets of concepts and metaphors in a theoretical explanation of the phenomena documented in this research project.

1.4 How to read this book

This book is organised into ten chapters. Following this Introduction, Chapter 2 provides a critical overview of teacher change research. I first briefly review current debates in general teacher education before introducing key themes, findings and future directions in researching teacher change in the language teacher cognition domain. Chapter 3 surveys relevant theories of change in psychology which form the theoretical basis for the newly developed integrated model of Language Teacher Conceptual Change (LTCC) and this is further described in detail in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 provides a detailed account of the grounded theory ethnographic study on which this book is based, while the central principles of teacher change derived from the findings are discussed in Chapters 6–9. Chapter 10 concludes the book by outlining new metaphors for researching and educating for teacher change.

There is no one way of reading this book and I anticipate different readers approaching this book in different ways. Those who are predominantly interested in the theoretical foundations of language teacher conceptual change will probably want to follow a conventional way and begin with the first four chapters. Those who, in contrast, prefer to explore the data first before arriving at a theoretical consolidation may find it more satisfying to skip Chapters 3 and 4 and only return to them after immersing themselves in the data discussed in Chapters 6–9. And, finally, readers who wish to understand the sociocultural context of this study first and examine the methodological basis of the research project that is at the centre of this book may well want to jump straight to Chapter 5.

2

Teacher Change Research: a Critical Overview

Teacher change has been researched from various theoretical perspectives and with distinct purposes, which is reflected in the diverse terminology used in this field of study to refer to teacher change, including 'teacher learning', 'teacher development', 'teacher socialisation', 'teacher growth', 'teacher improvement', 'implementation of innovation or reform', 'cognitive and affective change' or 'self-study' (Richardson and Placier, 2001). Within this complex domain, we can discern at least two distinct approaches to the study of teacher change, each being informed by a different theoretical tradition. The first of these traditions has examined teacher change within the broader social, cultural and political contexts of school organisation, and this approach has primarily been informed by sociological, anthropological and organisational perspectives.

The second tradition has focused on individual or small group change and has investigated cognitive, affective and behavioural change processes in teachers (see the review in Richardson and Placier, 2001). Research within this perspective has been conducted in both teacher education and educational psychology domains. While educational psychology studies have tended to examine isolated constructs of teacher learning, such as decision-making, belief change or specific antecedents for teacher change, teacher education has been, particularly recently, looking at teacher change in a more holistic manner, bringing in data from teacher personal narratives and reflections, thus accounting for broader contextual and emotional aspects of development besides the cognitive ones (Woolfolk Hoy et al., 2006).

This book's main focus falls within this latter perspective of individual or small group change. The following review will, therefore, offer a brief sketch of this domain, focusing specifically on research on formal programmes for teacher change. I start with an overview of key issues

and trends in the general education and education psychology literatures before looking more closely at how the domain of *language teacher cognition* has embraced this thematic area. Because of the terminological diversity within the above-mentioned disciplines, I use the terms teacher change, teacher learning and teacher development interchangeably, broadly referring to the process whereby teachers come to alter aspects of their cognitions and practices in response to their encounter with new input.

2.1 What constitutes teacher change

Research examining the impact of teacher education and teacher development programmes from the traditional perspective has defined change in terms of the teachers' replication of classroom behaviours specified by the training programmes, and the long-term impact has typically been measured against whether the new practices were sustained and to what extent they remained close to the standard. The change within this tradition, which has also been referred to as *empirical–rational* (Richardson and Placier, 2001), has typically been conceived of as a successful implementation of a top-down, mandated or recommended practice. The primary research activity within this domain has concentrated on the behavioural evidence of such implementation.

An alternative, the so-called *normative–re-educative* perspective of teacher change (Richardson and Placier, 2001) is based on the view that teachers constantly change as a result of their everyday classroom practice, participation in teacher development programmes or professional conversations with colleagues. Change within this perspective is understood as voluntary and naturalistic. Therefore, instead of focusing on the implementation of particular techniques defined in behavioural terms, the impact of teacher development programmes is evaluated in relation to the teachers' understanding of the training content and how this leads to the development of new practices which are congruent with the teachers' specific contexts and responsive to the learners' needs within these contexts (Franke et al., 2001). The research focus within this perspective has moved away from *what* is implemented to *how* and *in what directions* the teachers' practices are transformed as a result of formal programmes for teacher change. Collaboration between researchers/teacher educators and teachers is often emphasised as an important element in bringing about teacher change (Blumenfeld et al., 1994) and the educational context has been shown to play a significant role in affecting, often negatively, the teacher development process (Sarason, 1996).

The normative–re-educative view of teacher change reflects a broader shift in the field of psychology and its beginnings are characterised by the move away from behaviourist process–product approaches to teacher learning towards a greater emphasis on teachers' mental lives. Because it became clear that how teachers learn and what they do in the classroom depend on what conceptions of teaching they hold, teacher education research has drawn extensively on research in cognitive psychology (Borko and Putnam, 1996; Woolfolk Hoy et al., 2006), embracing constructs of teacher beliefs (Pajares, 1992), teacher knowledge (Calderhead, 1996; Golombek, 1998; Munby et al., 2001) and teachers' thought processes (Clark and Peterson, 1986; Shavelson and Stern, 1981; Shulman and Shulman, 2004).

Knowledge and beliefs, which are often examined as overlapping constructs (see e.g. Murphy and Mason, 2006; Woolfolk Hoy et al., 2006), are considered to be *filters* as well as *targets* of change (Borko and Putnam, 1996) and because teachers had formed their educational beliefs well before attending a teacher preparation or teacher development programme during hundreds of hours of the 'apprenticeship of observation' (Lortie, 1975), teacher change often requires a transformation of existing belief systems. This type of change has been termed *conceptual change*. Although this term has not been as firmly established in relation to teacher change in the field of teacher education as it has been in psychology, the shift from behavioural to cognitive indices in what constitutes teacher change has been obvious since the 1970s in both disciplines (Woolfolk Hoy et al., 2006). I will return to conceptual change later in the book (Chapter 3) when I explain my rationale for adopting the term despite some of the limitations it has traditionally been associated with.

Some other terms have entered the discourse on teacher change, each highlighting a slightly different feature of change. For example, *generative change* has recently received attention in teacher change literature. This terms implies conceptual change (i.e. restructuring of the current belief system), while placing an emphasis on the teachers' ability to continue to add to their new understanding by engaging in their own inquiry (Franke et al., 2001).

Significant and *worthwhile change* are two further characteristics which have been highlighted as crucial in teacher change, the former referring to change in the teacher's practice which ultimately makes a difference for the students' learning, while the latter refers to change which takes place in valued and worthwhile directions (Richardson, 1990). Of course, defining what is worthwhile and valued is not without its problems. Within the empirical–rational tradition, this is typically determined by

subjects external to the change process (e.g. researchers or policy makers), while the normative-re-educative perspective views the teacher as co-constructing the definition of what constitutes worthwhile practice in the particular educational context.

The significance of teacher change would appear to be a crucial element of any definition of teacher change as the ultimate goal of teacher education and development programmes is to bring about significant change in the learning opportunities for the students. Yet, judging from the chronic lack of research investigating the connections between teacher change and student learning (Grossman, 2005; Richardson and Placier, 2001; Zeichner, 2005), this critical aspect of teacher change has received far less attention than it seems to deserve.

To sum up, while the definitions of what constitutes the impact of teacher education tend to vary from one study to another (cf. Grossman, 2005), there is clearly a need to conceptualise the kind of teacher change that teacher education should strive to bring about. From what we know about how teachers learn to teach and what impacts on their practice, it appears that teacher education programmes should aim to foster change that is conceptual and generative as well as significant and worthwhile. This implies change that is not only reflected in the teachers' evolving conceptual understanding, but, essentially, in the emergence of classroom practices which are transformed by the new understanding and lead to creating genuine learning communities in the classrooms. Of course, conceiving of teacher change in this way presents the field with a number of methodological and conceptual challenges and I will assess some of these next.

2.2 Challenges in researching teacher change

Research on the impact of teacher education and staff development programmes on individual and small group change is thriving and teachers' cognitive development (e.g. change in beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and reflective practice) has gained a particularly prominent focus in these investigations (Grootenboer, 2008; C. C. Johnson, 2007; Kaasila et al., 2008; Turner et al., 2009). Along with the cognitive shift in perceptions of the nature of teacher learning and change, the field has seen a growing interest in *qualitative methodologies* which are thought to allow a more in-depth inquiry into teachers' mental processes and better account for contextual variables (Richardson and Placier, 2001). The tendency to utilise more holistic methodologies (e.g. narrative biographies, reflective journal writing and stimulated recall) examining both teacher practice

and teacher talk of practice – in other words, contexts relevant to the assessment of teacher change (Tittle, 2006) – is particularly evident in the teacher education domain, although there is a general awareness in educational psychology, too, of the need to move beyond conceptual and methodological boundaries of the discipline to truly understand the role of beliefs and knowledge in teacher learning (Blanchard et al., 2009; Woolfolk Hoy et al., 2006). Despite such developments in the study of teacher change, a number of important issues and challenges in researching this domain persist.

First, the field is largely *fragmented* in that researchers have tended to concentrate on isolated constructs (e.g. prior beliefs, changes in beliefs, attitudes), but very rarely investigate teaching as an 'interrelated whole comprised of many functional relationships between thinking and action' (Marcos and Tillema, 2006, p. 114). For example, Woolfolk Hoy et al.'s (2006) review of teacher beliefs has highlighted self-beliefs as particularly important with regard to teachers' implementation of reforms. Yet, this type of beliefs has received scant attention in teacher change research. Similarly, with the heavy emphasis on cognitions, the role of emotions has not been sufficiently addressed, although the available empirical evidence points to the critical role they play in what teachers do in the classroom (Nias, 1996; Zembylas, 2003, 2004, 2005a) and few studies address teacher motivation and affective factors in depth (Tittle, 2006). Although we have seen some reassuring signs that the field has begun to acknowledge their importance theoretically (Shulman and Shulman, 2004), the empirical activity has yet to catch up with these initiatives. It seems therefore that what Marcos and Tillema (2006) have concluded about the state of empirical research on teacher reflection and action rings true of the broader domain of teacher change: 'By studying only particular aspects, no matter how important each may be, these studies fragment teacher activity, and portray isolated understandings...' (Marcos and Tillema, 2006, p. 114). The first challenge in researching teacher change therefore concerns *embracing the complexity of teacher activity*.

The second, and indeed a serious, charge pertains to the *relevance of research outcomes*. As the report of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Panel on Research on Teacher Education (Cochran-Smith and Zeichner, 2005) summarises, research conducted in this field is marked by the absence of relevant conceptual frameworks, by unclear and inconsistent definitions of terms, by inadequate descriptions of data collection and data analysis methods as well as research contexts, and by the missing links between teacher preparation, teacher learning,

teacher practice and student learning. Furthermore, much of the teacher education research has been conducted by teacher educators on their own programmes and classes and research reports rarely deal with the issues of dual researcher/teacher educator roles (Grossman, 2005), which leaves us with unanswered questions with regard to ethical concerns as well as the status of data generated in this way (Silverman, 2001). *Maintaining conceptual, methodological and ethical rigour* while attending to the complexity of teacher activity therefore presents another challenge in our investigations of teacher change.

Related to the previous concern is *a limited geographical and subject-matter coverage*. Although the wealth of studies published on the subject may suggest that teacher change is a well-established and thriving domain of inquiry, much of this research does not extend beyond certain geographical and subject boundaries. And so while we have accumulated a rich body of knowledge on teachers of mathematics in North American schools (Ball et al., 2008; Franke et al., 2001; Kaasila et al., 2008), to give but one example, we have yet to explore change of teachers of other subjects in contexts that are widespread but different from those typically examined in this research. As Marcos and Tillema (2006) warn, referring specifically to limitations of research on teacher reflection and action which match those outlined above, 'This state of affairs must give us pause about our claims and any conclusions we draw from these studies; it also throws into question the importance of any understandings gained from them' (p. 114), and similar caution needs to be exercised when assessing the relevance of outcomes of other domains of teacher change literature.

It seems that in order to address the above challenges, research on teacher change, be it within teacher education or educational psychology, will need to develop *theory-driven, multidisciplinary and multimethodological approaches* (Grossman, 2005; Marcos and Tillema, 2006; Richardson and Placier, 2001; Woolfolk Hoy et al., 2006; Zeichner, 2005) which will account for the complexities of teacher activity and change in diverse geographical, institutional and sociocultural contexts and provide a more holistic portrait of the interplay of cognitive, affective, behavioural and contextual factors that play a role in this process. Some promising methodological (Ambrose, 2004; Blanchard et al., 2009) and conceptual (Desimone, 2009; Kelly, 2006; Peressini et al., 2004; Shulman and Shulman, 2004) inroads have recently been made, and these will hopefully serve as a springboard for developing more robust understandings of the complexity of teacher change. Let us now take a closer look at the state of the art of research in the language teacher change domain.

2.3 Studying change in the language teacher cognition domain

Language teachers' cognitive development has been investigated within the domain of language teacher cognition, which is now well established in the field of applied linguistics. Because a thorough overview of this domain of inquiry has recently been offered by Simon Borg (2006), I will restrict this discussion to a brief summary of the main themes, findings and pedagogical implications that have emerged from this growing body of research. My primary concern here will be the impact of teacher education on pre-service and in-service language teachers' cognitive development, a thematic strand of key importance to this book's focus. I will conclude this review by a critical evaluation of the potentials and limitations of language teacher cognition as a field of study within the domain of applied linguistics.

2.3.1 Key themes in language teacher cognition research

The term *language teacher cognition* is used to embrace all aspects of language teachers' mental lives, that is, 'the unobservable cognitive dimension of teaching – what teachers know, believe, and think' (S. Borg, 2003b, p. 81). In his latest comprehensive review, Borg (2006) has identified more than 180 studies published between 1976 and 2006 and conducted in first, second and foreign language contexts. This body of research is growing as we speak and has investigated a host of pre- and in-service (novice and expert) teachers' cognitions, ranging from teachers' beliefs (Basturkmen et al., 2004; Woods, 1996), personal practical knowledge (Golombek, 1998), pedagogical knowledge (Mullock, 2006), conceptions (Freeman, 1991; Mangubhai et al., 2005), principles (Breen et al., 2001), images (K. E. Johnson, 1994), prior knowledge and experience (Bailey et al., 1996), perceptions (K. E. Johnson, 1996b), theories (S. Borg, 1999a; Efstathia, 2008), maxims (J. C. Richards, 1996), metaphors (Warford and Reeves, 2003) and many more. These various, although often overlapping, mental constructs have been investigated either in general terms, such as principles guiding instructional decisions (Tsang, 2004) and deviations from lesson plans (Bailey, 1996) or with a specific language teaching or learning focus, such as teachers' beliefs about communicative language teaching (Feryok, 2008; Sato and Kleinsasser, 1999), grammar teaching (S. Borg, 1999b) or learner motivation (Kubanyiova, 2006) and often, but not always, in relation to teachers' practices, actual (Orafi and Borg, 2009) or reported (Farrell, 2009). A specific strand within the language teacher cognition domain is the study

of the impact of teacher education or teacher development on language teachers' change in cognitions and practices and I examine this research in more detail later in this chapter.

2.3.2 A summary of key findings and implications for language teacher education interventions

The findings in the language teacher cognition domain have largely confirmed those in general education, demonstrating that language teachers' instructional decisions and practices are influenced by an interaction of a host of cognitive and contextual factors. In relation to the specific area of L2 grammar teaching, for instance, we have learnt that whether or not teachers include explicit grammar instruction in their classes does not always correspond with the findings and pedagogical recommendations generated by SLA research. Such decisions seem to be based instead on the teachers' beliefs and knowledge regarding students' expectations, classroom management and students' intellectual and affective needs (S. Borg, 1998b, 2003a), or even the teachers' self-perceptions regarding their own grammatical knowledge (S. Borg, 1999b, 2001). Students' L2 acquisition is thus not always the primary reason behind utilising certain instructional approaches, and what SLA research and theory may treat as competing and mutually exclusive approaches (e.g. inductive vs deductive) may in fact happily coexist in the practice of the same teacher who seeks to respond to these different concerns (S. Borg, 1998b, 1999a).

With regard to language teacher learning in particular, the language teacher cognition literature points to the variable ways in which teachers make sense of their teacher education programmes as well as their classroom experiences. Two factors are typically highlighted as particularly influential in the process, namely *teachers' prior knowledge* and the *sociocultural context.*

Prior knowledge

As mentioned before, it has now been well established that what teachers learn in teacher education programmes is filtered by prior experiences accumulated over the years of the 'apprenticeship of observation' (Lortie, 1975). This set of language learning experiences is transformed, largely subconsciously, into beliefs about how languages are learnt and how they should or should not be taught. There is a general consensus that if these beliefs are not made explicit, questioned and challenged (Freeman, 1991), teachers' pre-training cognitions regarding teaching an L2 may be influential throughout their career despite the training efforts.

Several tools have been suggested that can facilitate belief change by accommodating new principles into the teachers' existing belief systems. These include *language learning autobiographies* (Bailey et al., 1996), methods of cognitive apprenticeship, namely *narratives* (Golombek and Johnson, 2004; K. E. Johnson and Golombek, 2002), *case studies* and *practical arguments* (K. E. Johnson, 1996a), or *teacher development activities* which are *data-based* (S. Borg, 1998a) and provide opportunities for teachers to *explore their own theories* (S. Borg, 1999a). When teachers' newly formed beliefs (as a result of a teacher development (TD) course, for example) are in conflict with their stable models gained through the apprenticeship of observation, *access to alternative images* of teaching and teachers are required for conceptual change to occur (K. E. Johnson, 1994). Thus, the modelling of desired behaviours and attitudes as well as the importance of experiential opportunities to engage in new practices are highlighted (K. E. Johnson, 2009). Because implementing alternative models poses a considerable threat, *receptive and supportive training environments* where individuals are free to expose their beliefs and experiment with new ideas appear to be a prerequisite for teacher development (K. E. Johnson, 1994). Finally, we have come to understand that teachers develop in variable and individual ways (S. Borg, 2006) as a result of teacher education. This implies the importance of *variable inputs* (Woodward, 2004) which cater for these varied ways in which teachers make sense of, and are shaped by, teacher training programmes.

These innovative pedagogical approaches to educating teachers, pre-service or in-service, have been developed as a response to the cognitive shift in language teacher research and have inspired language teacher education practices across the world (e.g. Tedick, 2005). It has to be said, however, that similarly to mainstream teacher education research reviewed above, we have yet to see empirical evidence attesting to the effectiveness of these specific instructional approaches in influencing teachers' cognitive development in worthwhile and meaningful ways across diverse teacher learning contexts (although see a few exceptions discussed later in this section).

The impact of the sociocultural context on learning to teach

Despite claims to the contrary (see Tarone and Allwright, 2005; Yates and Muchinsky, 2003), the place of theory in teacher education programmes has never been questioned within the reconceptualised language teacher education knowledge base (Freeman and Johnson, 1998, 2004, 2005a). Instead, attention has been drawn to the importance of pedagogical processes that enable L2 teachers to make sense of theory in light of

their experiential knowledge of the context in which they work. An example of such processes include creating forums such as Sharkey and Johnson's (2003), in which 'expert' knowledge of researchers and authors of journal articles is entered into a dialogue with practitioners. These dialogues document how teacher practice is transformed as a result of reflection on theoretical knowledge through the teachers' experiential knowledge of the contexts in which their practice is embedded. One implication that has emerged from this line of theorising in the language cognition research literature then is that any teacher education programme aspiring to promote teacher change should provide opportunities for teachers to situate theory within their own sociocultural contexts through reflection (K. E. Johnson, 1999). While such recommendations for teacher education practice are based on well-developed theoretical and epistemological foundations, we have yet to collect examples of how these are materialised across diverse sociopolitical, sociocultural and educational contexts and whether efforts to encourage such situated reflection can be successful even in settings that have traditionally not promoted the culture of reflection.

To sum up, the thrust of the argument coming from language teacher cognition research is that to bring about significant change in teachers, we need to adhere to several key principles when designing and delivering teacher education programmes. These include confronting teachers' prior experience, providing opportunities to reflect on new knowledge in the light of the particular sociocultural context and creating a supportive and receptive climate in which such high-risk endeavours can be realised. Many of these recommendations are well aligned with major theories of learning (such as sociocultural theory or social constructivism), which is perhaps why there seems to be an almost unanimous consensus across the community of teacher educators and researchers about their explanatory power. As we will see later, however, some empirical findings do not seem to lend themselves to the dominant theoretical explanations and additional insights might be gained by consulting alternative frameworks of human learning and development. In the next section, we will examine findings of some key empirical studies which investigate the impact of formal teacher education programmes on teachers' cognitive development.

2.3.3 Research on the impact of language teacher education programmes

The bulk of research in this area concerns the cognitive development of pre service teachers (although this label is not unambiguous given the

mixed populations of experienced and inexperienced student teachers on some university postgraduate programmes). A variety of teacher education programmes have been studied, including the impact on student teachers' cognitions of PGCE programmes (Cabaroglu and Roberts, 2000; Gutierrez Almarza, 1996), CELTA courses (M. Borg, 2005), MA TESOL programmes (Farrell, 2009; Warford and Reeves, 2003) or its various components, such as supervised teaching practice (K. E. Johnson, 1994, 1996b; Mattheoudakis, 2007) or individual modules, for example, SLA (Angelova, 2005; Busch, 2010; MacDonald et al., 2001; Peacock, 2001) or Action Research (McDonough, 2006). Most of these studies have focused on changes in the *content* of student teachers' cognitions, but some have also investigated the *process* of change (e.g. Cabaroglu and Roberts, 2000).

Examining the actual results regarding teacher education impact on student teachers' belief change, it appears that no firm conclusions can be made; some findings indicate impact while others attest to its absence. Of course, this is not surprising, given the diversity of examined teacher education programmes and contexts as well as differing conceptualisations of impact across studies. Nevertheless, despite the rather pessimistic views of teacher education as a weak intervention (Kagan, 1992), various degrees of influence have been noted in most language teacher cognition studies. Instead of offering a comprehensive review of these studies, I would like to highlight those which represent some significant conceptual or methodological issues, advancements or innovations.

In their study of 20 students on the PGCE (Modern Languages) course, Cabaroglu and Roberts (2000) conceptualised change as 'movement' or 'development' in beliefs because, as they argue, 'shifts which standard measurement may register as quite minor, such as on a rating scale, may actually represent movement in beliefs that meaningfully influence a student teacher's perceptions and practice' (Cabaroglu and Roberts, 2000, p. 389). Adopting an innovative approach, they devised a classification system which labels different types of belief development (e.g. awareness, consolidation, elaboration, addition, reordering, relabelling, disagreement, reversal, pseudo-change, no change). They observed some degree of cognitive development in all but one participant, a finding which they believe refutes the widespread assumption that beliefs are inflexible. They conclude that the observed belief development can be ascribed to the *early confrontation of trainees' prior beliefs* and *self-regulated learning opportunities* on this specific PGCE programme. Although the actual link between the specific interventions and the particular belief

development processes was not systematically interrogated in this study, this may well be a highly plausible explanation.

This study represents an innovative approach to the study of teacher change, yet it also invites some important questions about the significance of different types of belief development. Arguably, not all 'movement' in teachers' thinking may necessarily represent the desired, meaningful and significant change that teacher education aims to bring about, and we should rightly ask whether awareness, reordering or relabelling, to give but a few examples, are sufficient for meaningful changes in teachers' practices, supposedly the ultimate goal of development. Therefore, taken more generally, it may not be the key aim of language teacher cognition research to ascertain whether teacher education makes an impact (which this and many other studies, some of which are reviewed below, have clearly demonstrated), but whether such impact, in whatever form or shape, in fact matters in transforming language classrooms. Because this is a critical issue in language teacher cognition research and has clear implications for bridging the gap between SLA and language teacher cognition research domains, I return to it later when pondering limitations and potentials of the domain as a whole.

Adopting a different methodological approach, MacDonald et al. (2001) and Peacock (2001) used pre- and post-course research instruments to assess the development of teacher trainees' beliefs with regard to SLA. MacDonald et al. (2001) concluded that changes in key beliefs did take place, although, as they point out, it would have to be further examined whether the new beliefs would also be matched by observable practices during the trainees' practicum or microteaching. In contrast, although Peacock (2001) anticipated that the three-year immersion in the BA TESL programme would have a positive impact on the development of the trainees' beliefs in the desired direction, very few changes were in fact noted. While the findings of the two studies may seem contradictory, further scrutiny of the methodological approach they adopted may shed some light on this contradiction. It is possible that the student teachers' questionnaire responses in MacDonald et al.'s study simply reflected their increased awareness of the key SLA principles rather than their actual personal identification with them (see also S. Borg's (2006) note regarding this). On the other hand, this elicitation method might not have been able to capture the nuances in the trainees' cognitive development in Peacock's study (cf. Cabaroglu and Roberts, 2000).

A further example of a contradiction, this time within a single research project, is that of Gutierrez Almarza's (1996) study, the results of which

indicated changes in trainees' behaviours which were, however, not accompanied by changes in their belief systems. It is possible, she concludes, that such behaviours may have been a result of the pressure on the trainees to conform to the expectations of the programme, but would be abandoned as soon as the external pressure ceased to exert influence on the trainees.

This result as well as the findings of the previous studies raise two important methodological points that need to be addressed in language teacher cognition research: firstly, it seems that our understanding of teacher change is limited if self-reported cognitions are examined in isolation of behaviours because behavioural change does not imply cognitive change and vice versa (see also S. Borg, 2003b; 2006, who has repeatedly stressed this point), and secondly, caution must be exercised with regard to claims based on data elicited as part of the trainees' formal assessment. With language teacher education research conducted mostly in such contexts in which the teacher educator/supervisor's role converges with that of researcher, a more critical inquiry into the status of data elicited in this way will need to be pursued. At the same time, as a field, we also need to reflect on whether single methods, whatever they may be, are capable of providing insights into the intricate networks of teachers' cognitions, many of which are not readily accessible to the teachers at a conscious level and yet influence profoundly what they do in the classroom.

I include two further studies here which, although focusing on in-service teachers, throw light on the impact of their pre-service teacher education. The first is S. Borg's (1998b) study of an experienced teacher's grammar-related instructional decisions in the EFL classroom. As the extensive qualitative data in this research project (interviews and classroom observations) reveal, the initial intensive teacher training programme that this teacher had participated in had a profound impact on his belief system. Moreover, contextual factors, which are routinely quoted in much of research in this domain as powerful forces that diminish the impact of teacher education, did not in any way interfere with this teacher's adherence to his belief system developed through the initial teacher education as well as in-service development. S. Borg (1998b) suggests a number of course-related as well as dispositional factors that could have contributed to such a powerful impact, including the intensity and strong practical focus of the course, the expertise and reflexivity of trainers, the novelty of the course content and an open mind and a willingness to learn on the part of this teacher. Although the links between these characteristics and the impact will have to be further investigated, this study

has demonstrated that (1) the initial teacher education impact could perhaps be more meaningfully assessed within a longer time span and in relation to in-service teaching practice and (2) employing a multi-methodological approach, as this study did, which embraces multiple data sources could be an avenue towards a fuller understanding of the nature of the pre-service teacher education influence.

The second study by Watzke (2007), which seems to confirm the above assertions, explores the long-term impact of pre-service teacher education by following up in-service teachers for the first three years of their teaching career. Although initially, the teachers' practices could have been seen as traditional and even contradictory to their initial teacher education, these teachers began to develop in alignment with their initial teacher education as they moved along their developmental pathways and resolved issues of their initial concerns, such as control over students and instructional content. As Watzke (2007) concludes, the theoretical approaches advocated in teacher education programmes 'develop as pedagogical content knowledge through a process of teaching, conflict, reflection, and resolution specific to the in-service classroom context' (p. 74).

Although the absence of a specific description of the curriculum and pedagogy of the given teacher education programme does not allow us to examine the impact in depth, this study, nevertheless, signifies the importance of bridging pre-service education with in-service teaching practice in studying the long-term impact of pre-service education. The findings indeed give us a pause to reflect on whether investigating an immediate impact tells the whole story of language teacher change. For example, Richards and Pennington (1998) found that none of the five teachers who had been trained in the communicative language teaching approach applied its principles in their first-year in-service teaching practice. Although the researchers cite unfavourable contextual factors as responsible for the lack of impact, we could also conclude, adopting Watzke's line of argument, that the first year of the research participants' full-time in-service practice was simply a transitional period during which they had to grapple with issues such as establishing their role as a teacher and their control over the class as well as the classroom tasks. Thus the potential long-term impact may have remained hidden to the investigation limited to this transitional phase of their teaching. Capturing in our data where the teachers are going rather than just where they are at the moment (Watzke, 2007) may therefore be an important next step in investigating not only the impact of pre-service language teacher education, but teacher change more generally.

2.3.4 Research on the impact of in-service teacher development

The volume of research into the impact of in-service teacher development programmes on practising language teachers' growth is markedly thinner than that of pre-service teacher education. Here I review two studies that have examined the impact of a specific in-service teacher development programme before looking at the third which investigated the influence of a specific pedagogical approach on the in-service teachers' development.

Donald Freeman (1993) explored how four high school teachers of French and Spanish responded to the new ideas encountered on their in-service MA degree course. The qualitative data of this study provide evidence of the teachers' new ways of thinking, which Freeman refers to as *renaming experience* (and which possibly corresponds with Cabaroglu and Robert's 'relabelling'). However, the answer to the question whether the renaming of experience actually led to *reconstructing practice* remains, according to Freeman, inconclusive. This is because although there was clear evidence of changes in some practices, others remained as part of the teachers' old routines. However, Freeman points out that now that we are aware of the interaction of cognition and behaviour, we can no longer use purely behavioural indices as evidence of change. Rather, what we need to examine is how teachers rename their everyday experience, which, in turn, enables them to reconstruct their practice and, as he points out, this does not necessarily happen in an externally observable way.

This is an important argument which has, in fact, been at the forefront of the cognitive shift in teacher education research. However, we also need to exercise some caution here because if not followed up, this view may invite an assumption that 'renaming experience' is a sufficient catalyst for conceptual change and, consequently, for transforming practice. Yet, countless examples of educational reforms have shown us that embracing the language of change does not always imply embracing its mindset. Of course, as Freeman rightly points out, understanding the link between 'renaming experience' and 'reconstructing practice' is not an easy task as it may not be discernible in a traditional sense. It seems to me, however, that in order to take the field of language teacher cognition forward, we need to gain a much deeper understanding of when 'renaming experience' becomes a critical starting point in teachers' significant and worthwhile transformation as opposed to a surface manifestation of 'appearing to change' (cf. Wedell, 2009b).

Another study with the focus on language teachers' change as a result of an in-service teacher development initiative is that of Lamie (2004). In agreement with many other studies previously discussed, the findings

of this project provide evidence of the Japanese teachers' change in their attitudes and practices as a result of their participation in an in-service teacher development course organised by a UK university. While this is undoubtedly a very encouraging outcome, the same caution applies in this case as has already been noted previously. The research design of the study, while carefully conceived, does not completely rule out the possibility that the significant differences between pre- and post-course questionnaire appraisals indicating a positive shift in attitudes are simply a result of the teachers' heightened awareness of the 'correct' attitudes and their desire to demonstrate their knowledge of these, rather than a genuine shift in their attitudes towards teaching. As Gutierrez Almarza's (1996) findings mentioned earlier indicate, behaviours, too, can be a result of such desire and, it can be argued, can easily be reproduced even a year after the training. It appears, therefore, that unless we generate a more integrated and contextualised picture of the teachers' cognitions and teaching practices and inquire more deeply into the evidence of change in teaching practice, any claims regarding meaningful impact may warrant further scrutiny.

Finally, Golombek and Johnson's (2004) study focused on the teacher-authored narrative inquiry as a tool for professional development and was grounded in the theoretical framework of sociocultural theory. This makes the study unique in that a theory of learning had not previously been explicitly applied to language teacher cognition research findings. Analysing the narratives of three ESL/EFL in-service teachers who took part in an MA degree programme, Golombek and Johnson (2004) conclude that this particular tool 'creates a mediational space in which teachers can identify contradictions in their teaching' (p. 324), a recognition of which is associated with emotional dissonance. This dissonance, they conclude, functions as a catalyst for the teachers' professional development.

This study's contribution is manifold: first, it focuses on a specific instructional strategy, that is, the teacher-authored narratives and their role in facilitating development. As we saw in the previous overview, this link has not received much attention in teacher change research. Secondly, it is theory-driven and therefore overcomes the pitfalls of much language teacher cognition research which tends to be largely descriptive and atheoretical. In contrast, here the roles and relationships between specific constructs are defined and drawn together in a particular conceptual framework. In this case, the role of emotional dissonance is highlighted and the conclusions of the study point to its central role in triggering teacher development.

Interestingly, however, there were notable differences in the impact of narrative inquiries on different teachers. For instance, while Michael was able to use his new narrative-inquiry-facilitated understanding of himself as a teacher to devise and implement a clear action plan and thus respond by engaging in new instructional practices, Jenn's development did not go beyond her verbalised commitment to action. The crucial task of language teacher cognition research, then, is to further its inquiry to account for those differences conceptually and to learn more about those teachers for whom specific pedagogical approaches fail to inspire the significant and meaningful change that may be evident in others.

2.3.5 Limitations and potentials of language teacher cognition research

As we have seen from this brief overview, language teacher cognition is a growing research domain which has generated volumes of insightful data about the interaction between what teachers think, believe and know and what they do in the specific instructional and sociocultural contexts in which their teaching practices are embedded. However, it is also clear that similar concerns to those articulated in mainstream teacher education research plague language teacher cognition. This includes fragmentation, terminological diversity, questions over the relevance of research results obtained from a limited range of geographical and institutional contexts, atheoretical nature of much empirical investigation and methodological shortcomings, to name but a few (see also S. Borg, 2006). I believe, however, that these limitations offer valuable opportunities to reflect on the future of the discipline and the following discussion offers a tentative manifesto, representing my take on the directions that language teacher cognition research should take to advance our understanding of the 'who' behind the activity of second language teaching. Although throughout this overview I have been working from the vantage point of language teachers' cognitive development, which represents only a fraction of the domain's research activity, I believe that most of the following themes are relevant to the language teacher cognition discipline as a whole.

1. Engaging with definitions of worthwhile language teacher change

The single most striking feature of the reviewed studies is the absence of any coordinated effort to define not only what constitutes teacher education impact, but also what constitutes a meaningful and desirable one. It is refreshing, then, to find that S. Borg (2006) has recently made an effort to critically engage with the former issue. It seems to me, however,

that we need to go even further and engage with what constitutes a *significant* and *worthwhile* impact (Richardson, 1990) that language teacher education programmes should strive to make and what are, therefore, *worthwhile* purposes of our research activity. As Hargreaves (1995) points out, 'It makes little sense to analyze ... forms of teacher development without first establishing what it is that needs to be developed, what teachers and teaching are for' (p. 9). Engaging with values and social as well as moral purposes (Crookes, 2009; Hargreaves, 1995; Johnston, 2003) of second language teacher education may be an important step in developing context-sensitive definitions of worthwhile and meaningful language teacher change and methodological designs capable of examining it. Of course these debates should be ongoing, but what is required at the very minimum is an explicit engagement with a definition of meaningful teacher change in any study that aims to investigate language teachers' cognitive development.

2. *Embracing the complexity of language teachers' lives*

As Borg's (2006) recent stocktaking exercise has revealed a great diversity of often overlapping constructs being investigated to an extent which can be detrimental to the advancement of the field. As a response to this situation, he has suggested a more contained set of constructs which, as he maintains, may result in more productive research activity. While any initiatives aimed at bringing some order to what is clearly a fragmented domain of inquiry must be welcome, we also need to be aware that limiting our investigations to restricted sets of constructs, variables and epistemologies may also run the risk of producing an impoverished picture of the activity of language teaching.

As mentioned before, one of the most serious charges in both mainstream teacher education and language teacher cognition domains remains that we have tended to focus on measuring isolated constructs in an isolated manner without setting them in a bigger picture of who the teachers are, what they are striving to accomplish in their interactions with their students, colleagues, and parents and why. We do not know how what teachers think, believe and know relates to what they are passionate about, who they yearn to become and how they negotiate and, even more importantly, transcend images and expectations in the social, cultural and historical macro-structures of their teaching world. And, most importantly, we know very little about how these, often emotional, journeys influence the kind of interactions that the teachers have with their students and the kinds of opportunities they create for their active engagement in second language learning.

More specifically, we know that teachers' cognitions cannot be separated from identity formation, since 'what teachers know and do is part of their identity work, which is continuously performed and transformed through interaction in classrooms' (Miller, 2009, p. 175). Yet, teacher identity does not seem to have made it into the teacher cognition repertoire of key constructs. Similarly, the impact of individual differences on language teacher learning has been hinted at in research findings, but not examined more systematically. As a result, we do not know exactly what role they play and how they interact with the cognitive and contextual factors that have been explored extensively in the literature. In addition, given that teacher learning, just like any other kind of human learning, is a motivated activity, it is striking that motivational factors have not been researched explicitly in language teacher cognition. Finally, general teacher education literature has indicated a significant role of affect in teacher change. Yet, very little attention has been paid to the emotional dimension in empirical studies within the language teacher cognition domain (for an exception, see Golombek and Johnson, 2004) even though it is clear from the literature further afield that motivation and emotion form an inextricable link with cognitive functioning (Abrami et al., 2004; Järvenoja and Järvelä, 2009; Meyer and Turner, 2006).

It seems to me that if we aspire to understand the complexity of language teacher cognitive development, a host of identity-related, dispositional, motivational and affective factors will need to be investigated alongside the cognitive and contextual ones which are currently the main focus in studies of language teacher change. This implies that opening up the space of language teacher cognition territory and acknowledging a broader, not narrower, spectrum of constructs accounting for language teachers' mental lives (Woods, 2009) may be important in increasing the relevance of the discipline and in starting to address some of the hitherto unexplored yet critical themes. If this means that *teacher cognition* is no longer an all-inclusive term that represents the complexity of teachers' mental lives, then we must embrace the challenge and explore new ways of referring to this important field of research within the domain of applied linguistics.

3. Increasing the relevance of teacher cognition research to the real world: re-examining the domain's scope and purposes

I believe that we have reached a point in the language teacher cognition domain when our inquiry will have to be scrutinised more rigorously for the relevance of its research results. If this research hopes to contribute to our understanding of language teaching and how it facilitates

language learning, how language teacher education can create teacher learning experiences which are conducive to teacher development, and if we as a discipline strive to make a positive contribution to the development of educational policies, our efforts will have to go significantly beyond generating descriptions of the content and nature of language teacher cognitions.

We will need to engage in more systematic inquiry into *language teacher education interventions* that facilitate significant and worthwhile language teacher change and a *programmatic exploration of the relationship between* (1) language teacher education, (2) teacher learning, (3) teaching practice, and (4) students' learning, which has traditionally been left out of investigations in language teacher cognition (although, see Freeman and Johnson's (2005b) theoretical examination of the 'relationship of influence' between teacher learning, teacher activity and student learning). As R. Ellis (2009) rightly points out, 'how teachers cognize must ultimately be considered in terms of the effects their cognitions have on learning' (p. 141). Although this is undoubtedly a difficult link to address, the vision of the social utility of our research (Allwright, 2005a, b; Ortega, 2005) will not allow us to avoid it for much longer. All the current concerns in instructed SLA, such as form-focused instruction, corrective feedback, negotiated interaction, L2 motivation or vocabulary acquisition, lend themselves to explorations that can bridge the gap between instructed SLA and language teacher cognition research productively (e.g. Kubanyiova, 2009a, 2010; Seaton, 2010). Further initiatives, perhaps involving collaboration of multidisciplinary teams with a diverse range of expertise, would be an important avenue towards the goal of developing a dynamic and vibrant discipline that generates in-depth knowledge that is meaningful, socially useful and plays a central role in improving language teacher education and making applied linguistics truly applied (Bygate, 2005; R. Ellis, 2010).

4. *Developing conceptual frameworks of language teachers' cognitive development*

While, as noted above, valuable attempts have recently been made to 'impose some structure on this field' (S. Borg, 2006, p. 280), the findings generated in language teacher cognition domain remain atheoretical, drawing mainly on mainstream teacher education research. However, as we could see in the earlier overview, this domain has also failed to go much beyond the largely descriptive accounts of teachers' cognitions and factors which appear to play a role in influencing them. Yet, the point Pavlenko (2007) makes about the study of autobiographic narrative data

is more than relevant in this context. As she warns, there is a danger that in the absence of a theoretical framework, we may generate 'a laundry list of observations, factors, or categories, illustrated by quotes from participants, that misses the links between the categories, essentializes particular descriptions, and fails to describe the larger picture where they may fit' (Pavlenko, 2007, p. 167).

Admittedly, it is not entirely justified to claim the absence of a theoretical framework when just a cursory glance at the recent survey of key themes and debates in second language teacher education (e.g. Burns and Richards, 2009) shows that sociocultural and critical approaches are very much a theoretical staple in this domain of inquiry (Cross, 2010; Goldstein, 2004; Hawkins, 2004; Hawkins and Norton, 2009; K. E. Johnson, 2009; Pennycook, 2004). And it is also true that some important, although still largely isolated, efforts to ground empirical research in a theory of learning, namely sociocultural, have been made specifically in the study of language teachers' cognitive development (Golombek and Johnson, 2004; K. E. Johnson and Golombek, 2003). Yet, as we could see in the earlier review, even these seem to fall short of offering an empirically supported picture of how, why, when and under what circumstances language teachers develop and, even more importantly, why, when and under what circumstances they do not.

I would like to argue that exploring alternative conceptual frameworks can broaden our vantage point and enrich our understandings of how language teachers, pre-service or in-service, develop, and why some are influenced by their teacher education or teacher development experiences in profound ways while others remain completely untouched. Systematic empirically driven theory-building efforts which integrate and, if necessary, challenge theorising from across the disciplinary and epistemological spectrum may therefore be an essential next step in advancing this field.

5. *Increasing the methodological rigour and broadening the methodological repertoire*

Although we have come to understand that what teachers do is a reflection of the complex interplay between who they are and who they strive to become, what they know, value and believe as well as what is valued and expected in their professional and broader sociocultural worlds, we have yet to embrace this awareness methodologically. Teacher beliefs are typically elicited through self-report measures, such as questionnaires, interviews or diaries and the data generated in this way are often

(although not always) put in juxtaposition with what the teachers do. When discrepancies or tensions between the two data sets are found, we tend to seek explanations for why what teachers do may differ from what they believe. Investigations of this type have proven insightful in that they have brought to light the significant role that historical, educational and sociocultural contexts play in enabling the teachers to enact their beliefs in practice or in preventing them from doing so.

However, it is also important that as a discipline we reflect on whether such a beliefs–practice dichotomy as captured in our methodologies is always constructive in our quest to understand the activity of second language teaching. We tend to draw a clear line between cognitions and practices, as if the former could be fully accessed and understood through self-report elicitation methods, while the data on the latter, such as observation field notes or classroom discourse, could never tell us anything about the teachers' mental lives unless some of these self-report measures are integrated into the design (cf. S. Borg, 2009). I am in full agreement with the need to elicit data from multiple sources. Yet, I would also like to argue that the above assumptions about the type of data each method can generate may downplay somewhat the complex interaction between cognition, practice and the social context and present us with what Nancy Hornberger (2006) has termed 'methodological rich points'; that is, the times when our conceptual assumptions and methodological tools appear inadequate to understand the phenomena we are researching.

I am not suggesting here that we abandon specific data-elicitation methods. What we need, however, is a more critical and rigorous analytic approach to working with all types of data we gather. What teachers say in an interview, write in a diary or circle in a questionnaire is rarely (if ever) a neutral account of their beliefs, knowledge and attitudes that can simply be taken at face value and compared with 'practices'. When we probe beneath 'the manifest meanings of what is said to deeper and more critical interpretations' (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p. 207), we discover a whole new world of insight into how teachers' past, present and wished-for future identities influence the construction of these accounts which can represent a continuum between official discourses endorsed in the teachers' professional worlds (of which the researcher may or may not be part) and their deeply internalised views. If examined with care and analytic rigour, these accounts can serve as windows into the complex territories of teachers' mental lives and reveal how they shape and are shaped by their practices and the social structures

in which these are embedded. Examined at face value, we not only risk painting a distorted picture of the teachers' inner worlds, but miss out on insights which can be critical to our understanding of the activity of language teaching.

At the same time, a deeper gaze at teachers' practices, as evidenced through a host of instructional procedures, classroom management decisions, classroom discourse patterns and general interactions with the students, colleagues or parents can often reveal much more about the teachers' mental lives than is accessible in some widely used self-report measures. So even though cognitions are indeed unobservable, we can infer an awful lot about teachers' beliefs, values or future images from what we see.

In order to avoid fragmenting the activity of second language teaching in our research designs, then, we may have to embrace more holistic approaches which will facilitate a deeper level of analysis and interpretation and allow us to examine the complexity of language teacher cognition more meaningfully. Our designs will inevitably have to be characterised by more *in-depth and prolonged involvement with teachers,* typical in ethnographic approaches and in-depth case studies that integrate a range of data from multiple sources for advancing our understanding of what teachers in their specific teaching contexts believe, know, feel and hope, what and how they develop, and how this relates to what they do and what their students learn.

6. Expanding the geographical and institutional scope

Finally, broadening the geographical spread of researched contexts will go some way towards increasing the relevance of the research findings. Most of what we currently know about language teacher cognitive development is a result of studies situated in the USA, although some European contexts are also becoming more represented (S. Borg, 2006). With a few notable exceptions, most available studies tend to examine teachers who are highly motivated, well articulated and socialised into the current educational discourse and reflective practices. However, S. Borg's (2003b) conclusion that we know very little about cognitions of language teachers working in typical language teaching contexts (i.e. bilingual EFL teachers working in the state school sector with prescribed curriculum and textbooks and a heavy teaching load who do not necessarily have access to the dominant discourses in language teacher education), remains true today. Some valuable efforts to look at unrepresented teaching contexts have been made (Hayes, 2005, 2008, 2009) and we will need to continue to expand this line of inquiry.

2.4 Summary

Language teacher cognition research has accumulated a wealth of descriptive knowledge that has in significant ways increased our understanding and appreciation of the complex mental processes that guide what teachers do in the classroom. However, as this overview has shown, the discipline has now arrived at a crossroads: an important stage in its evolution which invites a fresh look at its state of the art. I have argued here that it may no longer be satisfactory to simply describe what language teachers think, know and believe. Rather, what is becoming increasingly pressing is the need to engage with more complex questions of the purposes and social relevance of our activity, which will, in turn, influence the directions we decide to pursue. I see language teacher cognition domain as a dynamic discipline, which is open to interdisciplinary influence, daring to pursue difficult yet critical questions and ambitious in theory-building initiatives. Although I do not pretend that this book has all the answers, it has been written in the hope of contributing to the development of a new wave of research in the language teacher cognition domain.

3
Theories of Learning and Change in Psychology

We have seen in the previous chapter that teacher change has been the subject of substantial research activity within both the general teacher education and applied linguistics disciplines. That review has, however, also highlighted the fragmentation of the field and the absence of theory-building research activity, particularly in the field of applied linguistics. Psychology, on the other hand, abounds with theories of learning and change and although it can never be the aim of this book to offer a comprehensive survey of even a fragment of these, I would like to focus on three theoretical frameworks in this chapter: attitude change, conceptual change and possible selves theory. As we will see later, these theories have contributed significantly to the development of the theoretical model of language teacher conceptual change presented in this book and I outline the key links of each theory to language teacher cognition research at the end of each section.

3.1 Attitude change

Attitudes are an ever-present ingredient of our daily lives. We hold attitudes towards presidential candidates and political parties, car makes and mobile phone brands, academic disciplines and research paradigms, and even things (seemingly) as trivial as the size and shape of our coffee mugs. Our attitudes, that is, evaluative responses towards these various objects, events, ideas or people, are thought to play a key role in our behaviour. They not only influence our general feelings towards these attitude objects (apparently, our coffee tastes much better if we drink it from our favourite mug!), but also help us to connect with others who endorse similar attitudes to ours and determine the time, effort and money (!) we are prepared to invest in the objects of our attitudes. This is, of course,

all very clear to marketing gurus and political spin doctors, whose main objective is to strengthen and, even more often, change our attitudes. But what do we actually know about how people change their attitudes and how is it relevant to our discussion of language teachers' change?

Just a cursory glance at a branch of social psychology that is concerned with attitudes and attitude change reveals the richness and complexity of this research domain (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Gawronski, 2007) which precludes detailed analysis in this brief overview. Instead, I will focus on the so-called *dual-process models of attitude change* which are particularly pertinent to the study of language teacher change in that they explain why attitude change does not always have implications for people's behaviour and specify the role of prior knowledge and beliefs in this process.

4.1.1 Dual-process models of attitude change

The attitude change theories described here focus specifically on message-based persuasion, that is, the mechanisms whereby we engage with arguments of a persuasive message that supports a particular position and change our attitudes as a result of this engagement (Visser and Cooper, 2003). Certainly, teacher education programmes are neither exclusively nor primarily based on persuasive arguments in this sense. Nevertheless, the content of teacher education input can be taken to represent a certain form of a persuasive message in that teachers or student teachers are expected to cognitively engage with it and, consequently, form, change or reaffirm their attitudes towards a particular educational phenomenon that the input advocates. In this sense, therefore, the findings of dual-process theories can shed some light on the processes that teachers go through when they are asked to engage with specific teacher education input.

The basic assumption of the dual-process theories is that we do not always meticulously examine each and every persuasive message we come across, and the reasons can range from lack of cognitive ability, gaps in background knowledge, lack of motivation or insufficient time (Visser and Cooper, 2003). Instead, most of the time, we tend to take short cuts in forming our attitudes and rely on other so-called *heuristic cues*, such as our mood, our feelings towards the person behind the message, or our prior experience, knowledge and beliefs about the subject. Although, originally, only a careful scrutiny of the actual message content was thought to produce attitude change, the main contribution of the dual-process theories is their recognition that attitudinal change can occur even in the absence of in-depth analysis, albeit through different processes and with different

quality of the resulting new attitudes (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Visser and Cooper, 2003). Two dual-process models were developed in the 1980s that describe the distinct routes marked by different degrees of cognitive engagement: the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) and the Heuristic-Systematic Model (HSM). While they differ in some details, let us consider key premises that they share.

Both theories assume two routes to attitude change: *systematic* (*central*) and *heuristic* (*peripheral*). The former has been defined as 'a comprehensive, analytic orientation to information processing in which perceivers access and scrutinize a great deal of information for its relevance to their judgment task' (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993, p. 326). In other words, systematic processing implies a deliberate deep-level cognitive engagement with the message. The processing via the systematic route is data-driven; in other words, it is the message *content* that is analysed rather than the aforementioned *heuristic cues*, and because this demands a greater degree of effort and cognitive capacity, embarking on this route is regarded as more time consuming and 'cognitively taxing' (Visser and Cooper, 2003, p. 213). The attitudes that have been either formed or changed as a result of this process are believed to be more durable, more predictive of behaviour and less susceptible to counter-persuasion than attitude changes that result from the alternative route.

The heuristic route, in contrast, is the less effortful processing path which relies on heuristics, that is, 'learned decision rules used to make quick evaluative judgements during the processing of a persuasive message' (Gregoire, 2003, p. 159), rather than on the analysis of the message itself. Heuristics constitutes part of our knowledge and belief system and is generated from prior observation, experience or affective responses. If, for instance, we believe in a simple heuristic rule that more arguments in support of a certain position or an impeccable delivery imply a more convincing message, we are likely to be persuaded if the message is delivered with confidence and contains an impressive number of arguments regardless of their actual quality and soundness. Similarly, we may be distracted from the systematic route of message-processing if we are guided by our affective response to the message source. That is, if we find the source particularly attractive, credible or knowledgeable, we might be persuaded about the merit of the arguments without actually engaging with their content. A typical example of this is our reaction to charismatic leaders; we tend to be impressed even if we are often unable to offer a rational account of the actual policies that the leader stands for. This is because we analysed the leader, not their policies. In contrast, if we hold grudges against specific newspaper commentators, politicians or teacher trainers, we are likely to dismiss their arguments

regardless of their merits unless we muster up the motivation and energy to focus on the message rather than its source.

These various heuristic cues serve as 'resource-conserving cognitive strategies' (Visser and Cooper, 2003, p. 213) that help us to cope with the vast amounts of persuasive messages we come across on a daily basis. In contrast with the systematic route, however, attitudes that are an outcome of the heuristic route are less stable, do not necessarily predict behaviour and are more susceptible to counter-argumentation. Of course, both routes of processing can occur simultaneously, when, for instance, an experienced teacher forms an attitude towards communicative language teaching (CLT) based on a heuristic cue (e.g. dismisses the idea out of hand because of her previously unsuccessful attempts to implement it in her classroom), but also has the motivation and ability to systematically process the actual rationale for CLT and its principles and, subsequently, either changes the initially formed attitude (i.e. agrees that it may, after all, be beneficial for her students and is therefore worth experimenting with) or reinforces it in the light of the new information gained from the systematic analysis of the CLT message (i.e. concludes that this is not an approach that can address her students' needs).

Let us have a closer look at the nature of these heuristic cues. Just to reiterate, these are any variables 'capable of affecting persuasion without affecting argument scrutiny' (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993, p. 307). As we have seen so far, they encompass *message source* (attractiveness, trustworthiness, expertise), *message content* (length, number of arguments), but also the *recipient's characteristics*, such as gender, age, relevance, value, relevant knowledge, personality, self-regulation and intelligence (Visser and Cooper, 2003).

Further such cues have been identified in a research programme pursued by Fazio and colleagues (see reviews in Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Fazio and Olson, 2003) who developed the so-called affective priming paradigm and automatic attitude activation. Their findings suggest that our *prior attitudes* can function as heuristic cues in that they are often activated automatically at the mere presentation of the attitude object and influence our perception of the object as well as our behaviour without requiring our further investment of cognitive effort. Say, for instance, that a teacher who is strongly opposed to using textbooks in the language classroom has been invited to take part in a teacher development workshop. It is likely that he will have made the decision about the value of this workshop for his practice as soon as the trainer shows the first slide of her presentation entitled 'How to Make the Most of Your Textbook', from then on focusing only superficially on what she has to say even though it may well address some of the practical concerns that this teacher has.

Another factor which can function as a heuristic cue according to this research paradigm concerns *subjective norms*, or other people's interpretation of the event. That is, people's affective and behavioural responses to the message can be influenced by responses of *significant others*. Although not explicitly examined in attitude change theories, group dynamics, particularly group norms and peer pressure, seem to play a significant role in changing people's attitudes via the heuristic route. In other words, we are likely to change our attitudes along the lines of those held by people with a significant place and status in our reference group.

It is acknowledged in this research domain that the variables discussed above can fulfil multiple functions. That is, they can serve not only as 'peripheral cues' which allow us to form attitudes without having to scrutinise the actual content of the message, but they can form part of the persuasive argument and actually increase our systematic processing. The implications for teacher education are quite intriguing. The variables other than the actual teacher education input, such as well-regarded teacher educator, reputed course or supportive learner group, would seem to promote the systematic route of processing on the one hand (and this has been routinely acknowledged in teacher education literature), but they could also induce heuristic-based processing and hinder the reflection that is required for deeper attitude change. It seems crucial, therefore, to understand the conditions under which the different functions of persuasion variables become prominent, and this issue will be the subject of Chapter 4 when we begin the discussion of the theoretical model of language teachers' conceptual change.

In sum, dual-process theories postulate that not all human behaviour is intentional, thoughtful and a result of deliberate processing. On the contrary, individuals often tend to apply 'the least effort' principle when assessing persuasive messages and rely on various heuristic cues which directly influence their attitude with no further need to deliberately scrutinise the content of the message. Systematic processing, which results in attitude change that is more sustainable and more predictive of behaviour, makes extra demands on the individuals' time and energy and unless people are motivated to invest this extra effort and have the ability and opportunity to persist in it, the prospect of deep and lasting change of attitude is diminished.

3.1.2 Contribution to language teacher cognition research

Dual-process models of attitude change provide sound support for the findings in language teacher cognition research. Firstly, reflection, that is, systematic processing also conceptualised as 'robust reasoning'

(K. E. Johnson, 1999), has been found to be the single most important factor capable of bringing about language teacher development. The contribution of dual-process models is in the theoretical explication of why this is so and in the specification of the mechanisms that are inherent in this process. Secondly, by identifying an alternative route to deep attitude change (peripheral/heuristic), dual-process models provide a theoretical explanation of findings in numerous studies in the language teacher cognition domain indicating superficial change. It seems that in those cases, teachers make judgements about the teacher education content based on heuristic cues rather than the actual content, and it is therefore perfectly possible for a teacher to be persuaded and fully endorse ideas of the teacher training course with no signs of her identification with those ideas in her teaching practice. Furthermore, while language teacher cognition research has produced evidence of the hindering function of prior cognitions, the exact nature of this function has not been theoretically explained. In contrast, the role of heuristic cues, which include prior cognitions, is described in detail in dual-process theories, and it seems clear that although they can be instrumental in aiding robust reflection, they can also function as short cuts, enabling teachers to make a quick evaluative judgement without fully scrutinising the actual ideas.

It appears, therefore, that the dual-process theories have promising potential to explain why teacher education programmes, pre-service or in-service, often fail to promote 'significant and worthwhile' change (Richardson, 1990) and their impact is often superficial, temporary and, most importantly, not reflected in the teachers' classroom practice despite the teachers' positive appraisal of the programme. However, as Gregoire (2003) rightly points out, dual-process theories leave us with several question marks, particularly with regard to what facilitates situation-specific motivation (i.e. we do not know how educational interventions can influence motivation for 'robust reasoning' despite our general tendency to avoid this rather effortful route to change) and the role of emotions in message-processing. Therefore, the next section concerns research on conceptual change, the latest developments in which may provide some answers in this direction.

3.2 Conceptual change

By the time student teachers enter teacher education programmes, they will have already acquired a common-sense understanding of their natural and social environment based on experiences in everyday life. This

extends to their understanding of learning and teaching, which, however, can often be naïve, simplistic or inappropriate and thus at odds with the knowledge taught in teacher education programmes. Teacher learning, therefore, entails more than simply adding new concepts to the teacher's knowledge base; it also involves the restructuring of existing knowledge representations, in other words, a more radical change in the teacher's conceptual system. The outcome of simply integrating new information into existing knowledge has been termed *assimilation*, whereas the latter process of change in one's conceptual system results in *accommodation* and it is precisely this latter restructuring process that has been termed *conceptual change* or *conceptual change learning* (Posner et al., 1982).

Conceptual change has been investigated from a range of theoretical perspectives, including social cognitive (Gregoire, 2003; Patrick and Pintrich, 2001), self-determination (Assor et al., 2009), cultural (Roth et al., 2008), sociocultural (Keiny, 2008), sociological (Smardon, 2008) and post-structural (Zembylas, 2005b). This diversity reflects a 'warming trend' (Sinatra, 2005) in conceptual change research, characterised by a general recognition in this domain that a purely cognitive approach to studying conceptual change, as represented in the classical model developed by Posner et al. (1982), has serious limitations for our understanding of how people learn. The field has now moved away from viewing development as a 'cold' cognitive process (Pintrich et al., 1993) to representing it as a process that is situated in the specific sociocultural context (Roth et al., 2008; Säljö, 1999), socially mediated (Miyake, 2009), dynamic and affective (Linnenbrink and Pintrich, 2002; Sinatra and Pintrich, 2003a; Zembylas, 2005b), and involving a gradual and intentional change of identity (Keiny, 2008). The mechanisms of conceptual change are also debated, with some scholars advocating a single mechanism (Ohlsson, 2009), while others argue for multiple routes of learning (Chinn and Samarapungavan, 2009). And while earlier definitions of conceptual change portrayed it as a replacement of an incorrect theory with a correct one, there is now a general recognition that conceptual change is best understood as 'an opening up of the conceptual space through increased metaconceptual awareness and epistemological sophistication, creating the possibility of entertaining different perspectives and different points of view' (Vosniadou, 2008, p. 279).

So despite the overly cognitivist approach that conceptual change research has typically been associated with, we can see that the domain has gone through some turbulent times, undertaking similar (and similarly heated!) debates (Mercer, 2007; Vosniadou, 2007, 2008) to those in the field of SLA in applied linguistics with regard to acquisition versus

participation metaphors of learning. As a result of these debates, conceptual change research has emerged as a vibrant and dynamic discipline that has accumulated a wealth of empirical evidence and has embraced a range of epistemological perspectives and methodological approaches. Far from being restricted to a particular paradigm then, the range of conceptual and methodological tools that this domain has developed over the years of empirical activity make the discipline an interesting feeder field for the language teacher cognition domain.

Of course it is beyond the scope of this book to explore this richness in this review. Instead, I offer just a brief sketch of the main historical developments and key concepts. In doing so, I focus primarily on debates rooted in the sociocognitive perspective. This is because, as mentioned in the introduction of this book, I found the sociocognitive constructs to have the greatest interpretative potential for theorising language teachers' conceptual change in this specific study. However, it is clear that this is just one of many theoretical traditions and the reader is encouraged to follow up the earlier references for perspectives that I have not had the chance to discuss in this section.

3.2.1 The period of 'cold' conceptual change

Conceptual change has traditionally been investigated in two domains: science education and cognitive developmental psychology, the former focusing on instructional strategies of bringing about conceptual change in learners and the latter describing the cognitive processes involved in an intellectual activity (Vosniadou, 1999). The evolving process of conceptual change theory can be divided into two historical periods, involving the period of so-called 'cold' conceptual change in the 1980s and early 1990s and a recent 'warming' trend (Sinatra, 2005) that sprung up with the publishing of an influential paper by Pintrich et al. (1993) in which they challenge the 'cold', rational, scientific notion of learning and call for an integration of 'hot' mechanisms into the model of conceptual change learning. Let me first briefly describe some of the key assumptions of conceptual change as a cognitive and highly rational process before outlining the major reservations this model attracted, followed by a description of revised models of conceptual change that have been developed as a result, focusing on learners' as well as teachers' conceptual change.

The first historical phase of conceptual change research explored three general themes: (1) the influence of students' cognitions on change, especially the role of prior knowledge on resistance to change, (2) developmental changes in young learners' knowledge representations, and (3) the design of instructional methods to foster change (cf. Sinatra, 2005).

Some of these key processes are well explicated in a seminal paper by Posner et al. (1982), who attempted to explain how learners' current conceptions interact with new, often incompatible information.

Posner et al.'s (1982) model was derived from the philosophy of science and its central question concerned ways in which students' existing concepts change under the impact of new ideas or new information. The researchers identified *dissatisfaction* with current concepts as the essential condition for conceptual change and postulated that new concepts must be *intelligible*, *plausible* and *fruitful* for accommodation to occur. The primary source of dissatisfaction is the experience of an *anomaly* between current concepts and empirical evidence. However, the anomaly will only produce dissatisfaction with an existing conception if the students (1) understand why the new information represents an anomaly, (2) believe it essential to reconcile the new information with their existing conceptions, (3) are committed to the reduction of inconsistencies, and (4) attempts at assimilation of the new idea into their existing conceptions do not seem to work. Because it is unlikely that all these conditions will be met, conceptual change is seen as difficult and the learners are often likely to pursue less demanding alternatives to conceptual change. In fact, Chinn and Brewer (1993) have identified seven such responses to anomalous data, only one of which constitutes conceptual change, requiring the greatest cognitive effort. These responses include (1) ignoring anomalous data (e.g. because of their irrelevance to the students' current conceptions or their lack of concern with the anomaly), (2) rejection, (3) excluding the data from the current theory, (4) holding the data in abeyance, (5) reinterpreting the anomalous data without amending the current theory, (6) reinterpreting the data and making peripheral changes to the current theory, and, finally, (7) accepting the data and restructuring the current theory, possibly in favour of a new theory.

Of course, just because accommodation is said to represent radical change in a person's conceptions, it does not imply abrupt change. On the contrary, as Posner et al. (1982) claim, accommodation may be a gradual and incremental process as the learners attempt to make sense and more fully appreciate the meaning as well as implications of their new knowledge. Also, what may initially appear as accommodation, may later turn out to be less than that. This is because as the students begin to realise the counterintuitive implications of their newly developed concepts or their conflicts with other existing conceptions, their commitment to the new concept may weaken.

However, Pintrich et al. (1993) criticised the theory's 'coldly' rational approach grounded in the philosophy of science. They argued that a

scientific community, whose primary purpose is to seek new intelligible, plausible and fruitful theories to resolve the conflict between the current available theory and the contradicting empirical evidence, operates under mechanisms that are distinct from those of a classroom community in which a variety of students' goals, intentions, purposes, motivational beliefs and social interactions come into play. In other words, the major criticism of the previous models of conceptual change related to their lack of concern for motivational and contextual dimensions which, as Pintrich et al. (1993) have argued, play a significant role in determining whether or not conceptual change in learners is likely to occur. Bringing about conceptual change in students according to the 'hot' vision of conceptual change would therefore not only involve challenging their cognitive conceptions by presenting new data, but also developing strategies that would motivate the learners to systematically engage with the conflict between their existing knowledge and the new concept and develop in them a desire to work on resolving it.

3.2.2 A 'warming' trend in conceptual change research

The notion of resistance to change and the acknowledgement of the alternative routes of responding to conflicting data in the early conceptualisations of conceptual change clearly 'ignited a motivational spark' (Sinatra, 2005, p. 108). Yet the explicit integration of motivational constructs in conceptual change models was not triggered until Pintrich et al.'s (1993) open challenge, and their paper could therefore be considered as the beginning of a 'warming trend' in research on conceptual change (Sinatra, 2005), one which has been described as 'exciting change with great promise for educational research' (Vosniadou, 1999, p. 9).

It was mainly Paul Pintrich and colleagues who made a systematic effort to integrate motivational and contextual variables into the discussions of conceptual change (Linnenbrink and Pintrich, 2003; Patrick and Pintrich, 2001; Pintrich, 1999; Sinatra and Pintrich, 2003a). Doing so, he argued, enables researchers to avoid the trap of decontextualising learners by placing too much emphasis on individuals on the one hand and ignoring individual differences at the expense of the social context on the other (Pintrich, 1999). In the same discussion, Pintrich elaborated on the facilitating as well as constraining role of students' motivational beliefs and contextual factors and introduced a number of propositions in relation to:

- *Achievement goals,* proposing that mastery rather than performance goals (the former defined as a goal of understanding while the latter

refer to a goal of outperforming others) are likely to lead to conceptual change and empirical support has been found for this proposition (Linnenbrink and Pintrich, 2002, 2003);

- *Epistemological beliefs*, arguing that students' belief in simple and certain knowledge may lead to premature conclusions without considering alternative views and, consequently, limit the possibility of conceptual change, whereas more 'constructivist' epistemological beliefs are likely to facilitate conceptual change;
- *Personal and affective characteristics situated in the learning context*, postulating that higher levels of personal importance, value, interest, self-efficacy and perceived control are likely to promote conceptual change. However, the self-efficacy construct is not unproblematic, because if translated into confidence in one's current knowledge, it can in fact be detrimental to change (for a review of empirical evidence for some of these propositions, see Sinatra, 2005).

Sinatra and Pintrich's (2003b) edited volume, which specifically focused on intentional conceptual change, gave an explicit 'hot' direction to research in this domain by operationalising intentional conceptual change as 'the goal-directed and conscious initiation and regulation of cognitive, metacognitive, and motivational processes to bring about a change in knowledge' (Sinatra and Pintrich, 2003a, p. 6), and in this way, conceptual change was explicitly associated with 'motivated metacognitive effort' (Hynd, 2003, p. 291) and characterised in terms of three core elements: a goal of conceptual understanding, metacognitive awareness and self-regulation (Linnenbrink and Pintrich, 2003).

An attempt to integrate the 'hot' constructs into a unified model of conceptual change was made by Dole and Sinatra (1998, as summarised in Sinatra, 2005) who proposed a *Cognitive Reconstruction of Knowledge Model* (CRKM), influenced by views from social psychology, cognitive psychology and science education, particularly the Elaboration Likelihood Model, which is one of the dual-process models of attitude change described earlier in this chapter, Posner et al.'s (1982) model of conceptual change and motivational research. The model assumes a dynamic interaction between *learner characteristics* (i.e. their background knowledge and motivational factors, such as personal relevance, need for cognition and social context) and *message characteristics* (comprehensible, coherent, plausible, rhetorically compelling). The nature of this interaction determines the *level of learners' cognitive engagement* with the message, which can range from low (superficial, surface-level processing) to high (deep processing), and the depth of this engagement, in

turn, determines the likelihood of conceptual change. However, even with these important developments, CRKM does not seem to account for the emotional and situational aspects of conceptual change, and alternative models developed in teacher change research in response to these criticisms will be described in the next section.

3.2.3 Teachers' conceptual change

As Patrick and Pintrich (2001) acknowledge, teacher cognition research and the assumption within this strand of research that teacher change may involve theory revision is an 'important bridge to the cognitive literature on conceptual change' (p. 130). However, they go on to argue that like students, teachers, too, are motivated in various ways to learn and change their prior theories, yet motivational factors have received far less attention in conceptual or empirical studies on teacher change (for exceptions, see e.g. Abrami et al., 2004; Gregoire, 2003; Patrick and Pintrich, 2001; Pugh and Bergin, 2006).

One of the models which account in a comprehensive manner for cognitive, motivational and affective factors involved in teacher conceptual change is that of Gregoire (2003), who maintains that her proposed *Cognitive–Affective Model of Conceptual Change* (CAMCC) is a truly 'hot' model of teacher conceptual change in that it addresses the major limitation of previous conceptual change research, mainly its predominantly cognitive approach. As Gregoire (2003) notes, despite the recent attempts to integrate motivational and affective factors into conceptual change models, these attempts have not been systematic and have not resulted in a comprehensive theoretical description of how cognitive, affective and motivational factors interact in influencing conceptual change. Because the same concerns have been articulated with regard to language teacher change, this model can be useful in shedding light on the processes and mechanisms previously unacknowledged in our domain of inquiry.

Let us now look more closely at this model of conceptual change. As Figure 3.1 illustrates, CAMCC incorporates some key aspects from the previously reviewed theories and introduces some new ones. Drawing on the dual-process models of attitude change, the model assumes two routes of belief change resulting in either assimilation or accommodation and identifies *systematic processing as the mediator of conceptual change*. In contrast with other conceptual change models, CAMCC assumes an *automatic appraisal of the message*, which ties in with automatic activation of attitudes theory also discussed earlier. Gregoire (2003) argues that when teachers are presented with a reform message (i.e. any new teacher education input), they will automatically evaluate it based on their prior

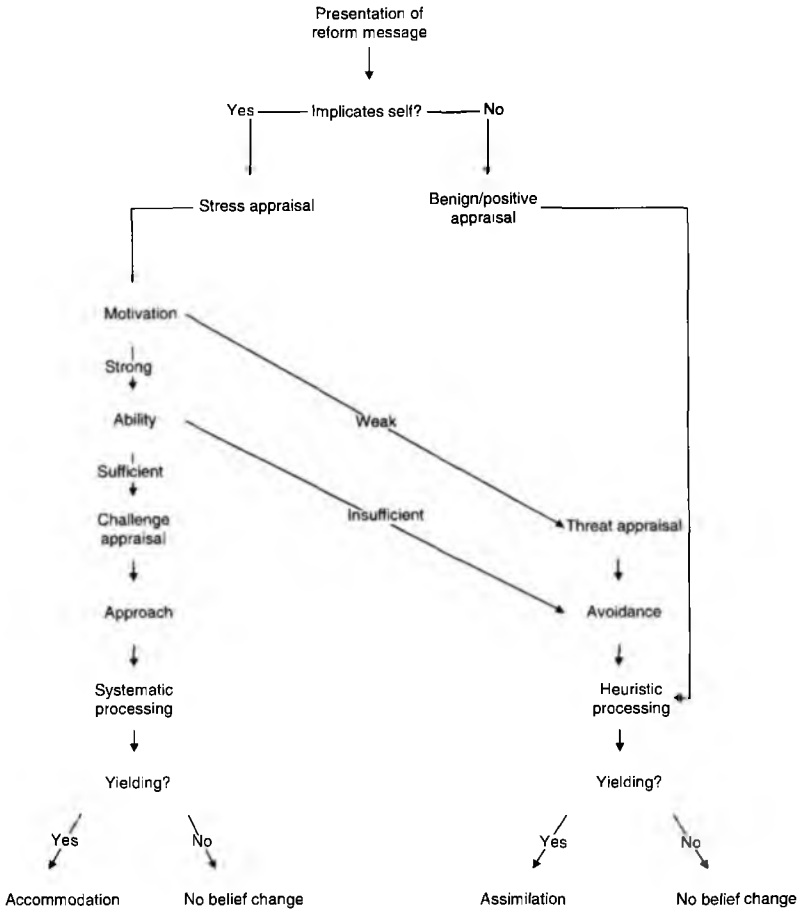


Figure 3.1 Cognitive–Affective Model of Conceptual Change (CAMCC), adapted from Gregoire (2003, p. 165)

attitudes towards it as well as on their relevant prior knowledge, beliefs and experience. In other words, teachers' appraisal of the reform input happens even before the message characteristics (such as intelligibility, plausibility, fruitfulness), highlighted by other models of conceptual change, are considered. Using our earlier example of the teacher who is strongly against using textbooks in the classroom, it is exactly here that his prior cognitions with regard to the content of the teacher development course (i.e. How to Make the Most of Your Textbook) will serve as a filter through which he makes a decision as to whether or not his *self*

is *implicated* by the reform message, and the developmental route (heuristic, if he concludes that the course content simply does not concern him) will be determined accordingly.

In contrast with the earlier models, CAMCC also accounts for the role of *emotions* in the appraisal process and postulates that different types of emotion will lead to different outcomes. Self-implication is accompanied by *stress appraisal*, which represents discomfort or dissatisfaction with the present state, which then prompts the teacher to assess her *motivation* and *ability* to implement the reform message in the classroom. If the teacher's self-efficacy beliefs are high (i.e. she believes she has the ability to implement the reform) and her abilities (skills, subject-matter knowledge, time, resources or support from colleagues) are sufficient, she is likely to interpret the message as a *challenge*. In other words, even if the teacher development course may have initially triggered feelings of dissatisfaction and perhaps worry that she is not doing what the course advocates, she will now be able to embrace this as a challenge to understand the principles for using textbooks in the classroom more fully (*approach goal*). In keeping with the attitude change theory, Gregoire proposes that only this systematic route can lead to teacher conceptual change (though, of course, the teacher may also decide not to change her belief system as a result of the systematic processing).

Another teacher, however, may not see herself implicated by the reform message and will therefore not experience stress, discomfort or dissatisfaction. This may be either because she believes that she is already using textbooks in her classroom effectively (*positive appraisal*) or because, just like in the earlier example, her attitude towards textbooks in general is negative and she, therefore, dismisses the reform input as irrelevant (*benign appraisal*). The teachers in the 'no-self-implication' situation are unlikely to have the motivation to engage with the reform message systematically and will instead rely on their heuristics (i.e. their prior knowledge or their momentary emotional response) to process the message. However, even if they are positive about the teacher development course and endorse its content, the outcome of their participation in it is unlikely to be more than superficial belief change (i.e. assimilation), whereas no belief change occurs for those who remain unconvinced.

A similar result may occur even if the teacher initially perceived the message as implicating self, but then her self-efficacy and/or ability were appraised as insufficient to implement it in the classroom. For example, the teacher may conclude that time constraints or students' expectations simply do not allow her to experiment with more effective uses of textbooks. Rather than as a challenge, therefore, the teacher interprets

the message as a *threat* and does not intend to invest any further energy in reflecting on more effective ways of using textbooks (*avoidance goals*). Instead of systematically processing the message, then, she again relies on her heuristics (including her prior experience and knowledge). As has been argued earlier, this route of processing can only lead to superficial or no belief change.

3.2.4 Contribution to language teacher cognition research

Conceptual change models, especially the more recent developments, have a lot to offer language teacher cognition research. While we have come to acknowledge that language teachers' cognitive development involves change in their belief systems, we have not yet conceptualised in a comprehensive manner the key dimensions that play a role in language teachers' conceptual change, let alone described the mechanisms by which language teacher conceptual change occurs. As the previous review shows, conceptual change models explain some of these mechanisms, and the recent models that integrate findings of other theories and specify the role of cognitive, motivational, affective, identity-related and contextual factors have a great potential to inform the future theory-building efforts that I called for earlier.

Although Gregoire's (2003) model of conceptual change is currently the most comprehensive and many of its processes seem to resonate with our experience of how teachers change, it has been derived from available theories rather than empirical evidence. As will be illustrated in Chapters 6–9, my data lend support to the various routes of conceptual change outlined in this model, which is why the integrated model of Language Teacher Conceptual Change (LTCC) I am proposing in this book bears a strong resemblance to CAMCC. However, the findings of the present project also point towards a significant role of a more general construct of teachers' self-concept, encompassing teachers' cognitive representations of their present and future states, which has not been accounted for in detail in any of the theoretical frameworks reviewed above. Hence, in the following section I turn to possible selves theory, which has recently been adopted in the conceptualisation of the L2 motivational self-system (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009b) and which seems to resonate with the findings of the present study particularly strongly.

3.3 Possible selves theory

Imagination is one of the greatest gifts that human beings possess. Not only does it enable us to transcend boundaries of reality, but what we

imagine for our future can actually have very real consequences for what we experience in the present time. This is a key premise of possible selves theory which points towards the enormous motivational potential of our future images of success or failure, something which is well documented in domains such as sport psychology, health therapy or, more recently, second language learning. In this section, we will look more closely at the nature of possible selves and their role in motivating behaviour.

3.3.1 Possible selves as a motivating force

Possible selves as a potentially powerful bridge between one's mental representations and actual behaviour were first introduced in personality psychology by Markus and Nurius (1986). The construct, defined as the individual's 'conceptions of the self in future states' (Leondari et al., 1998, p. 219), 'identity goals' (Pizzolato, 2006) or 'hypothetical images' (Oyserman et al., 2002, p. 314), refers to individuals' personalised and socially constructed images (Eccles, 2009; Norman and Aron, 2003) of who they could potentially become in the future. These dynamic imagined selves can be either positive, such as aspirations, hopes and desires, or negative, representing future identity-related fears. Both have been found instrumental to motivating behaviour in that people tend to direct their motivational resources towards either attaining their positive possible selves or avoiding the negative ones (Boyatzis and Akrivou, 2006; Higgins, 1996).

Although most empirical research to date has focused on the impact of possible selves on students' engagement and achievement (cf. Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009), some recent work has begun to acknowledge the powerful role they play in teaching and teacher development, influencing what teachers do in the classroom, how they navigate classroom discourse, which practices they adopt and which, on the contrary, they reject and what professional development choices they make (Hamman et al., 2010; Hiver, 2010; Horn et al., 2008; Kubanyiova, 2009c; Ronfeldt and Grossman, 2008), all of which can have significant consequences for the quality of learning experiences teachers create for their students.

One of the specific possible self-theories that explains the mechanisms which motivate self-regulatory activity is Higgins's (1987) self-discrepancy theory, which introduces three distinct constructs: *actual self*, *ideal self* and *ought self*, and it is this theory that has also been embraced by the new L2 motivation framework introduced in the SLA domain (Dörnyei, 2009b). The *actual self* refers to our current self-concept, or in other words, our representation of the attributes which we believe we currently possess, whereas the other two represent future possible selves

that we would either ideally like to become (*ideal self*) or that we believe is our duty or responsibility to attain (*ought self*). The principal tenet of self-discrepancy theory is that the perceived discrepancy between our actual and ideal or ought self is associated with negative emotions which are distinctive of each type of discrepancy (Higgins, 1987, 1999), and which, in turn, initiate distinctive self-regulatory strategies with the aim of reducing the discrepancy (Higgins, 1996, 1998). According to the theory, the actual vs ideal self-discrepancy is thought to be guided by a promotion focus, that is, the effort to attain the positive attributes of the ideal self, whereas the actual vs ought self-discrepancy is likely to prompt strategies aimed at avoiding the negative consequences if ought self is not attained. Thus, the self-regulatory activity in the latter case has a prevention focus (Higgins, 1998).

Of course, not all types of selves are necessarily available to all of us and self-discrepancy theory posits that we are motivated by those images that are personally relevant to us (Cameron, 1999; Higgins, 1987). This explains, for example, why some learners tend to be driven by their desire to master the subject while others are primarily motivated by their vision of negative consequences if they fail to achieve acceptable results. At the same time, a mere image of ourselves in the future state may not have any consequences for what we do. For instance, it would surely be exciting to be an aeroplane pilot and I can quite vividly imagine myself in the cockpit. So why does this image do little to make me reconsider my career path?

3.3.2 Conditions for the self-regulatory capacity of possible selves

Although the discrepancy between one's actual self and the personally relevant possible self (ideal or ought to) functions as the motivating force, we know from research that this is not always the case and that the mere existence of possible selves does not necessarily lead to motivated behaviour (Markus and Nurius, 1986; Oyserman et al., 2006). A study conducted in an educational setting by Yowell (2002), for example, found that possible selves did not predict academic outcomes, and while most of the participating learners had articulated adaptive images of academic selves in future states, there were considerable differences in their academic results. As Oyserman et al. (2004) maintain, the reason for such differences is that not all learners expended effort to reduce the discrepancy or demonstrated persistence in this effort. That is, the self-regulatory mechanisms necessary for reducing the actual vs possible

self-discrepancy (Higgins, 1996) were not triggered. Therefore, although one of the functions of possible selves is self-enhancing, such as boosting our self-esteem and generally improving our well-being, this is not sufficient for actually attaining the imagined goals. Instead, self-regulatory action, which is the function of possible selves of primary educational interest, needs to be triggered (Oyserman et al., 2004). A consensus is emerging in the literature that possible selves that are likely to impel self-regulatory action must not only be *available* and *accessible* to us, but they also need to have some of the following characteristics:

- *Central.* We have a host of possible selves relating to all kinds of roles we adopt in our professional and personal interactions with others. In order for specific possible selves to exert influence on our self-regulation, they need to be dominant in our working self-concept (Leondari et al., 1998). This is particularly obvious in educational settings in which students adopt a number of competing academic and social possible selves. They do not come to the classroom to simply master the subject (if at all!), but also seek social membership in their peer group. Often, the images salient in achieving the former may be at odds with the latter, especially if the group has adopted the norm of mediocrity (cf. Dörnyei and Murphey, 2003). The learners are more likely to focus their efforts on attaining their adaptive academic selves to the extent to which these are more important, that is, more central in their working self-concept, than the maladaptive social ones (e.g. the fear of losing face in front of others). If being an accepted member of the peer group (which, incidentally, does not value academic excellence) becomes a priority, the students are likely to pursue those images and invest less or no effort in doing well academically because this would have dire consequences for their peer group membership.
- *Elaborated and specific.* Individuals who have a very specific, elaborated picture of their possible self are more likely to invest effort in attaining it than those who only have a vague image of who they want to become (Leondari et al., 1998; Markus and Nurius, 1986);
- *Plausible.* Not only is the elaborated image of possible identity important, but the specific procedural strategies of how to achieve the expected selves and action plans for dealing with the social context in which the possible selves are to be attained must also be identified (Higgins, 1996; Markus and Nurius, 1986; Oyserman et al., 2004, 2006; Pizzolato, 2006). In other words, an individual who has a well-elaborated image of herself as a fluent second language user, but has

failed to visualise specific strategies that will help her to attain the image, is unlikely to do enough to achieve her goal.

- *Conceptually grasped.* In order for a possible self to activate appropriate self-regulatory strategies, we must understand the meaning and the implications of our commitment to particular future aspirations on the conceptual level (Pizzolato, 2006). Using the previous example of a second language learner, it may be very hard for this person to invest the right amount or type of effort if she only has naïve understandings and expectations of what learning and using a second language successfully actually entails.
- *Modelled in the social context.* The self-regulatory effectiveness is more probable if individuals' possible selves and the specific strategies of attaining them are modelled in the specific social context (Oyserman et al., 2006, in press; Oyserman and Destin, 2010). Conversely, the social context can serve as a constraining factor on the construction of adaptive possible selves and activating their self-regulatory function (Markus and Nurius, 1986) if it lacks accessible models of such possible selves, or if the possible selves valued in the relevant sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts directly contradict the ones adopted by the individual.
- *Subjectively proximal.* Even if our possible selves are central to our self-concept, we may not necessarily engage in goal-directed behaviour if their attainment seems too far away (Peetz et al., 2009). For example, a first-year university student may already have a very specific image of who he wants to become, but will only engage in specific strategies for attaining the goal in later stages of his studies when the career goal becomes more imminent. Deadlines are also a classic example of why some of us tend to work more intensively and perhaps even more effectively with the perceived pressure of a closing date.
- *Balanced.* When the specific positive self (i.e. the aspiration to become someone) is matched by equally elaborated corresponding negative self (i.e. the fear of becoming someone if the expected aspiration does not come to fruition), the effect on self-regulation is likely to be more powerful (Oyserman et al., 2006). It seems therefore that besides the ideal self we want to achieve, the image of negative consequences of not achieving it needs to be equally available, elaborated, conceptually grasped and immediately accessible to us.

As we can see, possible selves that actually move us to do what we need to do to achieve them are far from just fantasies and dreams about our future that we from time to time entertain in our minds. In order for

possible selves to be effective, they need to be important to us and we also need to have a realistic understanding of what is involved in attaining them and an elaborate and specific vision of how we go about achieving them. It also helps if we can draw on models in our immediate or broader social context and if we feel that the future goals are close rather than far away. However, this may still not be enough if there are no serious implications for how we perceive ourselves or what others think of us if we do not attain these goals, or, in other words, if our matching feared selves are not equally central, elaborate and plausible. In my case, then, becoming an aeroplane pilot clearly belongs to the category of fantasies, but has hardly any features of possible selves that would force me to take action. At least not yet.

3.3.3 The compatibility of possible selves theory with other learning and change theories

Possible selves theory has been supported not only by the growing empirical evidence in the domain, but its viability is enhanced when we draw parallels between this and the other theories discussed earlier. In this section, then, I summarise several key constructs which are deemed crucial for change to occur across the various theoretical frameworks. I also suggest links between these constructs and the findings in language teacher cognition research.

Cognitive engagement

Conceptual change theory posits that conceptual change which is intentional and goal-directed is unlikely to occur without a deep-level cognitive engagement, which includes the systematic processing of the input message and the adoption of self-regulatory strategies to impel action. As has been illustrated above, self-regulatory action has been identified as a necessary condition for possible selves to exert influence on behaviour. Reflection, which represents an in-depth self-regulated cognitive engagement, is also considered critical for teacher learning (Cabaroglu and Roberts, 2000; Farrell, 2007; K. E. Johnson, 1999).

Availability of possible selves (i.e. images of future selves)

The forethought capability, which is rooted in humans' symbolising capability (i.e. having a vision of future states), is deemed one of the most crucial factors in guiding behaviour in social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986), and future goals as important regulators of action are elaborated on in goal-setting theory (Locke and Latham, 1990). Without the impulse triggered by the discrepancy between one's actual and

possible selves, individuals would not possess sufficient motivation to engage in such self-regulated action. It appears, therefore, that without the existence of possible selves, the impetus for change and development would be missing (Markus and Nurius, 1986) and this assumption has also been implied in Gregoire's (2003) 'Cognitive Affective Model of Conceptual Change' described earlier, which incorporates, although does not sufficiently explain, the 'self-implication' aspect.

In the teacher cognition literature, K. E. Johnson (1994) and Golombek (2009) have included the construct of *images of teaching* in their discussion, and Borko and Putnam (1996) acknowledge *conceptions of self* in their review of the role of teacher beliefs and knowledge in learning to teach as 'important alternative conceptions for thinking about the knowledge and beliefs of teachers' (Borko and Putnam, 1996, p. 679). Goodman (1988) talks about 'guiding images' as visual representations of pre-service teachers' philosophies of teaching derived from their images of past experiences as children, pupils, student teachers and their future expectations, and Stuart and Thurlow (2000) conclude that pre-service teachers need to have a 'personalized vision of what their classroom could be' (p. 117). *Vision* has been quoted as one of the 'enhancers' of secondary physical educators' change processes (Bechtel and O'Sullivan, 2007) and it has recently been conceptualised as a necessary feature of an accomplished teacher (Shulman and Shulman, 2004). Past and *future* components of teachers' identity have been discussed in Smith (2007) and Woolfolk Hoy et al. (2006).

Centrality

Possible selves influence self-regulation to the extent to which they are dominant in one's working concept and thus immediately accessible. This ties in with Fazio's model of the impact of attitudes on behaviour, which suggests that the individual's behaviour towards an object can be predicted by his/her attitude towards it and the more accessible the attitude, the more attention will be paid to the stimuli related to it. Similarly, the more accessible the possible self, the stronger the impact it will have on the individual's self-regulated action. In teacher cognition, a construct of teachers' priorities has been investigated by Rimm-Kaufman et al. (2006), and although the study seems to add yet another term to the already diverse terminological arsenal of teacher cognition research (cf. S. Borg, 2006), it suggests a characteristic of teachers' cognitions that, according to possible selves theory, needs to be examined more closely if we hope to appreciate the relationship between cognition and action more fully and thus understand teacher change.

Specificity and plausibility

Possible selves theory suggests that only the elaborated selves which are linked to detailed strategies for attaining them are likely to sustain one's self-regulatory effort for development. This is in keeping with goal-setting theory (Locke and Latham, 1990) which postulates that specific and elaborated goals are positively associated with the performance level and function as better regulators for action than vague, general and non-quantitative ones. There is also evidence in the language teacher cognition domain of the role that the specificity of possible selves plays in teacher change. All four teachers who participated in K. E. Johnson's (1994) study held images of whom they would like to be, which were based on their previous (often negative) experiences. However, because the participating teachers did not possess specific strategies of how to activate the projected images in their actual teaching practice, they often resorted to the models of teaching gained from their apprenticeship of observation. In another study by K. E. Johnson (1996b), the teacher's tension between vision and reality was possible to overcome when the teacher developed specific strategies of 'operationalising' her visions while dealing with the contextual constraints.

Dissonance appraisal

Possible selves and conceptual change theories both consider dissonance appraisal to be a crucial factor for triggering self-regulation. Self-discrepancy theory posits that the discrepancy between the actual and personally relevant self is associated with negative emotions and these, in turn, lead to self-regulation (Higgins, 1987), whereas conceptual change theory assumes dissonance as one of the basic conditions for conceptual change to occur (Posner et al., 1982). This dissonance has been associated with negative affective appraisal (Gregoire, 2003), which fits in neatly with self-discrepancy theory. Dual-process models of attitude change also postulate that it is the discrepancy between one's actual level of confidence in a judgement with regard to a particular persuasive message and one's desired level of confidence that initiates systematic processing (Visser and Cooper, 2003). Empirical evidence in a number of studies in the language teacher cognition domain has attested to the role emotional or cognitive tensions play in teacher change (Farrell, 2006; Freeman, 1993; Golombek, 1998; Golombek and Johnson, 2004; K. E. Johnson, 1996b).

The role of context

In the possible selves domain, the social context has been marked as one of the important determiners of possible selves in that it can either

facilitate the construction of possible selves (by contextual 'cuing' as well as direct intervention in educational settings), or, in contrast, constrain it if adequate models of possible selves and strategies for attaining them are not available in it. Similarly, the role of context began to be acknowledged with the start of the 'warming' trend in conceptual change research (Gregoire, 2003; Pintrich, 1999; Pintrich et al., 1993), and the power of contextual constraints is clearly acknowledged in the triadic reciprocality tenet in social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986). As mentioned in the language teacher cognition section of this chapter, the social context has been identified as a powerful influence on the teacher change process. More specifically, Farrell's (2003, 2006) studies of teacher socialisation showed that the context impacted significantly on the development of teacher identity and motivation to pursue a teaching career and K. E. Johnson's (1996b)'s empirical findings demonstrate the impact of classroom experiences on the specification of the teacher's vision.

Language teachers' actual versus idealised cognitions

The existence of some kind of idealised teachers' cognitions and thus the relevance of the adoption of possible selves construct in language teacher cognition research has also been mentioned by S. Borg (2006). He draws attention to the ambiguous nature of different data collection methods, suggesting that certain methods (such as self-reports) may elicit data about teachers' 'ideal instructional practices', that is, how teachers want things to be, as opposed to what constitutes 'instructional realities' (p. 280). While Borg's explicit acknowledgement of the existence of these distinct cognitions has been primarily motivated by methodological considerations, this review has demonstrated that such a distinction also has important conceptual implications.

3.4 Summary

The brief cross-theory comparison reveals a considerable amount of convergence between research on the role of possible selves in facilitating development and the tenets of other theories, including conceptual change models and attitude change theories. Although language teacher cognition research has not traditionally been grounded in any of these theoretical frameworks, the previous review has revealed that the findings of this domain have a clear resonance in the conceptual frameworks reviewed above. However, choosing a single theory for accounting for the language teacher development process would seem to downplay

its complexity as each theory focuses on isolated aspects of the change process. It seems sensible, therefore, to look at ways of integrating the various constructs into a more encompassing framework. The aim of the following chapter is therefore to propose a comprehensive model that intends to integrate the previously examined variables into a more holistic framework that can shed light on some of the multiple and dynamic processes of language teachers' conceptual change.

4

Pulling it Together: an Integrated Model of Language Teacher Conceptual Change

The brief theoretical excursion into the research literature on learning and change has revealed two important things: first, there have been very scarce efforts in the teacher cognition domain to build empirically supported theoretical frameworks of processes involved in teacher change. At the same time, a review of just a small segment of the psychological literature has shown a richness of such activity, revealing a striking overlap with some of the findings generated thus far in the teacher cognition domain. The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to paraphrase Albert Einstein (1938), not to pull down an old barn and erect a skyscraper in its place, but rather to pull together the various theoretical threads in an integrated theoretical model which can create new spaces and possibilities for exploring language teacher change.

An important reminder should be made at this point. As mentioned earlier, the purpose of this research study was theory building rather than theory validating, and the integrated model of *Language Teacher Conceptual Change* (LTCC) about to be introduced comes from and is fully grounded in the empirical data of this study. A fuller discussion of these findings is presented in Chapters 6–9. Those readers who prefer to get their 'hands dirty' and immerse themselves in the data first may find it more satisfying to go straight to Chapter 5 at this point. In contrast, those who appreciate a big picture first before examining the data that generated it will be better off starting with this chapter.

4.1 Introduction to LTCC

The integrated model of Language Teacher Conceptual Change (LTCC; see Figure 4.1) is compatible with at least five domains investigating learning and change: (1) language teacher cognition, (2) the social cognitive

perspective of learning, (3) dual-process theories of attitude change, (4) conceptual change models and (5) possible selves theory. As I have noted in Section 3.2, Gregoire's (2003) Cognitive-Affective Model of Conceptual Change (CAMCC; see Figure 3.1) is the most comprehensive model of teacher change thus far and a substantial proportion of LTCC indeed draws on its constructs. However, LTCC complements CAMCC in several important ways:

- *The reform message*, that is, the actual content of the reform initiative, is postulated by CAMCC as central to the model. The LTCC model is in agreement with this and posits, in line with attitude change theory, that teachers must systematically scrutinise the *content* of an educational reform in order for conceptual change to take place. However, by rewording this segment as *teacher education input*, LTCC embraces the content of a variety of teacher education and teacher development programmes (which includes but is not restricted to educational reforms), as well as a host of other teacher education input variables, including the input *source* (i.e. *teacher educator* and his/her attractiveness, credibility and expertise), *tasks* and *peers*. As we could see in our earlier review, all these teacher education input variables interact with teachers' prior cognitions and, depending on the result of this interaction, can either facilitate or distract from the teachers' systematic engagement with the teacher education *message*.
- CAMCC's main proposition concerns the automatic processing of the reform message through the teachers' attitudes towards it or their prior experience of reform initiatives. Yet, while implied in CAMCC, these teacher cognitions are not included graphically in the model and their exact nature and origin are not specified. The LTCC model remedies this by incorporating the *Language Teachers' Cognitions* segment into the model, which, drawing on the findings in the language teacher cognition domain, specifies the type, content and origins of teachers' cognitions that might interact with the reform input appraisal.
- The *self-implication* mechanism is a vital and particularly valuable aspect of CAMCC. However, we need a better understanding of *what* this involves, *when* such appraisal becomes salient and *why* it arouses dissonance emotion. The contribution of the LTCC model is in the conceptual explanation of this mechanism by introducing a specific type of teacher cognition, the *Possible Language Teacher Self*. Drawing on possible selves theory, the construct identifies conditions under which teachers perceive their self as implicated by the teacher education content.

- Even though CAMCC allows for different developmental routes to be pursued simultaneously, its graphical representation, nevertheless, implies a linear process and a 'once-and-for-all' change outcome. The LTCC model, in contrast, assumes a *dynamic and cyclical nature of the conceptual change process* and makes it clear that what may initially appear to be accommodation or assimilation, may after the teacher's reappraisal of their internal and external resources turn out to be less or more than that. Similarly, LTCC also assumes that conceptual change has important implications for the teachers' sense of self and this important cycle is included in the model.
- The *motivation* and *ability* components of the CAMCC are combined in the LTCC model into one decision segment labelled *Reality Check Appraisal: Internal/External Resources?* which encompasses personal as well as collective efficacy beliefs, cognitive ability to process the message, subject-matter knowledge, language proficiency and educational context, including supportive colleagues, students' expectations, resources and time. Thus, the characteristics of the message identified in conceptual change research (i.e. intelligibility, plausibility, fruitfulness) and some of the characteristics needed for self-regulatory power of possible selves (conceptual grasping, specificity, plausibility, modelling in the social context) come to prominence within this Reality Check Appraisal.
- While being comprehensive and robust, CAMCC has not been *validated by empirical data*. The particular strength of the LTCC integrated model is in its empirical backing, and the exploratory theory-building nature of the current data analysis provides even stronger support for this and also for Gregoire's (2003) model.

4.2 The key features of LTCC

4.2.1 Defining teacher education impact: intentional conceptual change

One of the key features of LTCC is an explicit concern with a definition of a desired teacher education impact. In this model, impact is defined as *intentional conceptual change*, referred to in the literature as people's 'goal-directed and conscious initiation and regulation of cognitive, metacognitive, and motivational processes to bring about a change in knowledge' (Sinatra and Pintrich, 2003a, p. 6). Without wanting to enter into potentially long-winded debates, let me just say that even though numerous attempts have been made to clarify the distinction between knowledge, attitudes and beliefs conceptually, it is not always easy or

even desirable to separate them out empirically (S. Borg, 2006; Murphy and Mason, 2006; Woods, 1996). Moreover, as Murphy and Mason (2006) maintain, 'meaningful learning is most likely to occur when an individual knows and believes in the object of his or her interest' (p. 307). Rather than *knowledge*, then, I am using a more inclusive term *cognitions* and define teachers' conceptual change as *teachers' goal-directed and conscious mobilisation and regulation of cognitive, metacognitive, affective and motivational resources to bring about change in their cognitions*. How conceptual change was operationalised in the specific study described in the empirical part of this book will be discussed in Section 5.5.

There are two important points that need to be made about defining impact in this way. First, intentional conceptual change does not imply nor does it determine particular behaviours for teachers to replicate as is typically done in the rational–empirical tradition of teacher change research discussed in the earlier overview. Rather, it refers to the depth of the teachers' cognitive engagement with the teacher education input which has a transformational impact on practice. LTCC subscribes to the view that how exactly teachers transform their practices as a result of their conceptual change can and should be carefully examined, but cannot be a priori defined.

Another point is an acknowledgement that intentional conceptual change is admittedly not the only worthwhile conceptualisation of development. In fact, much of learning is intuitive, tacit and incidental rather than conscious and intentional (cf. Alexander et al., 2009) and defining impact as intentional conceptual change does not intend to devalue these other kinds of learning. However, there is a consensus across studies concerning teacher change that teachers' conscious and goal-directed mobilisation of their inner resources for deep engagement with the teacher education content is the single most important condition for bringing about meaningful and lasting change in the teachers' mindsets and practices. It is for this reason that intentional conceptual change is at the centre of this model of teacher change.

4.2.2 Deep-level cognitive engagement as a mediator of intentional conceptual change

In order for intentional conceptual change to occur, it is necessary for teachers to engage with the new concepts at a deeper level. Conceptually, this type of engagement is aligned with the stronger version of reflective practice (Farrell, 2007) whereby teachers systematically gather and analyse data about their practice. This involves identifying a problem at a *descriptive* level, *comparing* alternative ways of approaching it and making

a judgement about a solution on the basis of a *critical* assessment of wider implications of alternative proposals (Jay and Johnson, 2002).

LTCC assumes this type of reflective engagement in relation to the teacher education content as a prerequisite for (though not necessarily a guarantee of) conceptual change. This also involves teachers' self-regulation which enables them to evaluate their own learning and adjust their cognitive and affective resources as necessary. Teachers who are not engaged in such intentional goal-directed systematic processing of the teacher education content, tend to rely on heuristics, such as prior cognitions, experience, subjective norms or emotional reactions to the message. In sum, the model contrasts data-driven (systematic) with theory-driven (heuristic) engagement, the former leading to conceptual change whereas the latter typically results in superficial belief change.

4.2.3 Affective and motivational factors as an inherent part of language teachers' cognitive development

As is clear from the above definition of teacher change, LTCC portrays language teachers' cognitive development as primarily a motivated process. In contrast with much research in the language teacher cognition domain, LTCC accommodates motivational factors, such as identity goals and self-efficacy beliefs, and engages in a theoretical examination of the role that emotional appraisals, both positive and negative, play in this process.

4.2.4 Possible Language Teacher Selves: a central cognition in teachers' intentional conceptual change

While the primary purpose of language teacher cognition research has been the inquiry into what teachers think, know and believe, teachers' goals and fears for the future remain largely unexplored. Yet, as has been suggested earlier, not all cognitions that have an impact on peoples' behaviour are rooted in social reality (Markus and Nurius, 1986). Some, on the contrary, constitute an important imagined future dimension that functions as an incentive for development and change.

The proposed model conceptualises this future dimension of language teachers' cognition as Possible Language Teacher Self, which, in accordance with possible selves theory, embraces language teachers' cognitive representations of their ideal, ought-to and feared selves in relation to their work as language teachers. In keeping with the recent L2 motivation conceptualisation referred to previously (cf. Dörnyei, 2009b), Possible Language Teacher Self is operationalised as (1) *Ideal Language Teacher Self*, which constitutes future images of identity goals and aspirations of the

language teacher; it is assumed that, whatever the content of this ideal self, the teacher will be motivated to invest effort in her quest to reduce the discrepancy between her actual and ideal teaching selves; and (2) *Ought-to Language Teacher Self*, which refers to the language teacher's representation of her responsibilities and obligations with regard to her work. As opposed to the previous type of self, the teacher's activity geared towards reducing the actual versus ought-to self-discrepancy is motivated by extrinsic incentives, and the primary source of this motivation is the teacher's vision of negative consequences, in other words, the teacher's *Feared Language Teacher Self* which could materialise if the perceived obligations and responsibilities are not lived up to. The distinction between the ideal and ought-to selves may not be immediately obvious to empirical researchers particularly if a single method of data elicitation is relied on, but can be inferred from a combination of data sources examining how teachers talk about their work in different contexts, the degree of specificity with which teachers describe their various goals and motivation, and how these seem to be reflected in their classroom discourse and instructional practice (for an empirically supported discussion of this issue, see Chapter 6).

LTCC posits that possible selves are cognitions that are central to language teacher change and that the level of language teachers' systematic engagement with the reform message will depend on the extent to which its content taps into their imagined future identity, ideal, ought-to or feared. The construct of Possible Language Teacher Self can offer an explanation for why some teachers change whereas others remain untouched by the reform initiatives despite their similar backgrounds, past schooling and training experiences, as well as their current knowledge about and attitudes towards the various aspects of their work. Although research on language teachers' cognitive development has concluded that language teachers respond to reform initiatives in variable and individual ways (S. Borg, 2006), it has not shed light on the factors that are responsible for these differences. The distinction between language teachers' current and future-oriented cognitions (i.e. possible selves) contributes to this understanding.

Now that the salient features of the LTCC integrated model have been introduced, let us turn to an explanation of its actual mechanisms.

4.3 The process of language teacher conceptual change

As we can see from the flow chart in Figure 4.1, the integrated model of Language Teacher Conceptual Change (LTCC) outlines a number of

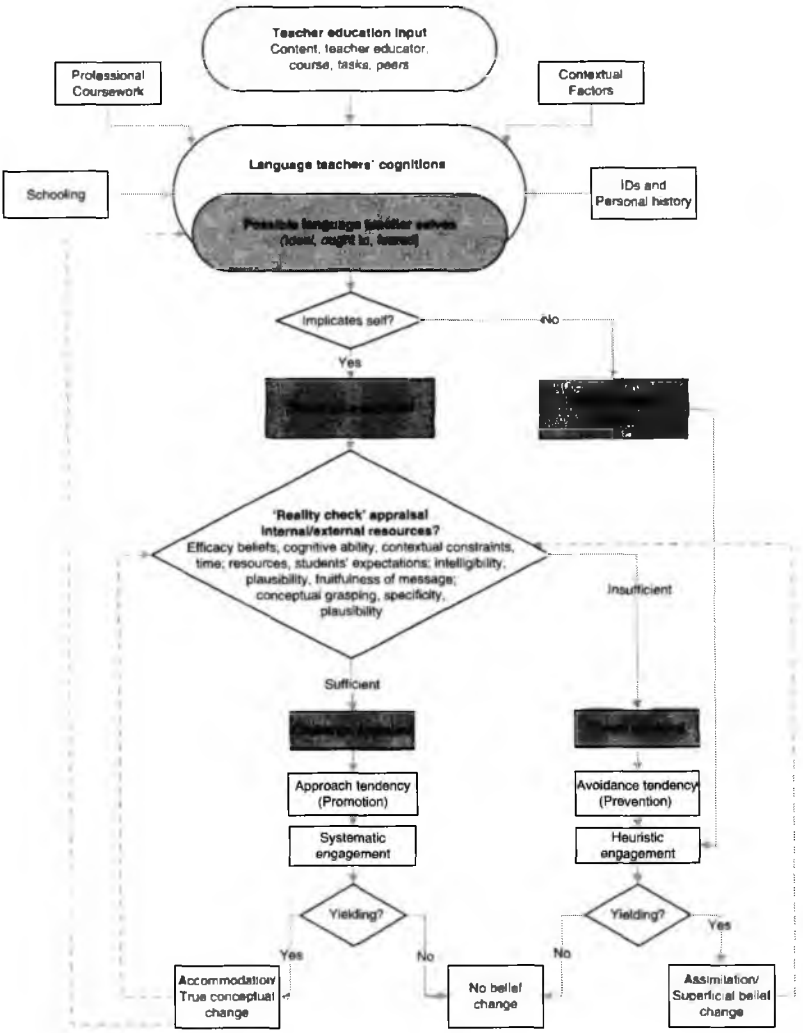


Figure 4.1 An integrated model of Language Teacher Conceptual Change (LTCC)

developmental trajectories that teachers pursue when they are presented with a teacher education input. This is not to say that specific teachers are bound to experience change in a particular way. Indeed, the same teacher can respond to a specific input by 'travelling' through multiple routes at different points in time and arriving at different destinations

as a result. LTCC's strength lies in the fact that it explains some of the 'prototypical' reactions that teachers have when they are introduced to new ideas or reform initiatives, while also acknowledging the dynamic and situated nature of these reactions. Let us now examine these routes in more detail.

LTCC begins with *the teacher education input* which is at the centre of the change process and embraces all aspects of the input microcontext, including the actual content (message), but also other variables, such as the teacher educator, the tasks, the peers and the course. An interaction between the teacher education input and the possible self-dimension of language teacher cognition will determine whether these variables function as *persuasive cues* (i.e. directing the teacher towards the systematic processing route) or *heuristic cues* (i.e. leading to heuristic processing).

When language teachers are presented with the teacher education input, it is assumed that rather than systematically analysing its aspects, they evaluate it quite quickly through the filter of their existing cognitions. These constitute a sum of what the teachers know, believe, hope, feel and think about any aspect of their work and are a result of a host of influences, including the teachers' own schooling experience, their professional coursework, contextual factors, individual differences and personal history. LTCC proposes that central to these cognitions are the teachers' cognitive representations of their Possible Language Teacher Selves, encompassing Ideal, Ought-to and Feared Selves, though not all of them are necessarily available to every teacher. In sum, this first part of the flow chart indicates that teacher education input is automatically assessed by language teachers through their cognitions, amongst which, particularly prominent in determining how the reform input will be processed, is the Possible Language Teacher Self.

The first decision segment in the flow chart – *Implicates Self?* – exemplifies this process further. LTCC postulates that in order for the teacher to embark on the more effortful route of systematic analysis of the teacher education content, she must be motivated to do so and this will only be achieved if her *self* is implicated by the message. According to possible selves theory, this is likely to happen to the extent to which the teacher education content (1) corresponds with the teacher's available, accessible and central possible self, and (2) propels the teacher to experience a discrepancy between her perceived actual and ideal or ought-to self. Thus, not only does the teacher education content need to be in line with her relevant possible selves as a basic prerequisite for conceptual change to occur, but the teacher must also experience the

dissonance emotions which are a result of the discrepancy between her actual and ideal/ought-to selves and which have been acknowledged across disciplines as the primary trigger of conceptual change.

4.3.1 Positive/benign appraisal of new ideas

Teachers whose selves are not implicated by the message and therefore experience no discrepancy (i.e. those who either feel they are already doing what the input advocates or those whose possible selves simply do not align with the teacher education input in any way) will appraise the content positively or in a neutral (benign) way. This is indicated by the darker-shaded emotion segment to the far right of the flow chart. LTCC postulates that positive/neutral emotions are likely to lead to heuristic processing because there is no motivation to engage with the message further. As a result, language teachers' prior cognitions as well as their emotional reactions to the input variables, such as course attractiveness, the teacher educator's credibility or fellow teachers' approval (or the negative equivalents) will all serve as peripheral cues enabling the teacher to make a decision as to whether or not to yield to the message without having to engage with it more systematically. Paradoxically, therefore, an attractive course, an inspirational teacher educator or supportive fellow trainees can actually hinder conceptual change if these fail to ignite the feelings of dissonance caused by the teacher's realisation of the discrepancy between who she is and who she wants to be.

The beliefs formed, changed or reaffirmed in this way are thought to be superficial, short-lived and easily changed in the presence of different peripheral cues. Because these beliefs do not tend to influence teachers' classroom behaviour, they are unlikely to make an impact on the learners and are, therefore, not considered to be a meaningful outcome of teacher education or teacher development initiatives in the light of the definition presented earlier.

4.3.2 Reality Check Appraisal

Returning to the beginning of the systematic route, the teachers who experience dissonance emotions do not automatically undergo conceptual change. While dissonance is a prerequisite, conceptual change is unlikely to occur unless the teachers perceive their internal and external resources sufficient. This should, in turn, help them to identify specific self-regulatory strategies to (1) systematically evaluate the message and (2) set specific goals for practical implementation.

LTCC terms this a 'Reality Check Appraisal' and specifies several factors that are the subject of the teacher's scrutiny, encompassing personal and

collective efficacy beliefs (Goddard et al., 2004), as well as other aspects, such as perceived control, actual cognitive ability, subject-matter knowledge and language proficiency, educational context and collective practice (Breen et al., 2001), supportive colleagues, students' expectations, resources and time. Thus, the characteristics of the message (i.e. intelligibility, plausibility) and the specific features of the relevant language teacher possible self (conceptual understanding, specificity, plausibility, modelling) all come to prominence during this appraisal. This means that the teacher is likely to assess her internal/external resources as sufficient if she has a clear rather than vague conceptual understanding of the implications of her possible self that has just been activated by the teacher education content, if she has been able to identify and is free to pursue a procedural plan for achieving her possible self or if she finds that her possible self and practices associated with it are endorsed by the structures and collective practices in her educational context.

LTCC asserts that teachers who have strong efficacy beliefs and generally perceive themselves as being able to control external factors and who, in addition, have the necessary skills to implement the new ideas in their classrooms, appraise the situation as *challenging*, and adopt an immediate goal to approach the teacher education message, which directly leads to its systematic processing. Depending on the outcome of this processing, the teacher either yields to the message and thus undergoes conceptual change or she decides not to endorse it, in which case no belief change occurs.

We can, however, also see from the illustration that even though the teacher may have embarked on the systematic route of development (i.e. perceived her self as implicated by the reform and experienced, as a result, dissonance emotions), she may still revert to its heuristic counterpart. This happens when, based on the 'Reality Check Appraisal', the teacher deems her internal and/or external resources insufficient, and further engagement with the reform message and attempts to implement it in the classroom could therefore threaten the teacher's sense of self.

LTCC proposes that this *threat appraisal* is accompanied by the teachers' vision of her feared self, which, in turn, triggers the teacher's adoption of avoidance goals. This is in keeping with Yowell's (2002) assertion that the absence of specific and plausible ideal selves in the context of well-defined feared selves can lead to students' adoption of maladaptive patterns of learning engagement (i.e. avoidance strategies). In our case, the teacher's Feared Self, which may be much more prominent in her self-concept than the teacher education-related ideal/ought-to self, exerts influence on her further engagement with the reform message.

As a result, she deliberately avoids its systematic processing and instead grounds her decision in heuristics. The outcome of this route of processing has been described earlier.

4.3.3 The role of ought-to selves in the Reality Check Appraisal

It has been mentioned earlier that the distinction between ideal and ought-to teaching selves is not so straightforward, and it is not always easy to establish whether the future identity goals that the teachers declare they have are the representation of their genuine desires or refer to their perceived obligations arising from their job or their participation in a particular teacher development initiative. LTCC assumes that teachers who are guided by their ought-to selves are more likely to perceive their internal/external resources as insufficient and interpret them as a threat to that aspect of their language teaching self that is more prominent and central to their self-concept than the input-related ought-to self. Consequently, they are likely to adopt avoidance goals and evaluate the reform message based on their heuristics. This is not to say that all teachers who appraise the situation as threatening as a result of the Reality Check Appraisal have thus far been acting on their ought-to rather than ideal selves. However, LTCC postulates that those whose self-implication has been based on their less internalised possible selves may be more prone to interpreting their internal/external resources as insufficient and thus may at this stage invest their energy in the prevention rather than promotion focus of their self-regulation.

To complicate matters even further, LTCC also allows for the possibility of internalising teachers' ought-to selves and transforming them into guides of promotion behaviour. For example, by experiencing success in their attempts to implement a reform merely out of duty (i.e. acting upon their ought-to self), the teachers' self-efficacy beliefs may be strengthened (which is in agreement with social cognitive theory recognising enactive mastery as the most powerful source of self-efficacy beliefs), and they may consequently appraise the situation as challenging, formulate an immediate goal to approach the teacher education message and engage with it systematically. Under such circumstances, therefore, even what was initially an externally motivated possible self (i.e. ought-to self) can transform along the way to an internalised ideal self guiding the teacher's behaviour towards the promotion tendency.

4.3.4 Dynamic and cyclical nature of conceptual change

Finally, LTCC assumes a dynamic and cyclical nature of conceptual change. The loop from the 'accommodation/true conceptual change'

segment back to the Possible Language Teacher Selves component indicates that conceptual change not only results in new knowledge and beliefs, but also alters the teachers' identity, which, in turn, transforms their teaching practice. This is in full agreement with Golombek and Johnson's (2004) conclusion that, owing to the cognitive restructuring of one of their research participants, she was 'not the same self as before and her activity [had] been transformed' (Golombek and Johnson, 2004, p. 323).

Furthermore, LTCC allows for the transformation of the original outcome of the teacher's engagement with new ideas. It is assumed that the teacher may re-evaluate her 'Reality Check Appraisal' in the light of her new circumstances or repeated (negative or positive) implementation experiences, which can ultimately lead to different outcomes as a result of the same reform input. Thus, what initially appeared to be conceptual change may eventually turn out to be assimilation or even no belief change and vice versa. This possibility is also acknowledged by the above-mentioned CAMCC, but the current model also makes a visual provision for such instances.

4.4 Summary

The proposed integrated model contributes to the efforts to build a theory of language teachers' conceptual change. LTCC not only provides a description of the teacher learning process, but also explains the mechanisms of how language teachers change as a result of a teacher education input and, most importantly, why they do not. It clarifies the role of some variables already identified in language teacher cognition research, such as emotional dissonance or reflection, and introduces factors which have thus far received scant attention (e.g. motivational beliefs and approach/avoidance goals). By introducing the construct of Possible Language Teacher Self, LTCC also responds to a call for determining central versus peripheral cognitions of language teachers (cf. S. Borg, 2006). Finally, LTCC provides a blueprint for designing teacher education programmes conducive to language teacher conceptual change and thus increases the social usefulness of language teacher cognition research. All these aspects will be more fully addressed in an empirically grounded discussion that follows in Chapters 6–9.

5

The Study of Language Teachers' Conceptual Change: Grounded Theory Ethnography

The study that forms the basis of the empirical part of this book adopted a methodology which is best described as *grounded theory ethnography* (Charmaz, 2006). Although I have previously framed this project as a mixed methods study (Hobbs and Kubanyiova, 2008; Kubanyiova, 2006, 2008, 2009c), this book concerns its substantial qualitative component and grounded theory ethnography is a methodological approach which best describes what I did when I collected, analysed and interpreted the qualitative data.

Grounded theory ethnography has some of the key features of ethnography, including a prolonged engagement in the field, elicitation of data through observation and in-depth interviewing, attention to 'mundane detail' (Bryman, 1988) of people's interactions in the specific setting and integration of multiple points of view. However, rather than focusing primarily on cultural descriptions, as is done in ethnography, grounded theory ethnography is concerned with a conceptual understanding of processes occurring in the particular context.

This yearlong investigation focused on the development of eight teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL) working in the state sector in Slovakia who volunteered to participate in a teacher development (TD) programme aiming to encourage, support and sustain students' learning engagement in the English language classroom. In line with typical characteristics of a grounded theory ethnographic project (Charmaz, 2006, p. 22), the data records generated in this study contain detailed contextualised observations and anecdotes of individual and collective actions, document significant processes that occurred in the particular settings, attend to what the teachers identified as critical or problematic, and take interest in the participants' use of language. Most importantly, grounded theory ethnography's key strategy is moving towards

a theoretical development by gradually shifting the emphasis from 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) to the engagement with analytical categories and theoretical explanation (Bazeley, 2007; Charmaz, 2006), or, in other words, from describing the what and how to explaining the why questions while 'preserving the complexity of social life' (Charmaz, 2008, p. 397). The rich contextualised accounts of the eight teachers' coming to terms with the TD course input as manifested in their deliberations, practices and interactions with the researcher, fellow course participants, colleagues and, most importantly, their students, enabled me to generate analytical categories, examine their relationships and eventually move towards the development of an empirically grounded theory of language teachers' conceptual change.

5.1 Teaching and learning foreign languages in Slovakia: a brief sketch of the territory

In order to better understand the activity of teaching, we need insights into the social, historical and cultural macrostructures that shape and are shaped by it (K. E. Johnson, 2009). The aim of this section therefore is to offer a brief introduction to the foreign language education landscape in Slovakia. This overview provides a glimpse into the educational context that was experienced by the teachers at the time of the study which took place in the school year 2004–5. Although a number of significant changes have taken place in this context since then, the primary purpose behind this section is to set the scene which will assist our interpretation and appreciation of the findings in this study. It is for this reason that I only focus on issues and developments that were relevant and had implications for the learning and teaching of foreign languages at the time of this research project.

5.1.1 Who are the typical foreign language teachers?

In the early 1990s Slovakia went through similar sweeping changes to those in other countries of the former socialist bloc, previously described in the literature (e.g. see the description of the Hungarian context in Dornyei et al., 2006; Medgyes and Malderez, 1996). Russian as the only foreign language that was (and had to be) taught at all levels of education in Slovakia, including tertiary, was almost immediately dropped from the core curriculum in the wake of the 'Velvet' revolution in 1989. Although the hunger for other modern foreign languages was enormous, the rapidly changing climate had caught schools and universities totally unprepared to cope with the new demands.

To start with, there were scores of teachers of Russian whose teaching loads had dropped to a minimum, but there were practically no teachers of other foreign languages able to fill the resulting gap. At the same time, universities had long before stopped preparing teachers of modern foreign languages with all teacher training departments abolished by the regime in the 1970s, leaving only a handful of modern language programmes in Faculties of Arts which simply could not cope with the sudden demand (see also Gadušová and Hart'anská, 2002). As a result, foreign languages were taught by teachers with varied qualifications, including:

- unqualified teachers who were proficient in a foreign language. Native speakers of English and German (as these were the two most commonly taught foreign languages) who began to arrive in Slovakia in the 1990s under the auspices of British, American and German organisations and charities would often fall into this category as they were typically hired on the grounds of their status as 'native speakers' rather than on the basis of their teaching qualifications, which most of them lacked (Gadušová and Hart'anská, 2002; Thomas, 1999).
- semi-qualified teachers who had a teaching qualification for Russian or other subjects, but who were, at the same time, proficient in or had begun to learn another foreign language. The latter group of teachers were often no more than two or three lessons ahead of the students.
- fully qualified foreign language teachers with a lack of experience in teaching their subject because they simply had not had the opportunity to teach it prior to 1990 and taught instead either Russian or other subjects for which they did not have formal qualification.
- fully qualified teachers with experience in teaching foreign languages. This group began to emerge as newly reopened university teacher training departments started to produce first batches of graduates via three different routes: requalification courses for Russian teachers, fast-track 3-year PHARE degree programmes or 5-year combined BA/MA degree programmes (cf. Gadušová and Hart'anská, 2002).

Foreign languages are now taught at all levels of the Slovakian education system, including pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary, and there is a well-developed network of private language schools catering for all kinds of foreign language learning needs, offering anything from general language courses to specialised exam preparation classes. However, despite the numerous measures taken since the early 1990s to increase the number of qualified foreign language teachers, the level of the unqualified teaching force remained high even 15 years later, and this was especially

the case for primary-school teachers with about 50 per cent of them teaching without the required qualifications (Butašová, 2005, 2006). This is indicative of a larger issue that had long blighted the education system in Slovakia: the low socio-economic status of teachers (see e.g. Beňo, 2003; Plavčan, 2005; Švecová, 1994; Thomas, 1999), with the average salary of a schoolteacher significantly lower than that in other European countries (cf. Porubská and Plavčan, 2004) and remaining well below the national average at the time of this research. As a result, only a very small percentage of university language programme graduates actually decided to pursue a teaching career and gave preference instead to more lucrative offers in other sectors that required the knowledge of foreign languages.

Private language schools started to mushroom in the new political climate and there was a growing tendency for teachers to leave the state-school sector to run their own language schools or work part-time for one in addition to their full-time employment in the state sector and thus improve their income. Although a teaching qualification was one of the prerequisites for being granted permission to run a private language school, there were no restrictions on teaching staff employed and the majority included teachers in training who welcomed the opportunity to earn extra income or young people with no formal qualifications who had lived in English- or German-speaking countries and were looking for a job upon their return.

5.1.2 Formal preparation of foreign language teachers

The standard path into the career of foreign language teaching in Slovakia is a university degree study at Faculties of Arts or education. Although there are other paths leading to a qualified teacher status, these mostly cater for unqualified in-service teachers and vary from distance university studies and, recently, certificate programmes organised by in-service teacher training centres. This section provides a brief description of a typical university degree study of English.

The five-year BA/MA study of English is usually combined with another subject in a joint degree. Although in theory it is possible to obtain a BA degree at some (but not all) university programmes, this is generally not recognised by employers as a full higher education qualification and, consequently, almost all students go on to an MA programme after fulfilling requirements for the first degree.

The programme comprises subject-specific modules as well as a teaching component, both in terms of general education and educational psychology modules and a substantial teaching practice. After a successful

completion of all required modules, the candidates are required to complete an MA dissertation of 20,000–25,000 words and pass the final examination in both subject areas as well as the general education modules in order to be awarded the degree. The final state examination in English comprises three major areas, including *theoretical linguistics* (phonology, morphology, syntax, stylistics, etc.), American and English *literature* and *EFL teaching methodology* (focusing on pedagogical content knowledge, such as teaching specific skills, testing, materials design, etc.). A random survey of the guidelines for the state oral exam of several university departments providing pre-service teacher education in English teaching revealed that the teaching methodology topics accounted for approximately 20 per cent of the required tested knowledge, while the rest was divided between theoretical linguistics and literature with the former amounting to more than 50 per cent in some programmes.

An alternative qualification is a similar degree, typically in the Faculties of Arts, which focuses on languages but without the teaching component. In other words, instead of general education modules and the teaching practice element, this degree places a stronger emphasis on linguistics, and the practical element typically involves translation and interpreting. Nevertheless, teachers with this type of degree were fully qualified to teach languages in schools at the time of this study.

5.1.3 In-service foreign language teacher development

A number of government and non-government institutions were responsible for in-service teacher development in Slovakia at the time of this project, including the National Institute for Education (SPU), regional in-service teacher training centres, the Slovak Association for Teachers of English (SAUA/SATE), which is the affiliate of the International Association for Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL), or the British Council. However, there was no official government policy on systematic in-service training (Butašová, 2006; Gadušová and Hart'anská, 2002). In fact, a survey reported in Porubská and Plavčan (2004) showed that nearly 75 per cent of teacher respondents could either not comment on the question regarding continuing professional development of teachers (30.1 per cent) or maintained that there was a general lack of opportunities on the one hand and inadequate conditions for pursuing professional development on the other (44.5 per cent).

Indeed, apart from a very limited number of in-service initiatives that were formally recognised as teachers' further development and rewarded by an increment in salary (e.g. so-called first and second qualifying examination and complementary distance education programme for

unqualified teachers), the participation in in-service development programmes organised by the above-mentioned bodies was purely voluntary and often involved additional demands on teachers' personal time (head teachers were often reluctant to release teachers during their working hours) and even financial loss. This was due to the travel expenses incurred and also because by attending an in-service training programme, teachers missed out on the extra income they would otherwise have earned for their overtime or private teaching hours (cf. Bérešová, 2004). It hardly comes as a surprise, then, that in-service teacher development was generally not sought after in the Slovakian educational context even when opportunities, however limited, arose (e.g. one-off practical workshops on teaching different types of language skills or seminars for beginning teachers). The only exception was language courses for teachers, such as the popular *summer schools* with the primary aim of improving teachers' language proficiency (cf. Gill and Medvecký, 1995). These were the only type of in-service teacher development for which there was a constantly high demand.

There was a clear consensus in debates at the academic as well as policy level about the need for a regulated systematic in-service professional development of teachers in Slovakia (Beňo, 2003; Butašová, 2006; Gadušová and Hart'anská, 2002; Gill and Medvecký, 1995; *Millenium*, 2000; Porubská and Plavčan, 2004). However, most of the concrete proposals that were put forward typically focused on incentives rather than the actual content and form of teacher development programmes or their quality, and the latter type of discussion is only slowly beginning to emerge.

5.2 The eight EFL teachers

Recruiting teachers for this study involved several stages, the first of which was organising a conference for EFL teachers in the region on the themes of the teacher development course (for more details, see Hobbs and Kubanyiova, 2008). Eight out of about 50 conference participants responded to the call for participation and volunteered to commit their time for the duration of the project. These teachers can be considered typical in terms of their entry into the language teaching profession in Slovakia in that they had followed or were still following a standard pathway involving studying English at a university. All research participants were employed in the state sector, although one of them taught subjects other than English in the state sector and worked part-time as an English teacher in a private language school. Four teachers were

Table 5.1 A summary of the teachers' demographic details

Gender*	Female	7
	Male	1
Teaching experience	1–28 years (median in years)	3
Education†	MA in English teaching‡	7
	MA in English	1
Type of institution	State primary	1
	State secondary	4
	State tertiary	2
	Private language school	1

* To secure anonymity, all teachers are referred to in this study as female.

† Three research participants were enrolled on doctoral programmes, all of them in other than English/English teaching.

‡ At the time of the project, 2 of the 7 participants were studying towards the qualification.

working in secondary schools of the same type (eight-year grammar schools with students aged 11–18), two of whom were employed in the same school. One teacher was teaching in a primary school and two were working at the tertiary level (the same university language centre). The teaching experience of the research participants spanned from 1 to 28 years, with most teachers having taught for approximately 3 years (for a summary of the demographic details, see Table 5.1).

Before I introduce the individual teacher participants, an important point about the presentation of their personal details in this study needs to be made. This project with its small number of participants is precisely that type of research which presents ethical challenges with regard to securing anonymity (Duff, 2007; Kubanyiova, 2008; L. Richards, 2005) and simply changing participants' names does not resolve the problem as idiosyncrasies in the teachers' background details make identification easy. At the same time, a study situated in the grounded theory ethnographic tradition has to provide as much contextualised information as possible in order for the research findings to be fully appreciated. I have decided to address this challenge by providing brief demographic profiles of each teacher without matching these with the assigned pseudonyms that will be used throughout Chapters 6–9. In this way, the risk of violating the principle of anonymity can be reduced, though, admittedly, not completely eliminated. I acknowledge that such a compromise will not allow readers to form a complete picture of each teacher as is usually possible in, for instance, a conventional case study or narrative study.

I believe, however, that even though safeguarding the teachers' right to anonymity in this way seemed the only acceptable way of resolving one of the many microethical dilemmas in this research study (Kubanyiova, 2008), its purpose to construct a theory of language teachers' conceptual change was not jeopardised by taking this decision. What follows, then, are brief individual profiles of the EFL teachers participating in this project.

Teacher 1 was 27 years old at the outset of the study and this was the beginning of her fourth year in the current job. After she got her MA degree in English language teaching, she left the country and lived as an au pair in the United States for a year. Upon her return, she started her professional career in the cosmetics industry, a lucrative job which she quit after the first six months. She then briefly taught in a private language school before taking on an English teaching job in a local grammar school, a job she had been doing ever since. Teacher 1 was also a class teacher and apart from her regular duties she was also engaged in various projects, EU-funded school collaboration and student e-mail exchange being two such examples, most of which had been initiated by herself. In the past, she did a lot of private teaching, but gave it up altogether because she felt overloaded at work. She was married with no children.

Teacher 2 was Teacher 1's colleague, coming from a family with a strong teaching background. She was 29 at the start of the project, with 7 years of teaching experience all gained at the same grammar school. Although her Master's thesis concerned English literature rather than English teaching methodology, Teacher 2 had never considered a career other than teaching. At the time of the study she was head of the foreign languages section of the school. In addition to her school teaching, she did several hours of private tuition in her own time. Apart from a couple of short trips to England with her students, she had never lived in an English-speaking country. Teacher 2 had always been very active in various walks of social life, which included being a master of ceremony at cultural events organised by the local city council and the like. In addition to her full-time teaching job, she was also working as a sales representative of a world-famous cosmetic company on an occasional basis. Teacher 1 was married and expecting her first baby due just a month after the end of the project.

Teacher 3 was an experienced teacher in her late forties with a 28-year span in her teaching career. She was raised as a bilingual (Hungarian being

her mother tongue and Slovakian her second language), and apart from English she also spoke Russian. She studied English at a teacher training institute in Russia. Teacher 3, like Teacher 2, came from a family of teachers. In fact, most of her family were English teachers (her husband being a primary-school English teacher and her daughter training to be an English teacher). In addition to her regular, already considerably increased, teaching load, she was running a small language school where she taught about 14 hours per week. Teacher 3 regularly participated in English drama festivals with her students and was fond of literature and music.

Teacher 4 was a 25-year-old teacher and embarked on the project with a year's teaching experience gained in a grammar school of the same type as Teachers 1, 2 and 3. After obtaining her MA degree in English and journalism, she spent a four-month working holiday in the United States of America. At the time of the project she was enrolled on the part-time doctoral programme in journalism and was in the initial stages of her research project. Teacher 4 was active outside her school teaching hours; translating for a documentary film producer and compiling material for a magazine on geography were two examples of such activities.

Teacher 5 was 26 and was on a part-time contract for a private language school, teaching English to young learners at the time of the project. However, halfway through the project she decided to move house, which was outside the region (and thus impossible for me to access for class observations in her new job). At the time of the study, she was a full-time PhD student, in the process of writing up her dissertation in ethnology (which was the other subject of her joint MA degree besides English teaching). She was lecturing on two university courses, namely ethnology and gender studies. She occasionally did some translating for various private companies. In her free time she was an active senior member of a university folk dance group.

Teacher 6, with four years of teaching experience at the outset of the project, was the only primary-school teacher in the research sample and the only in-service teacher without a formal qualification as yet. However, she was studying part-time towards her joint MA in English language teaching and ethics. At her school, she also held responsibilities as a class teacher and was a regular enthusiastic participant in various educational projects, especially ELT drama workshops organised in her region. Prior to teaching at the primary school, she had lived in England and Germany for several months. At the time of the

project, she was expecting a baby and took maternity leave in the later phase of the research. However, she still attended all four sessions of the TD course.

Teacher 7 was a 23-year-old final-year BA/MA student specialising in teaching English and German. She had been teaching English in a university language centre on a part-time basis for a year. She originally attended the initial conference as a student assistant, helping with the organisation of the conference, but participated in most of the conference sessions and expressed her desire to take part in the project despite the call for in-service teachers. She gave several hours per week of private tuition in both English and German. In her free time, she enjoyed drawing.

Teacher 8, a 28-year-old teacher, worked as an administrative staff member at a university department. Apart from that, she also taught on two language courses at the university language centre. Teacher 8 got her MA in English and German and was the only research participant who did not have a formal training in teaching methodology (though her MA degree was still considered a teaching qualification in Slovakia). Instead, her specialisation was in translating and interpreting and she was indeed an extremely active and busy translator and interpreter in her free time. At the end of the project, she applied and was being considered for a full-time lecturer position on a university translating/interpreting degree programme.

5.3 The researcher

Different researchers will inevitably produce different accounts of what may appear to be the same phenomena. This is particularly the case in ethnography, and although this is, of course, a mere statement of a fact rather than a problem (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008b), it is important to acknowledge the knowledge, educational background and professional experience that I have brought to this study and that has, undoubtedly, left an imprint on the way I conducted this research as well as on my understanding and interpretations of the findings.

My background is in many ways identical to that of the teachers in this study. I grew up and received schooling in the same region of Slovakia as the majority of the participants, was trained as a language teacher at the same type of institution as most of the teachers in this study, have direct knowledge and experience of some of the university

courses or even tutors that several research participants also experienced through their teacher education or professional development and worked as an English teacher at the same type of secondary state school as most teachers in this study.

At the same time, my later personal and professional career (at the start of this study, I had lived, worked and studied outside of Slovakia for more than four years) meant that I had to carefully negotiate my entry into this research setting from the position of an 'outsider'. This, of course, is not an easy undertaking, especially in projects in which the researcher assumes additional roles, including that of teacher educator or mentor. In retrospect, however, I would like to think that my 'mixed' status offered the best of both worlds: my shared history with the research participants provided me with a sufficiently in-depth understanding of the sociocultural and educational setting in which their personal and professional practices were embedded, while my position as a visitor gave me a distance which enabled me to step back from the culture I was observing in order to understand it better.

5.4 Research design and data collection methods

A general fieldwork structure of this longitudinal study could be summarised as follows (see also Table 5.2): there were five data collection phases spread over the course of the Slovak school year 2004–5, the first starting in September and the last taking place in May–June, which meant that I made five separate trips to Slovakia (about six weeks apart). Each phase lasted approximately two weeks and typically involved delivering a five-hour session of the TD course followed by field visits. These entailed spending a day with each of the participating teachers on their teaching sites, conducting classroom observations, having informal conversations and conducting more formal in-depth qualitative interviews with the teachers. In addition to this basic structure, the additional data obtained and the data collection methods employed in each phase were varied and flexible. For example, questionnaires were distributed to research participants' students in the first and last phases (not discussed in this book). Interviews with two head teachers were added in the second and third phases and interviews with non-participating teachers in the fourth. Also, as the data collection progressed, it seemed useful to add more unstructured insights regarding students' perceptions to the data set (i.e. focus group interviews), which was done in the final phase. In the next part, I look at the procedures and specific data collection methods in more detail.

Table 5.2 Data collection time frame (November 2003–June 2005)

Preliminary phase (November 2003–May 2004)	
	• Getting in touch • Securing funding • Conference organisation
Identification of research participants (May–September 2004)	
	• Conference for EFL teachers: 'Revitalising Your Classroom' • Conference follow-up: calling for research project participation • Finalising the number of participants: eight volunteers • Keeping in touch
Fieldwork (September 2004–June 2005)	
Phase 1 September 2004	• Questionnaire to students (pre-course) • *Input session 1 (5 hrs): Creating the basic motivational conditions* • Teacher interviews • Classroom observations
Phase 2 November 2004	• *Input session 2 (5 hrs): Generating initial motivation: From group cohesiveness to goal-orientedness* • Teacher interviews • Classroom observations
Phase 3 January 2005	• *Input session 3 (5 hrs): Maintaining and protecting motivation in the social context of the language classroom* • Teacher interviews • Classroom observations • Head teacher interviews
Phase 4 March 2005	• Teacher interviews • Classroom observations • Non-participant teacher interviews
Phase 5 May 2005	• *Input session 4 (5 hrs): Maintaining motivation and rounding off the learners' experience: Group responsibility and reflection on group success* • Questionnaire to students (post-course) • Focus group interviews with students of selected classes • Teacher interviews • Classroom observations • Teacher trainer interviews • Round-up (June 2005)

5.4.1 The teacher development course: content, processes and course-related data

The basic underlying assumption of the course was that the social psychological processes inherent in the learning microcontext play a significant role in shaping individual learners' motivation. By attending to

those processes, teachers can transform the motivational climate of the classrooms and thus facilitate their students' active engagement in the learning tasks. Hence the teacher development (TD) course 'Creating a Motivating Learning Environment' was designed with a twofold aim in mind: (1) to help the teachers to understand those processes, and (2) to enable them to transform their practices as a result of their new understanding and create classroom environments conducive to students' engagement in language learning.

Course content and processes

This was a 20-hour course the syllabus of which was informed by theoretical developments in learner motivation and group dynamics (Brophy, 2004; Dörnyei, 2001a, b; Dörnyei and Murphey, 2003; Hadfield, 1992; Kubanyiova, 2004a, 2005, 2009b; Patrick et al., 2001, 2003, 2007; Pintrich and Schunk, 2002; Schmuck and Schmuck, 2001; Stanford, 1980; Turner et al., 2002), while the processes were designed in agreement with principles identified in language teacher cognition research discussed in Chapter 2. These included interactive mini-lectures, course leader- as well as participant-led experiential activities, reflective case study tasks and data-based activities, the data for which came from the earlier stages of this study's fieldwork. In addition, a number of practical resource books for teachers and teacher trainers inspired the design of individual course activities (e.g. Brandes and Ginnis, 2001; Eitington, 2002; Malderez and Bodóczky, 1999; Meier, 2000; Revell and Norman, 1997; Woodward, 2004). Apart from the focus on a motivational teaching practice (with topics related to understanding human motivation in social contexts, creating and maintaining motivational conditions in the classroom, building cohesive and productive class groups, nurturing group responsibility and strategies for rounding off group experience in a motivating manner), an emphasis was also laid on promoting continuing professional development, which was done through various activities in the course sessions, but also through on-site mentoring and attempts (though not always successful) at creating channels for professional discussion among the course participants between the individual sessions (e-mails, newsletters, on-line forum).

Course-related data: participant output

The teachers were encouraged to work with the session input in various ways. In the first session, for example, they devised their own specific motivational strategies related to the first unit of Dörnyei's (2001a) motivational framework ('Creating the Basic Motivational Conditions') or they did some artwork illustrating their professional development based on the story 'In Your Hands' (Revell and Norman, 1997) and a version of

the 'Butterflies' activity found in Malderez and Bodóczky (1999, pp. 85–7). Such *documents* representing participant output comprised one type of course-related data, which was used as a supplement to the core data sources (i.e. interviews and observations).

Another type of participant output involved *audio-visual records*. One teacher, for instance, brought her video camera to the first session and video-recorded some activities. In the third session, the teachers worked in groups and planned and presented their own activities selected from a list. These presentations were audio-recorded and so were some group discussions. Just as the course documents mentioned above, these data sources were used as supplements, their main purpose being the source for the construction of field notes on the TD course sessions as well as for my reflections recorded in the research journal.

Course-related data: participant reflections

Exploring the course participants' understanding and interpretations of the course input was crucial to the understanding of the teacher change process. Apart from the above-mentioned methods of eliciting such data (see also the discussion of participant observation below), I also hoped to get the teachers to write regular reflections on their teaching in the form of a teaching journal as well as action plans outlining their decisions to change particular aspects of their practices as a response to the course input. Thanks to my growing understanding of the context, I very soon came to realise how implausible, unrealistic and even unethical such plans were (Hobbs and Kubanyiova, 2008; Kubanyiova, 2008) and therefore had to make changes to my research methodology. Nevertheless, I still tried to incorporate the reflective element into the course, a result of which are *activity reflection sheets* that the participants wrote after some activities in the sessions during reflection time. Even though these did not offer sufficient material for a more systematic analysis, they still provided useful insights. Moreover, *feedback* on each session was elicited (although not always submitted – see Table 5.4 for details), which illuminates some of the participants' understanding and interpretation of the course content. Again, because there were considerable differences in the depth and breadth of issues tackled by individual teachers, rather than treating them as core data sources, I used them to supplement the data generated through interviews and observations.

Course-related data: observational field notes

As will be further explained below, apart from that of teacher educator, I also adopted a role of participant observer during the TD course. This

means that I took detailed notes on what transpired in each course session and how the individual teachers responded to particular input. A sample extract from course session field notes can be found in Boxed Text 5.1.

5.4.2 Three contexts for ethnographic observation in the study

There were three different contexts in this research study in which I assumed a role of observer. First, as mentioned above, I was a *participant observer of the TD course sessions*. While leading the course and interacting with the participants in the teacher educator role, I was also, as a researcher, observing research participants' involvement, contributions and interactions with a twofold purpose: first, to obtain descriptive data of their participation and interaction with the course input and second, to document my own professional development. Although, strictly speaking, the latter would not normally be part of ethnographic observation, this only shows that separating the two in a project of this type is far from straightforward if not impossible. However, this approach to taking field notes also shows the constant movement from description to conceptual understanding typical in grounded theory ethnography, and the reflective notes integrated in these data records were invaluable in facilitating theory building. Hence, the observational field notes, usually written up on the same day immediately after the TD course session, include both descriptions of the course participants' engagement with the course material and reflections on my own practice as a teacher educator.

The second type of ethnographic observation I was involved in was *on-site* or *field observation*. I typically spent a day with each teacher in their school and had an opportunity to observe the physical and social environment of their workplace, including the teachers' interactions with their colleagues, managers or students in the staffrooms, corridors, playgrounds or school canteens. My notes of setting descriptions, snippets of conversations and activities that the teachers engaged in during the day provided important food for thought in my research reflections, memos and annotations (see Section 5.4).

Finally, the third type of observation in this study concerned *classroom observations*. The purpose of the classroom observations was to track the possible impact of the TD course on the research participants' teaching practice. However, since it was not clear just how the impact would (if at all) be manifested in the classroom context, pre-established observational instruments would clearly not have had the capacity to yield useful data. However, while, in addition to audio-recording the class, I made every effort to note down indiscriminately events as they transpired in the classroom (including those aspects which could not

Boxed Text 5.1 A sample extract from field notes on session 4 of the TD course

From the two experiential activities, which were presented and followed up by the course participants, we moved to the lecture on Group Responsibility and Learner Autonomy. The lecture was carried out in an interactive way, with course participants being invited to comment on the content with their own opinions and experiences. Before the lecture started, I let them mingle and discuss the various responsibility-related situations on the slips of paper. The aim was to introduce typical classroom situations and how teachers usually respond to them and to link these to the content of the lecture. We then moved on to the lecture, during which I introduced the main components of autonomy-supporting teaching practice from Dörnyei (2001).

The main ingredients of an autonomy-supporting teaching practice (from Dörnyei, 2001a)

1. *Allow learners choices about as many aspects of the learning process as possible.* The participants were divided into two groups and I asked them to brainstorm their concerns, problems, choices and decisions they have to make, etc. in their teaching. Afterwards I asked them to think about how many of these could actually be made by their learners.
2. *Give learners positions of genuine authority.* Jana asked: 'And what if they don't want authority? What if they don't want responsibility?' To this, Monika replied that she had a similar problem when organising a class ball. She wanted to put as much responsibility on the students' shoulders as possible, but the students didn't like it. Even their parents were not happy about that. So she felt that responsibility was something the students didn't want to have.
3. *Encourage student contributions and peer teaching.*
4. *Encourage project work.*
5. *Allow learners to use self-assessment procedures.*

Monika said that she found it so clear now, but was sure that after a couple of days she would just go back to the old way. She said that whenever she thought about her own students, she just could not picture them doing that (e.g. self-evaluation). Others joined in and

I provided examples from my own experience working with Asian students who were generally believed to be too dependent on the teacher and I told them how they were able at the end of the course to write final self-evaluation essays, how they initiated homework, etc. I thought, judging from their reactions (which differed from the previous comments indicating disagreement with the concept of student responsibility), that this was a valuable part when I spoke about my own experience in connection with the theoretical input. During the lecture I also told them a story (Sir Gawain and the Loathly Lady from Revell and Norman, 1997), which I divided into several parts in order to deliver the punch line ('You Choose!') at the very end of the session. I used this strategy to reinforce the message of the lecture and also as a motivational tool to provide some suspense and raise expectations. This seemed to have worked as they were all very engaged and eager to know the ending.

be captured in the recording, such as the physical description of the classroom, seating arrangements, non-verbal communication, etc.), the research focus inevitably dictated the areas my attention was particularly attuned to. I was naturally more alert to aspects of motivational and group-sensitive teaching practice and the focus of my attention was undoubtedly informed by my prior reading of this literature. This prior knowledge, however, in no way interfered with the openness characteristic of grounded theory ethnographic inquiry: my main purpose was not to check whether the teachers did what has been identified in the literature as 'motivating', but rather to gain an in-depth understanding of the motivational dynamics of their language classrooms and ascertain any role the TD course may have played in the teachers' navigating of these dynamics.

The classroom observation procedure was similar across observed classes: I entered the classroom with the teacher and usually took a seat at the back of the classroom. The observed groups were not necessarily the same in every phase, although I made every effort to arrange the visits in such a way so as to be able to observe the same groups on as many occasions as possible to ensure continuity. This was not critical for my purposes, however, but was certainly useful in establishing rapport with the students. Although I often interacted with the students informally (mainly before or after the class), I rarely participated in classroom activities, except on a few occasions (e.g. in one teacher's classes I occasionally

walked around and interacted with students working in groups, participated in one or two of the activities or assisted the teacher by reading a script when her tape recorder was broken; in another teacher's class, I co-presented one activity with her and I also helped her with preparation by displaying activity cards on the walls while she was finishing the previous activity; in the classes of other teachers, I was occasionally called upon mainly for language clarification purposes, but did not participate otherwise).

5.4.3 Qualitative interviews in the study

The purpose of interviews in this study was to generate data about the research participants' cognitions and practices and capture their changing nature as a result of the TD course, and to understand other influences either facilitating or inhibiting the change process. Although a number of areas for exploration had been identified as a result of the literature review on teacher cognitions prior to interviewing, the categories were flexible and often shaped by the interviewees in agreement with the basic features of qualitative interviewing. The interview meetings were repeated over time and were characterised by high levels of rapport.

Although one of the characteristics of the qualitative interview is its informality as opposed to formality in a highly standardised interview, for the purposes of this discussion I will use the 'formal/informal' dichotomy to distinguish the planned and prearranged interviews (formal) from those that were conducted on an ad hoc basis as a result of my presence on the research site (informal). I wish to emphasise, however, that informality and the elements of a friendly conversation (Spradley, 1979) were a marked feature of both the formal and the informal interviews. Let me now describe the various types of interviews conducted during the fieldwork (for a typology, see Table 5.3).

Formal qualitative interviews with the research participants

Interviews of this type were generally conducted on the day of an on-site visit after the class observation, either on site, provided the school facilities allowed for privacy, or, where such provision could not be made, in a local café. Occasionally, a special appointment was made just for this purpose where time or circumstances did not allow interviews to be conducted after the observations. There were three broad areas that were covered in these interviews: topics related to *teacher profile*, *observed lessons* and *course-related matters*. Because each teacher required an individual approach to interviewing, I did not follow a scripted interview schedule, but used instead a mind map with themes that I wanted

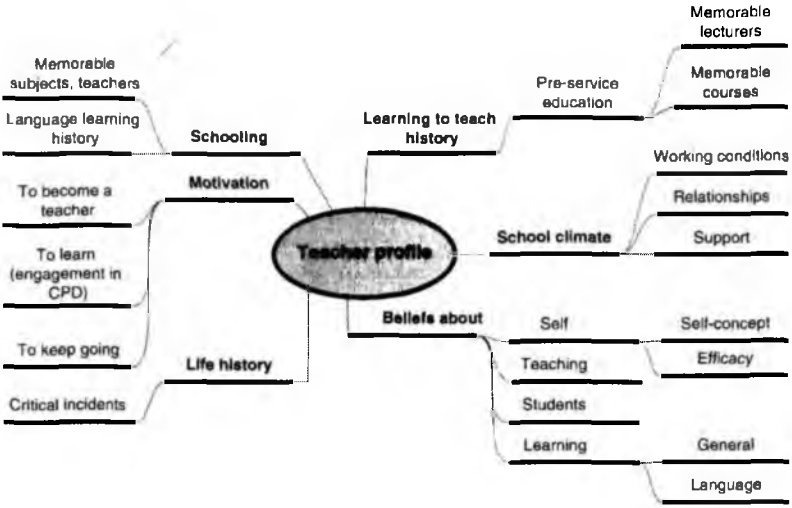


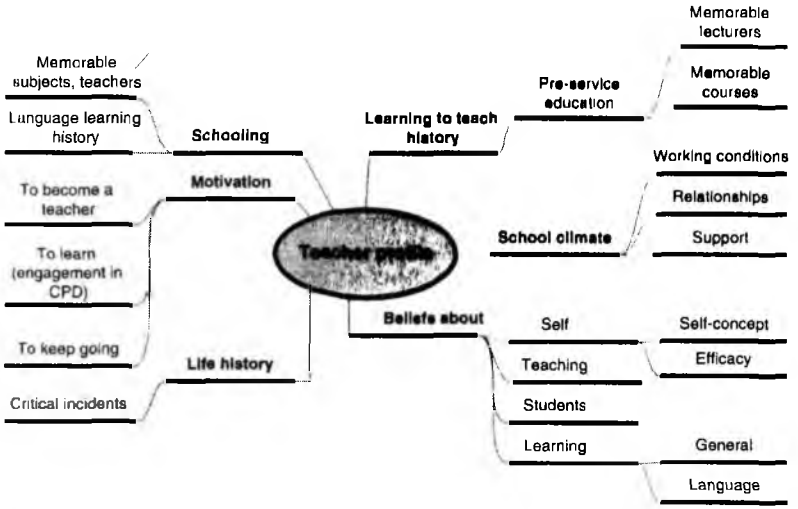
Figure 5.1 Formal interviews with the participants – a mind map guide

particularly illuminating. Overall, however, mostly due to reasons that will be discussed in more detail later, discussions on this topic area were brief and not marked by the same depth as the previous one.

Course-related matters were the third thematic focus of the formal interviews with the research participants. Here, the participants' opinions on the course topics and their activities of interest were probed, and feedback received from them between the phases was followed up. In the last interview I elicited the participants' opinions on a list of transcribed lesson snippets which related to the topic of the last course session. Also related to this broader theme were questions with regard to the teachers' perceived impact of the course (or lack thereof) on their thinking and teaching practice.

Formal qualitative interviews with non-participating teachers

These interviews were not part of the original research design. However, in the course of the fieldwork, some broader issues which appeared to have a significant impact on the participants' change processes emerged (e.g. motivation to become teachers, motivation to engage in professional development, school culture). Because they did not seem to be exclusively relevant to the research participants, but rather part of the broader educational context in Slovakia, I decided to add non-participant



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interview data to the data set. Thus, it was partly triangulation of the research participant data by obtaining insights from different sources, but primarily an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the broader macrocontext.

Because of my frequent on-site presence (i.e. mostly in the English language teachers' staffrooms) I had the chance to establish a rapport with the research participants' colleagues and was therefore able to recruit non-participating English teachers for this type of interview myself. In order to be able to interview teachers of other subjects, I asked the research participants for assistance; they helped first to identify potential candidates who would be willing to respond to interview questions and, second, introduced me to them and thus initiated the first contact. The *content* of this type of interview was identified as a result of an ongoing preliminary analysis of the research participants' data, and a slightly more structured guide (see Boxed Text 5.2) had been developed for this type of interview. The questions were, nevertheless, open-ended and flexible with scope for expansion and follow-up.

Apart from the interviews with non-participating teachers, it became clear to me that I needed to get a better picture of the pre-service preparation of English teachers. I therefore decided to add a formal interview with a teacher educator to my data set. Again, while broad topics were identified in advance (see Table 5.3), this interview, like others, was open-ended with scope for follow-up of emerging themes and as such served as secondary data (as all interviews of this type did).

Boxed Text 5.2 Interview guide for formal interviews with non-participants

Interview guide:

- General information (teaching experience/education/subject/teaching hours)
- Motivation (to become teachers, motivation to keep going – major joys/obstacles in their current job)
- Attitudes towards the subject matter
- Teaching (teaching style and relationship with students?)
- School-related issues (perception of working conditions, resources, work relationships, management, opportunities for professional development)
- Motivation to learn (Willing to engage in professional development? Why? What type? How frequently?)

Before moving on to a description of the informal interviews, I wish to add that as Fontana and Frey (1994) point out, the interview techniques will inevitably differ depending on the group being interviewed. If the researchers want to learn anything at all, they 'must adapt to the world of the individuals studied and try to share their concerns and outlooks' (p. 371). While some interviewees were quite comfortable with the quasi-formal character of scheduled and recorded interviews, others were not (for information on which interviews were not recorded, see Tables 5.4 and 5.5) In the interest of obtaining meaningful data, therefore, I had to adjust the interview techniques accordingly.

Informal interviews

Informal interviews, or, in other words, informal conversations occurring in the teachers' natural environment, were inevitable due to my frequent on-site presence. Apart from conversations with research participants, I got to know their colleagues and so, naturally, I interacted with them whenever I visited the school. This interaction covered a range of activities the teachers were involved in on a daily basis, ranging from marking and discussing the new *maturita* (school leaving) exams, selecting materials for their classes, solving dilemmas of which coursebooks to choose and writing the new *maturita* exam questions, to having lunch with them in the school canteen. I had the chance to talk to two head teachers (of Sites 1 and 5) and I also got to meet a university teacher trainer who was at the same time in charge of in-service training of English language teachers in Slovakia. For obvious reasons, these conversations were not recorded, but important issues that were raised in them were subsequently written up as field notes or memos.

I found that it was precisely during these informal conversations when the voice recorder was off that the participants 'lived' their real experiences in an authentic environment and their cognitions, very much shaped by their environment, came through. Judging from the depth of illuminating insights I gained on some sites, I believe ethnography and participant observation in particular, of which these informal conversations are an inherent part, have a lot to offer to research on language teachers' cognitions. The advantage of the ethnographic approach is that it ties the data not just to the individual lessons taught, but also to the broader educational context, and hence the potential for a deeper understanding of teacher change processes is far greater. Indeed, it was precisely the insights from these informal interviews that forced me to constantly revise not only the content and processes of the TD course and my research methodology, but also helped me to understand that

research on teacher development cannot be separated from a deep understanding of their teaching context and that, in turn, can be achieved by employing a more holistic research approach.

Focus group interviews with students

The idea of conducting focus group interviews with students of selected classes sprang up in the course of the fieldwork with three purposes in mind: (1) to triangulate the questionnaire results, that is, to see whether the changes (if any) indicated in the questionnaire data rang true in the students' perceptions; (2) to seek parallels between teachers' perceptions expressed in the interviews and those of the students; and finally, (3) to *extend* the questionnaire data and elicit issues that were not captured in the questionnaires (for while the questionnaire sought to measure students' perceptions of their actual classroom environment, it did not tap into their attitudes towards the ideals encompassed by the questionnaire. The latter was believed to be important in understanding the processes that facilitated or inhibited teacher change).

Because this method did not belong to the core research methodology, but was only selected for illustrative purposes, I only interviewed five smaller groups of students out of those who completed the questionnaires and the selection was simply made on the basis of availability (four groups of participants and one of a non-participating teacher; also see Tables 5.4 and 5.5). In the final phase, the teachers of these groups agreed that I could have volunteers during their lesson and conduct the interviews in classrooms that were not being used at that time (the teachers arranged those in advance). So after I explained the purpose and the nature of the group interviews to the students in each class, the volunteers (between four and six students) came with me to the allocated room. There, I again explained the purpose in more detail and also the process of the interview itself. Each group interview lasted approximately 30 minutes, as that was the maximum time we had at our disposal, and the areas covered are outlined in Table 5.3.

5.4.4 Data summary

Table 5.4 presents a summary of the data gathered during this research project. As has been mentioned before, there was a variety in the basic structure of the data collection during each phase and this also pertains to individual variation since not all teachers were available for interviews or their classes for observation in every single phase. Examples of the reasons include situations when one of the phases coincided with the university mid-term break, Teacher 8 only got a teaching job at the time of Phase 2,

Teacher 3's classes that were scheduled for observation were cancelled because of a bus strike, several teachers were ill or had to travel out of town, and the like. Also, the TD course session was cancelled in Phase 4 because of my illness. Still, as can be seen in Table 5.4, the data gained represent a rich volume.

Notes to Table 5.4

- *Visits.* The number of on-site visits refers to the number of different days of school visits (in some cases, two separate visits to the same site were made during one phase, whereas there were phases for some participants during which no on-site visit was made). Also note that since Teachers 1 and 2 were from the same site, 6 instead of 12 are counted in the total number of site visits. While Teachers 7 and 8 were also from the same site, the visits were made separately because these participants were teaching on different days.
- *Course sessions.* The total number of sessions was four, each lasting five hours, and the individual figures refer to the number of course sessions that each participant attended. Occasionally, some participants did not stay for the duration of the whole session, hence the total number of hours attended is given in parentheses.
- *Feedback.* This refers to course feedback elicited after each session and the figure represents the number of sessions each participant wrote some feedback on. Because there were four sessions, the maximum number was four, although note that Teacher 5 volunteered an extra submission.
- *Interviews.* The figure refers to the number of different occasions on which the interviews were recorded. The total length of recorded interviews is given in hours, minutes and seconds. Apart from these, there were many occasions for informal interviews, summaries of which were recorded as field notes.
- *Classroom observations.* This figure refers to the number of classes observed. In primary and secondary schools as well as the language school (i.e. classes of Teachers 1–6) the length of each lesson was 45 minutes, whereas in the tertiary education institution (Teachers 7 and 8) the classes lasted 90 minutes.
- *Questionnaires.* The number of questionnaires refers to the total number of students who completed the questionnaire before and after the course. The number in parentheses refers to the number of different groups of students who completed the questionnaire (e.g. 2/1 means that two groups of students responded before the course, whereas only one of them responded after the course). Of course, the pre- and

Table 5.4 A summary of the research participants' data

	Visits	Course sessions	Feedback	Interviews* (total time)	Class observations	Questionnaire pre/post (no. of groups)	Extras
Teacher 1 Site 1	6	4 (20 hrs)	4	5 (07:17:52)	14	33/32 (2/2)	Teaching journal E-mails 2 focus groups Student feedback
Teacher 2 Site 1		2 (10 hrs)	1	4 (03:50:33)	8	30/26 (2/2)	E-mails
Teacher 3 Site 2	3	3 (15 hrs)	1	3 (02:18:36)	7	28/29 (2/2)	Teaching materials Sample *maturita* exam questions
Teacher 4 Site 3	5	4 (17 hrs)	3	5 (03:10:13)	8	33/31 (3/3)	2 focus groups
Teacher 5 Site 4	3	4 (20 hrs)	5	4 (05:07:58)	6		Sample teaching materials used in her school E-mails
Teacher 6 Site 5	3	4 (14 hrs)	1	2 (01:28:35)	6	21/22 (2/2)	
Teacher 7 Site 6	3	4 (20 hrs)	3	4 (03:02:04)	3	11/22 (1/1)	Lesson plans with reflective comments
Teacher 8 Site 6	3	4 (18 hrs)	3	4 (02:46:36)	3	11/14 (1/1)	
Total	*26*	*4 (20 hrs)*	*21*	*31 (29:03:07)*	*55*	*167/176 (13/13)*	

post-groups were the same. For further information on the questionnaire data and results, see Kubanyiova (2006).

- *Extras.* This segment of the table includes documents that were not part of regular data sources. For example, I exchanged several emails with some teachers on teaching issues. Furthermore, as a response to our discussion of one of her lessons, Teacher 1 asked her students for feedback and made an additional copy for me. She also kept a journal for a couple of weeks, which she let me have a copy of. Teacher 3 gave me numerous materials that she enjoyed using with her students and also let me have copies of the new *maturita* exam questions that she wrote. Teacher 5 gave me copies of teaching materials her director compiled for use in grammar lessons in the language school where she taught. After the first course session, Teacher 7 decided, as part of her lesson preparation, to write lesson plans and add reflective comments after each class – she let me have copies of these. Teachers 1 and 4 also made it possible for me to conduct focus group interviews with their students.

To gain a fuller picture of the research context, I approached several *teachers* (of English and of other subjects, including Slovak and science), *head teachers* and *teacher trainers,* who did not participate in the project. A summary of the type of data gained from the non-participating informants can be found in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 A summary of the non-participants' data

	Questionnaires	Interviews	Focus groups
Site 1		• English teacher (00:20:50) • Science teacher (00:34:46) • Slovak teacher* • Head teacher*	
Site 3	English teacher 1–22/10(2/1) English teacher 2–15/18 (1/1)	• English teacher 1 (00:20:24)	English teacher 1's group of 5 students
Site 5		• Civics teacher* • Head teacher*	
Other		• University teacher trainer (00:47:27) • Teacher trainer (In charge of INSET of English teachers in Slovakia)*	

* Unrecorded.

5.5 Data analysis

As I explained in Chapter 4, this study adopted a definition of *intentional conceptual change* as a desirable impact of teacher education and teacher development. This is because this type of teacher learning is most likely to bring about meaningful changes in teachers' practices, which can, in turn, make a positive difference to the students' learning experience. Just to reiterate: teachers' conceptual change in this study has been defined as *teachers' goal-directed and conscious mobilisation and regulation of cognitive, metacognitive, affective and motivational resources to bring about change in their cognitions.*

Therefore, in order to understand the eight teachers' development, the 'thick descriptions' generated in this grounded theory ethnographic project were examined for evidence of changes at several levels, including the teachers' conceptual understanding of motivational teaching, their beliefs about their role in motivating students to engage in language learning, their attitudes towards a motivational teaching practice, their stated intentions to cognitively engage with the new ideas and/or implement them in practice and their actual teaching practices. In addition, micro- and macrocontextual structures and processes that seemed to either contribute to or inhibit the eight teachers' conceptual change were examined. This emergent and iterative analytic process accompanied by further reading of relevant literature as and when intriguing and/or puzzling relationships began to emerge led to the development of the integrated model of Language Teacher Conceptual Change (LTCC). What follows is a more detailed description of this process.

5.5.1 Data storage, transcription and research journal

Both interviews and observations were digitally recorded and stored electronically as sound files under the file name which included the date and other relevant information for easy identification purposes in separate document folders allocated to individual participants (for illustration, see Figure 5.2). Interviews were either transcribed verbatim or partial transcriptions and/or summaries were typed up as word documents. Similarly, observed lessons were transcribed and field notes made during the classroom observations were word-processed and integrated with the transcripts of the audio-recorded lessons into a single document.

5.5.2 Pre-coding of qualitative data

The process of the initial analysis, or what Dörnyei (2007) terms the 'pre-coding' stage of qualitative analysis, was simultaneous with the

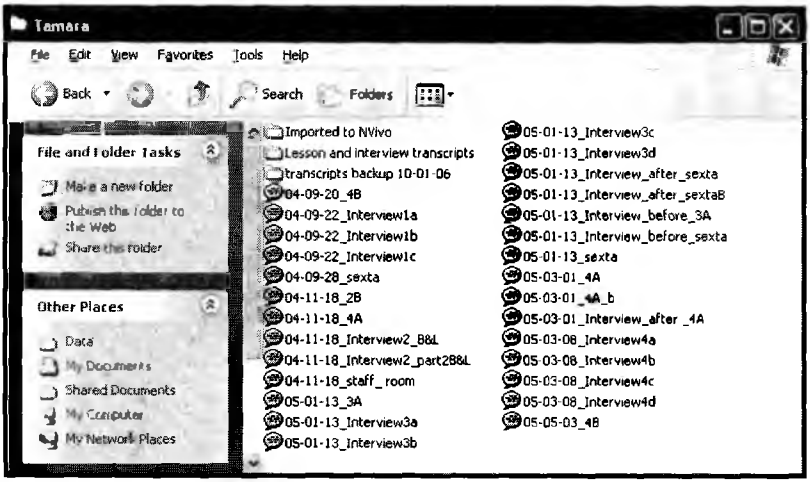


Figure 5.2 A computer screenshot illustrating the storage of sound files for an individual participant

transcription process. As I was transcribing the recordings on a word processor, I highlighted important segments in the transcript, inserted my own commentaries as annotations in a different font colour and continued the reflective process on the data by expanding my thoughts in my research journal, which I kept from the initial conference until the very last stages of analysis. At the same time, I kept track of categories emerging from the data with brief descriptions and possible relationships.

This type of initial analysis was ongoing and started as soon as I made the initial contact with the research context. The pre-coding stage was particularly important between the individual phases of fieldwork in preparation for the subsequent data collection phase. It involved going through the observation field notes and listening to the previously recorded interviews and either loosely transcribing them or writing summaries if time did not allow full transcription. I highlighted and wrote memos on potentially important emerging themes that I felt needed to be followed up in the next phase of the fieldwork.

As the description of this process reveals, by the time I finalised my transcripts I had familiarised myself with the data to such an extent that I had developed a list of emerging themes and their possible relationships, which, in turn, provided a guiding framework for a more systematic coding procedure conducted in NVivo software.

5.5.3 NVivo analysis: coding, annotating, memoing and linking ideas

I conducted the initial analysis of the qualitative data in Word files (mainly because of my initial lack of knowledge and skill in using the NVivo package), before importing the transcribed documents into NVivo 7 software (for an illustration of how the data records were organised in NVivo, see Figure 5.3).

Although the preceding phase could have been seen as a waste of time, having to start the coding from scratch in NVivo, this is only true in the technical sense of manually having to create nodes (as codes in NVivo are called) that had already been identified in the previous phase. However, the 'pre-NVivo phase' was undoubtedly instrumental in pre-empting the problems of 'coding traps' (L. Richards, 2005) that researchers new to the software typically experience. By the time I reached my 'NVivo phase', I had developed a clear picture of my data and could start a purposeful exploration of the emerging relationships.

On numerous rereadings of the transcribed data new interpretative and analytical nodes (Miles and Huberman, 1994; L. Richards, 2005;

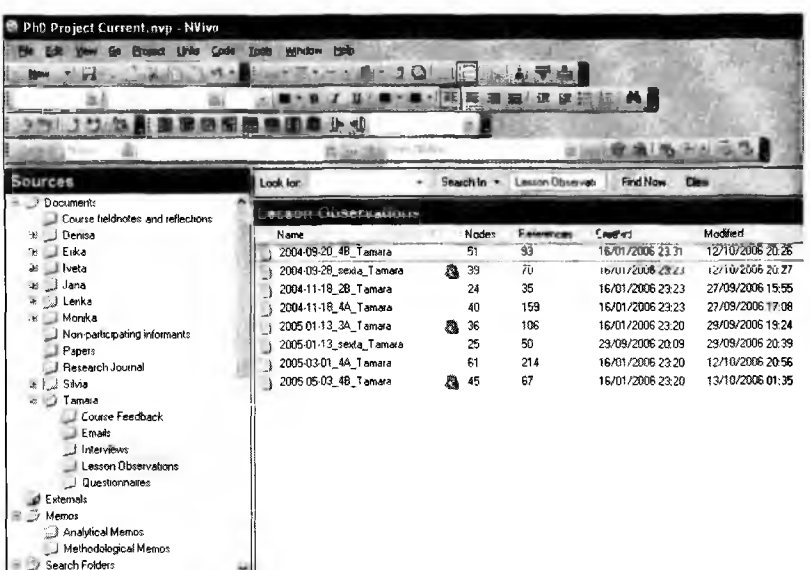


Figure 5.3 A computer screenshot illustrating the way data records were storec and organised in NVivo

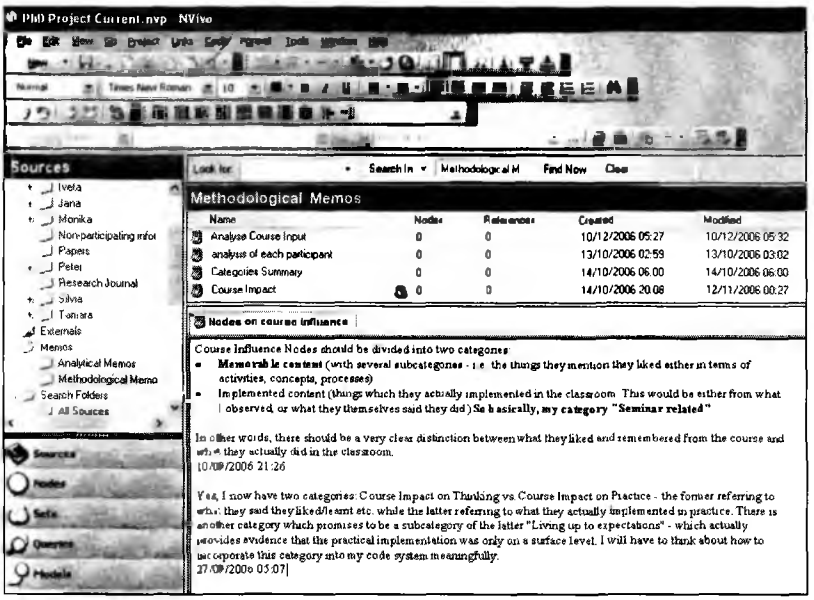


Figure 5.4 Sample NVivo output of a methodological memo

L. Richards and Morse, 2007) were added to my list and new ideas were explored through a number of analytical tools available in NVivo, each of them fulfilling a different function:

- *Methodological memos*, whose main purpose was to record ideas regarding the methodological process, such as why certain nodes were created (for an illustration of such a memo, see Figure 5.4).
- *Analytical memos*, that is, reflections about emerging ideas, which are rightly considered to be the documents where real analysis takes place (cf. Dörnyei, 2007). Insights in the initial research journal served as impetus for a more thorough engagement with the topics in analytical memos in NVivo. For a sample of this type of memo, see Figure 5.5.
- *Annotations*, fulfilling the function of brief notes, provided further detail or an interpretative comment about a particular event described in the data record. The scribbled notes in the margins of my observation field notes which were initially integrated into observation documents and distinguished from the 'raw' data by different font colour were transformed into annotations once the documents were

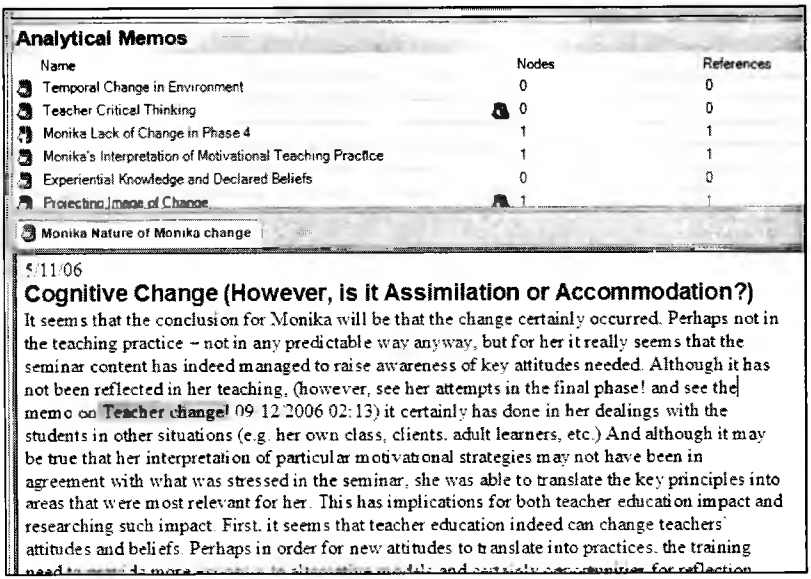


Figure 5.5 Sample NVivo output of an analytical memo

imported to NVivo. For an illustration of this type of tool in NVivo, see Figure 5.6 where two annotations can be seen, each relating to the different data segment highlighted in the observation document.

- *'See also' links*, which were invaluable in enabling me to cross-reference relevant data records, memos, nodes or data segments; this proved particularly useful when constructing summaries of individual research participants and preparing the final presentation of the project results. Figure 5.7 illustrates an analytical memo with its ideas linked to the original data records. These links, marked by highlighted text that is cross-referenced, are 'live', i.e. instantly accessible.
- *Models and category maps*. This facility enabled me to create visual displays of what was happening in the data, for example, by creating category maps, an early version of which can be found in Figure 5.8.

The major advantage of conducting the analysis in NVivo software was being able to work 'live' with the data segments (L. Richards, 2005), that is, browse the data coded at individual nodes, split, merge and/or rename nodes, re-sort coding trees, and recode the content as data were interrogated and ideas explored, without altering data records in any way or losing the context of the coded segments. Through this iterative

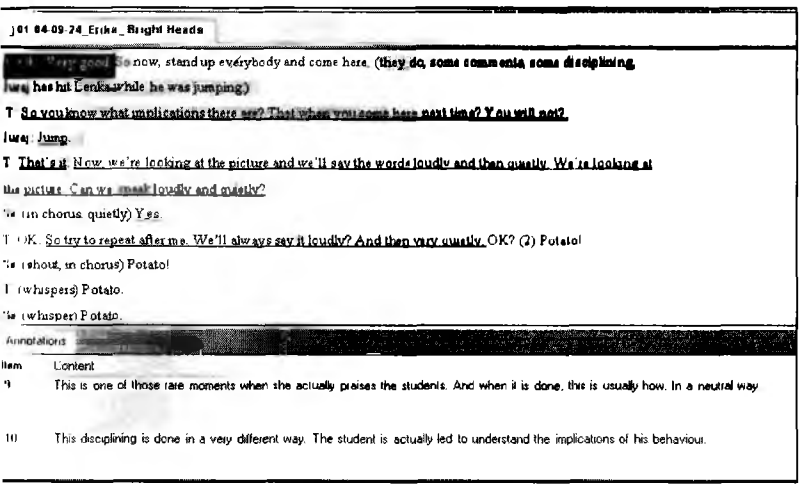


Figure 5.6 Sample NVivo output of an annotated observation transcript

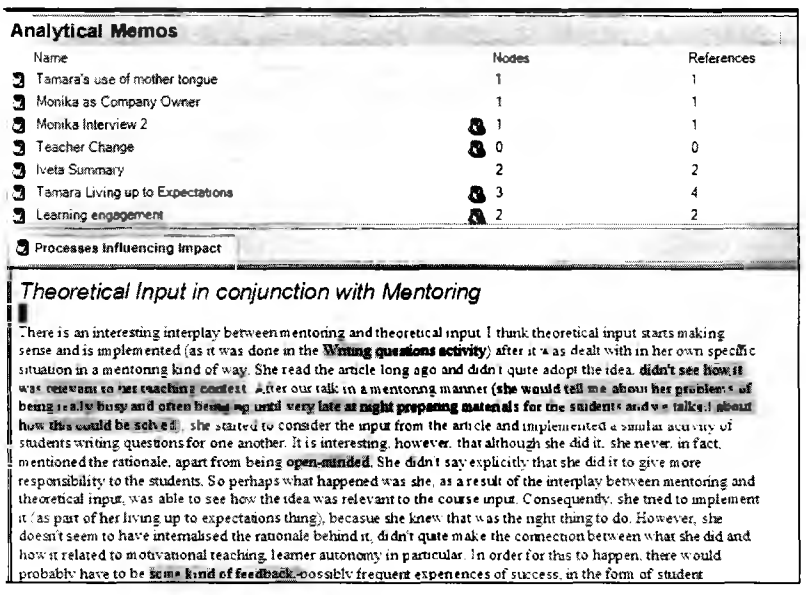


Figure 5.7 Sample NVivo output of a memo cross-referenced through 'see also' links

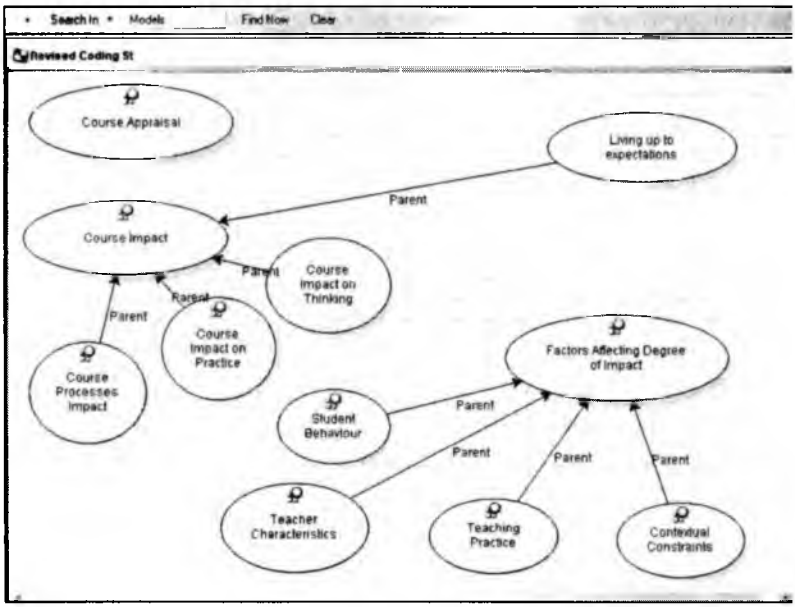


Figure 5.8 NVivo sample of an early category catalogue displayed as a model

in-depth interrogation process, its rigorous recording in annotations and memos, by cross-referencing the latter through 'see also' links and displaying the resulting ideas in models and category maps, a theory of language teacher conceptual change began to take shape.

5.5.4 Theory building

The emerging results of the in-depth analytical process described above prompted me to further investigate the literature on human learning/change to see whether the findings and constructs that appeared salient in this project resonated in any way with established theories in social sciences. The iterative process of interrogating the data as well as existing theories provided me with a conceptual basis on which the theoretical model derived from the data could be grounded. Figure 5.9 represents a finalised coding structure, the result of repeated re-sorting, through which language teacher change is explained in this book.

5.6 Summary

The description I have offered in this chapter may give a false impression of a neat and straightforward research process. Nothing could be further

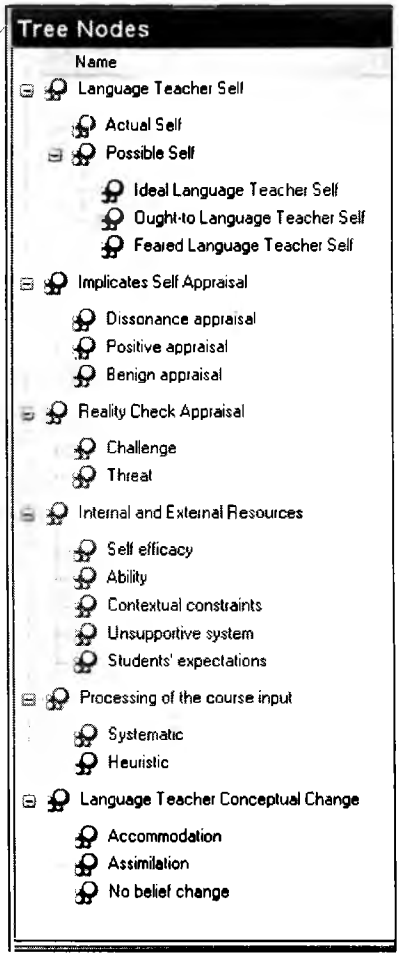


Figure 5.9 NVivo output of a finalised coding tree structure

from the truth and the many practical, methodological and ethical trials and tribulations have already been tackled extensively elsewhere (Hobbs and Kubanyiova, 2008; Kubanyiova, 2008). My aim in this detailed chapter was to provide as clear and transparent picture of the research procedures as possible, not only to demonstrate the trustworthiness of the research findings, but also to enable language teacher cognition researchers to adopt and/or critique this or similar methodological designs in the study of language teachers' change.

The next four chapters of this book will take us through key processes of teacher conceptual change. Each of the following four chapters highlights a specific construct or mechanism that this study has revealed as significant in language teachers' conceptual change. In discussing these constructs, I draw on the data of the relevant research participants and use LTCC as introduced in Chapter 4 as a backdrop for my analysis. Although for some readers this may be a first encounter with this theoretical model, the illustrative data-based examples will hopefully provide sufficient detail to explicate the theoretical concepts.

6

It's Not What They Know, It's Who They See: Ideal Selves as Central Cognitions in Conceptual Change

> I saw the angel in the marble and carved until I set him free.
>
> Michelangelo

One of the key findings that has emerged from language teacher cognition research and that has been repeatedly underscored is the notion that teachers' prior knowledge and beliefs must be brought to a conscious level in order for any meaningful change to occur. This has now been widely acknowledged and translated into many teacher education programmes which declare an aspiration to encourage teacher reflection. The findings presented here challenge this view. They do so not by denying the importance of teachers' prior cognitions in conceptual change, but by unearthing those that play a central role in this process. As has been discussed earlier, systematic reflection is paramount for intentional conceptual change. What the findings presented in this chapter make clear, however, is that such reflection is prompted by the teachers' vision of who they would like to become. It seems, therefore, that it is not so much what the teachers know or believe but who they see when they imagine themselves in the future that has a real impact on the depth with which they approach new ideas and educational innovations. Of course, not all visions lead to meaningful development and the purpose of this chapter is to unpack this distinction. I begin by examining the research participants' more general motivational orientations as the analysis of these was the starting point which led to uncovering a broader future-related self-construct, language teachers' ideal selves.

6.1 Motivation to teach

I already noted in Chapter 2 that teacher motivation has traditionally not been examined within the scope of the language teacher cognition domain. This omission may be due to the fact that teacher motivation is something that is assumed and counted on rather than investigated in studies on language teachers' cognitive development. That is, when we examine the impact of a specific teacher education programme either as language teacher cognition researchers or as teacher educators, we assume that the teachers who took part in it did so because they wanted to learn new skills and techniques, update their pedagogical knowledge or, quite simply, become better teachers. The data of this project show that in order to truly understand language teachers' conceptual change, we must inspect teachers' goals, purposes and motivational orientations much more thoroughly; not so much in terms of *whether* the teachers are motivated to pursue their professional development, but *what* motivates them. Let me begin this inquiry by taking a look at the research participants' motivation to enter the teaching profession.

Most of the eight teachers chose their university degree programmes because they either had a positive attitude towards English or because, as opposed to other school subjects like maths or chemistry, English was one they felt fairly competent in. Their initial motivation to major in English seemed, therefore, to be inspired by the desire to know and use English, rather than teach it. This ties in with the motivational patterns reported in Kyriacou and Kobori's (1998) study of Slovenian teacher trainees for whom enjoying English and the importance of English were the top two motives to become English teachers. However, in the case of Slovakian teachers in general (and perhaps equally for those in Slovenia), the general lack of pedagogically oriented motivation to pursue an English degree is more than understandable within the broader sociocultural context as well as that of formal teacher preparation. As we saw in Section 5.1.2, the emphasis of the five-year BA/MA combined degree programmes is predominantly on knowledge about and of the English language and this is in fact how the programmes are advertised to attract prospective applicants. Although the resulting qualification is officially recognised as a teaching qualification, and this is what the certificate states explicitly, teaching is just one of the many different options open to English degree graduates. In fact, as confirmed in informal conversations I had with university teacher educators at two different universities in Slovakia, the vast majority of students on the teacher preparation programmes do not have any particular attraction to a teaching career. As the head teacher

in one of the schools I visited sadly observed, due to unfavourable conditions (primarily with regard to remuneration), teaching as a career seems to be in the vast majority of cases a last resort rather than a first choice for graduates in foreign languages.

Clearly, this does not hold true for all the participants in this research since at least half of them said that they had never considered any other career but teaching. However, the interview data do show such tendencies in Monika (at least initially) who upon graduation decided to pursue a career other than teaching because she thought that she was 'capable of much more than ending up being a teacher' (Interview 1, 22 September 2004) and only when this proved unsuccessful did she 'come back' to 'where [she] belong[ed]'. Similarly, Iveta had different plans and decided to further her studies in the other subject of her double major because she 'didn't know that ... [she'd] be in school, teaching and stuff and probably didn't consider it properly'. Jana openly admitted that teaching was just an interim stage in her career and she was doing it 'perhaps mainly for (1) (quietly) the money' (Interview 4, 13 May 2005). And, finally, Denisa recalls how she was looking for a part-time job to fund her university studies when a friend told her that 'they were desperately short of staff.... She told me to go and ask them. So I went and asked ... and they asked me straight away how many hours I could take on. And that was it. This is how I was offered the job' (Interview 1, 30 September 2004).

Of course, as I have indicated above, this does not mean that none of the research participants actually wanted to become teachers; quite the contrary. Erika, for instance, 'can't remember this exactly, but my parents tell me that I had always wanted to be a teacher, since I was a child' (Interview 1, 24 September 2004). Similarly, Silvia's reply to my question was simple, unembellished and clear: 'I've always wanted to teach' (Interview 1, 29 September 2004). We will come back to Silvia and Erika in the later chapters, but what is particularly important at this point is a closer examination of why some of these research participants always wanted to teach and what made those for whom teaching was not a top career choice 'tick' once they found themselves in the profession. Let us look at a few examples.

Lenka's major motivation was clearly the love of English, as for her it was 'music to my ears' (Interview 1, 28 September 2004). Having grown up in a family of teachers, Lenka had never considered any other career. The teaching job somehow felt a natural choice. Similarly, having been surrounded by teachers in her family all her life, Tamara knew she was 'most probably going to do a teaching degree, what exactly, that was just

the question of time'. So for both Lenka and Tamara the teaching career decision was somehow thrust upon them through a family tradition. While Lenka found her love of English crucial in guiding her choice of subject, Tamara, in contrast, put more emphasis on being a teacher of anything, because what she liked about this job was the 'feeling that I am important to [the students] at that moment' (Interview 1, 22 September 2004).

We have already seen that Iveta had not really planned to become a teacher (in fact, she repeated the word 'never' twice very emphatically when asked directly) and a closer look at her data reveals that she was motivated to pursue any career in which her self-esteem would be nurtured. Although the teaching career once offered her that opportunity ('I was the only person who had been abroad, so I knew more colloquial expressions, and [colleagues] asked me stuff... when I started they were all shocked how good [I was]' (Interview 3, 3 January 2005)), things changed dramatically as time passed by and Iveta no longer found satisfaction in the teaching job:

> *Interviewer* [So] if you could choose [now, what would you do]?
> *Iveta* If I could choose, I think, just about anything would be better than this [teaching at this school]. It's killing me here. You do your best and nobody appreciates it, you work hard and nobody gives a heck.

We could, of course, continue with elaborate discussion of the various motives that made the research participants 'tick' as well as those factors that contributed to the disillusion of some of them. However, what is particularly striking in the view of the focus of this study is the absence of an intrinsic motive that is frequently quoted as one of the most important reasons why teachers embark on their career: the desire to have a positive impact on young people (Whitaker et al., 2009). It is true that Erika actually mentioned 'being with people, working with them' (Interview 1, 24 September 2004) as the reason why she may have wanted to become a teacher. Similarly, Silvia quotes her love of children as the only reason that keeps her in the job: 'If I wasn't happy being with the kids, I wouldn't be here. There's nothing, no reward, no equipment, the staff, the management, I won't even mention that and the parents, just the same. There's no other motivation' (Interview 2, 11 November 2004). However, intrinsic teacher motivation with regard to the educational process (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997) does not emerge as a strong theme in the overall data set of this project. This is in sharp contrast with evidence gathered in other EFL contexts, such as Greece

(Michlizoglou, 2007), Turkey (Tardy and Snyder, 2004), China (Watzke, 2007) or Sri Lanka (Hayes, 2005) in which the EFL teachers, even though they may have ended up in the profession for various reasons, talked about students and their 'moments of learning' (Tardy and Snyder, 2004, p. 122) as the main fuel of their motivation to keep going once they embarked on a teaching career.

Instead, the Slovakian teachers in this study strikingly resemble Johnston's (1997) research sample of Polish EFL teachers whose entry to the profession lacked a sense of agency and was either accidental or second choice. Even where a teaching career was an obvious first choice for some of the teachers, it was, in most cases, either subject matter-driven (just as in the studies of Polish or Slovenian teachers) or self-esteem-oriented. As I tentatively concluded in my earlier reflections on these findings (Kubanyiova, 2006), this may be significant in the context of a teacher development course whose objective is to help the teachers to understand and create motivating conditions for students' learning in the language classroom.

6.2 Motivation to join the project

The above findings seem puzzling to say the least given the teachers' documented enthusiasm and commitment for the duration of the course (Kubanyiova, 2006) and warrants further inquiry into their *motivation to join the project*. When asked directly, most teachers would initially formulate their motivation to join the project in terms of the desire to learn new things and improve their teaching practice. This, of course, made sense given their deep commitment as well as genuine enthusiasm and involvement during the input sessions. A closer look at the qualitative data, however, uncovers very different patterns.

As in her motivation to teach, it was Iveta's self-esteem that seemed to be her driving force in joining the project. The following extract from her feedback on the first session is but one example of what appears, as we will see later, a major theme in her data set:

> The fact that I have joined the project gives me more confidence. Perhaps this seems to have no connection, but I feel that I am doing something for myself, that I am not just a 'dumb colleague' as we are sometimes addressed by XY (her colleague).... And lastly, the kids love me more, because they say it is so nice of me that I allowed them to write their own opinion about me and that I want to change because of them ... they told me that no one had ever done that for them before.

For Lenka and Jana, the main motive was the opportunity to practise English, given that they could not do it elsewhere. Lenka, in fact, does not really mention reasons other than the chance to speak English. She was a typical busy EFL schoolteacher with her teaching load surpassing by far the minimum of 23 contact hours, yet, in contrast with the general trend in Slovakia (as described in Section 5.1.3), she was an enthusiastic participant in in-service development opportunities available to English teachers. In her first interview (28 September 2004), she explains why:

Lenka Yes, I've got a lot of work and I hope I always will, I always teach a lot of hours, but on the other hand, as they say, 'You can't teach an old dog new tricks', I don't believe in it.
Interviewer Ah, you don't.
Lenka Because some of my colleagues ... think that they know everything. ... But when I go to conferences I see that there are so many good ideas, so many interesting things I can learn. And also, I can hear English. Because here, among ourselves [colleagues], we don't do that [communicate in English]. ... And that is music for my ears. So THAT I can learn, too.

There seemed to be two reasons why she engaged in professional development and I wanted to sum them up to check if this was what she meant:

Interviewer So two reasons. To gather some new tricks –
Lenka – but I have gathered so many things ... [and] I'm using a lot of that, although time is always short, but all the same. I often make copies for [the students], do activities with them, mainly in the conversation classes.

The immediate dismissal of one of the reasons she had initially outlined suggests that the primary purpose of Lenka's engagement in professional development activities was to practise English conversation. All her data point to the fact that it was indeed the main motive for her decision to participate in the present project and whenever asked about the possible implementation of the course content, she replied in a similar vein, often showing me her rich bank of materials that she uses in conversation classes and therefore suggesting no real need for more. Therefore, it seems that anything 'interesting' that she could potentially learn on the TD course would probably end up as contingencies for conversation lessons, but she, otherwise, never contemplated integrating the TD course ideas into her everyday teaching practice.

Jana, on the other hand, does mention learning about teaching methods, activities and motivation as reasons for joining the project. However, her priority, from the way she elaborates on it in her feedback on Session 1, is clear:

> For me, it's invaluable to spend at least one whole day speaking English with other teachers, because at home I mostly teach beginners, or lower-intermediate students and you can't really discuss things with them that much. They mostly learn from me, not the other way round. During the seminar, I can learn from others things like vocabulary, pronunciation, or teaching methods, activities, motivation.

Thus, although teachers' motivation to participate in teacher education programmes is typically assumed, this study demonstrates that a closer examination of their motives may yield surprising results. It appears in this case that, contrary to common-sense expectations, most teachers did not volunteer to participate in the project in order to explore ways of creating a motivating learning environment; their motivation to join, instead, appears to closely correspond with their motivation to teach. Those who were primarily motivated to become teachers by their love of English seemed to join the project for similar reasons – to practise it. Those for whom self-esteem was important in guiding their career decision saw their participation in the project as an opportunity to strengthen their personal and professional standing. As the data analysis progressed, however, these tendencies began to recur in other aspects of the teachers' data and it became clear that they pointed to something more significant and more central in the teachers' lives than simple motives to become teachers or join the project. In the next section, then, I document how the initial exploration of the teachers' motivation to teach and join the project uncovered the centrality of the future-related self-construct, their ideal selves.

6.3 Emerging connection between motivation and ideal selves

The two motives, namely the love of English and the desire to be important and appreciated, were in various ways reflected in the teachers' classroom behaviours and discourse, in how they reflected on their teaching, in what stories they chose to tell or in their more general interactions with colleagues and friends. What was also quite intriguing from the analytical point of view were the frequent overlaps with a

range of self-related constructs in the initial phases of the coding process (e.g. self-esteem, self-perceptions, self-image, perceived superiority, ego-related goals) and these began to uncover the importance of an over-arching self-concept theme in the motivational data.

For example, Tamara's desire to be important for the students, which she quoted as one of the primary motives to teach, matched her instructional practices and discourse: she took on almost all leadership roles in the classroom and this was clear from the way she organised tasks, structured classroom interaction or explained grammar in her classes (Kubanyiova, 2010). In addition, her control and leadership were also exercised outside of the classroom, in her professional as well as personal interactions with colleagues, family and friends.

Similarly, Lenka's love of English was clearly reflected in what she did and said in the classroom, and the concerns she expressed about her teaching almost exclusively related to language or, more precisely, her own linguistic competence. The questions she asked me after (and sometimes even during) the observed classes were never actually related to particular teaching strategies or pedagogical problems, but always concerned vocabulary or grammar. She seemed to be constantly occupied with whether what she said in the class (and even during the TD course itself) was 'correct'. Thus, a competent English speaker appeared to be central to who she was striving to be as an EFL teacher.

However, it was the analysis of Iveta's data set that forced me to completely reassess the way in which I looked at her and the other research participants' data. Iveta's desire to be respected and appreciated by her colleagues and students was obvious in countless interview passages and classroom episodes, and the observational data contain numerous examples where she even seemed to pursue her goal of being liked and respected at the expense of facilitating students' learning (cf. Kubanyiova, 2009c).

In almost all stories that she told, be it with regard to her language learning history, language teaching episodes or more general life experiences, her role was always very clearly delineated as someone who is 'the best', 'a star', 'appreciated', someone who 'made [people's] day' or who 'changed [their] lives'. The following are just a couple of excerpts from her first interview (September 2004), including Iveta's account of her early English language learning experiences,

> And maybe it was also the fact that in year one in high school, they put me in the group of beginners, because I wanted it – but in fact, I wasn't of course a beginner, I was the best in the group. Oh, I was a star! I read the textbook ahead of lessons, so that I could be the best.

and her recollection of a university teacher whom she remembered as someone who made a real difference to her English competence,

> One of our classmates [in a university class] asked in the middle of the course, 'Excuse me, what are those (inaudible; linguistic term)?' And you can imagine [the lecturer], she was absolutely horrified! And then she told him angrily, 'Arrange private classes with Iveta!' So that was it. I have to thank her that I am good at English. That she... Maybe she doesn't even know how much she did for me.

However, it is important to mention at this point that Iveta's data did not always make logical sense at the surface level (as can, in fact, also be observed in the above example); some of the events that she described had an air of implausibility or hyperbole about them and there were also numerous contradictions in her data when she would directly oppose what she said in the earlier phases of data collection or perhaps even within the same interview. Even in post-observation interviews, it would not be unusual for Iveta to offer interpretations that seemed to bear no resemblance with the 'thick' descriptions of what transpired in the class documented in my field notes. Yet, I began to sense that there was something so fundamental going on in her data that to treat these accounts as a mere medium for transmitting information (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009) and dismiss them as untrue or unreliable would mean to miss a critical analytical opportunity. As I noted in my earlier analytical memo (27 June 2006):

> What ... seems to permeate all her data is her insatiable desire to be liked, respected, praised, etc. Her self-image needs constant reassuring.... And so although I am not sure I can trust her often contradictory and incoherent stories, I can certainly trust their connecting and ever-present element of this approval-seeking.

And indeed, with the shift in analytical focus from what Iveta was *saying* to what she was *doing* (Holstein and Gubrium, 2008; Speer and Hutchby, 2003) in her narratives, powerful stories of who she was yearning to become began to emerge. Let me just quote one last excerpt from Iveta's first interview, which, regardless of whether the event it describes is past or imagined, paints a compelling and moving picture of Iveta's vision of herself:

> *Iveta* It's this inner feeling that (2) I need to see it. The concrete outcome of my work.
> *Interviewer* And do you see it here, in teaching?

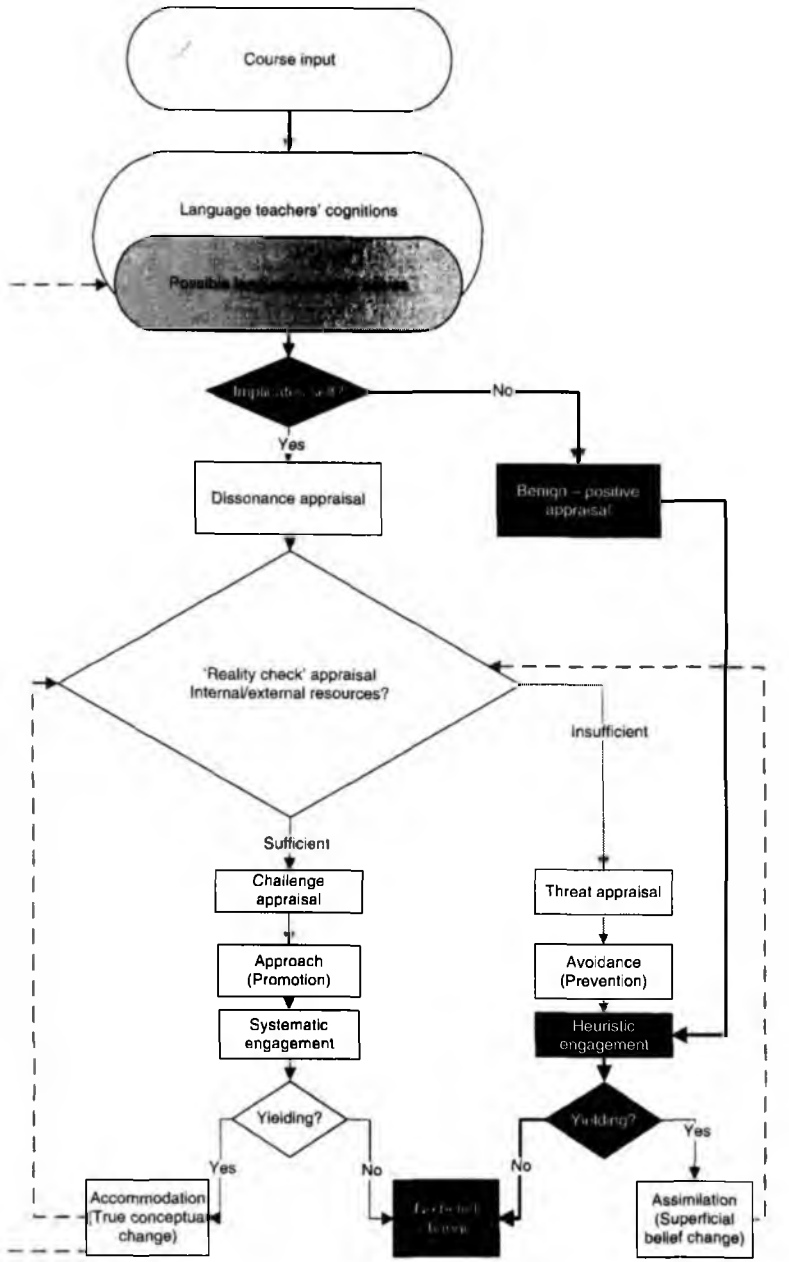
Iveta Hmmm. (4) Difficult to say. Once I had that feeling when there was not much to do during the last classes of the school year with kids. And they said to me, 'we're going to write what we think of you, would you like us to do that?' They said they'd done the same thing for their class teacher and they also wanted to do it for me. I said, 'OK?' And they like 'but we're not gonna sign our names or anything' and I like 'OK?' Oh, can you imagine how I cried over those sheets of feedback! Like 'Because of you I started to learn English.' 'Because of you I will study hard.' And 'I love you.' Yes, you heard. 'I love you.'

Although I did not adopt an explicitly narrative approach to the analysis of the research participants' stories, these data clearly confirm Kiernan's (2010, p. 143) conclusion that 'narratives of the self can be opportunities for reflection on past and present selves, drawing on resources in time and space'. We should also add, based on the above discussion, that such narratives can also function as powerful spaces for delineating our future selves, and a systematic analysis of these using the tools Kiernan has adopted can be an important future direction in research on language teachers' ideal selves.

Empirically, then, I have documented here how and why broader 'conceptions of the self in future states' (Leondari et al., 1998, p. 219) or 'identity goals' (Pizzolato, 2006), also adopted as ideal selves in the reconceptualised model of L2 motivation (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009b), began to emerge as central to the teachers' lives. What is still missing from this discussion is a theoretical explanation of the role these ideal selves play in conceptual change. What does the teacher's vision have to do with her conceptual change? And how exactly does who the teacher sees when she imagines herself in the future impact on the way in which she approaches new ideas? The theoretical model of Language Teacher Conceptual Change (LTCC) is applied in the next section to explain the developmental paths of Lenka, Jana and Iveta whose data offer the best illustration of the centrality of ideal selves in teacher conceptual change.

6.4 LTCC: 'Nice-but-not-for-me' route

Lenka, Jana and Iveta followed fairly similar paths in their reactions to the TD course input and although there were slight variations in how they approached it, the mechanisms that were ultimately at play in hindering the process of conceptual change appear identical. Figure 6.1 is a graphical representation of how the LTCC model can be applied to



ure 6.1 'Nice-but-not-for-me' route of LTCC

explain these three teachers' developmental route and I explain below why I have dubbed it the 'Nice-but-not-for-me' route of LTCC.

As a preliminary, it is important to mention that although there were many features of the three teachers' engagement with the course input that they shared with the rest of the research participants, the explicitness and directness with which they rejected some of its core principles were unique to this group. Not only did their data indicate no shift in conceptual understanding of a motivational teaching practice, which they continued to interpret as 'games, cards, and all that stuff' (Jana) aimed mostly for use in 'conversation classes' (Lenka), but they remained convinced that they as teachers played no part in influencing the motivational dynamics of the classroom even though the emphasis on the proactive role of the teacher was at the very core of the input sessions. My field notes from a whole-group discussion in Session 2 (November 2004) of the TD course provide perhaps the most pronounced insight into Iveta's and Lenka's beliefs in this respect:

> *Iveta* If students are not interested in what you want them to do in the class, you should simply let them be. They are adults, mature enough to make decisions. And so if they decide not to participate in classroom activities, they simply should not be pushed, because it is their right to choose not to participate.
>
> *Lenka* (*From the way she spoke, it really seemed to be something she very strongly agreed with.*) You can lead a horse to the water, but you can't make it drink. We should think whether we should waste our time on those who are not interested and neglect those who are or the other way round.

Jana's final interview (Interview 4, 15 May 2005) is a powerful confirmation that although the TD input undoubtedly managed to raise her awareness, her original beliefs remained in place and continued to guide her teaching practice:

> I don't know ... I haven't really thought that it's necessary to motivate learners. As I see it – they either want or don't want to learn. So ... and I myself am not motivated enough to engage in further learning ... So, this one, I haven't succeeded in.

Similar evidence can be found at the classroom practice level. Not only were there almost no signs of the three teachers' efforts to consider, let

alone implement, the course principles (some exceptions will be discussed later), but, more crucially, student classroom engagement patterns remained intact even where there was genuine scope for improvement. For instance, in one of Iveta's classes, only a very limited number of students regularly participated in the teacher-fronted discussions. This pattern remained evident throughout the project without Iveta ever acknowledging it as an issue that might be examined in the light of the TD course input.

Jana, on the other hand, may have recognised certain student engagement patterns as potentially problematic, but typically relied on heuristics (i.e. theories based on her prior knowledge and beliefs) in her evaluation of the situation rather than a systematic reflection on the TD course content and the classroom-based evidence. The following is a post-observation interview excerpt (Interview 2, 11 January, 2005) in which Jana expressed dissatisfaction with the way a group of weaker students in her class organised a group discussion. She particularly highlighted a mediocre summary they wrote about the outcomes of that discussion (this is how the weekly classes were organised, with a different group of students organising a whole-class discussion on an assigned topic each week and handing in a written summary of the main points raised, which was then assessed by Jana) and I tried to encourage her to analyse reasons for the students' poor written performance:

Interviewer Yes, maybe it would be interesting to compare this. Like if they only wrote three sentences again, even if the discussion organised by somebody else went really well, maybe that would tell us something about their skills, their abilities.

Jana Uhm. Uhm.

Interviewer Because now it may not be quite clear why they only wrote so little. Because of the failed discussion? Or the new role they found themselves in? Or their knowledge of English in general?

Jana Sure. Sure. But they, they have done several years of English now. So they really should be able to do this. It's not that they, that they, that they couldn't know this, but [they performed poorly] because they didn't want to [do well]. Or, maybe, they don't know. But they should. They should be able to do this.

And finally, although the research participants' positive appraisal of the course and its content was clear from their feedback (Kubanyiova,

2006), Jana, Iveta and Lenka quite readily and frankly admitted no intention to implement it. As Jana states,

> ... now [that the course is over] I have a feeling that ok and now I will again do nothing for myself. I will do nothing. It is (.) maybe (.) when (.) it's highly probable that once we've finished, I'll put all the materials aside and they will be covered in dust somewhere in the darkest corner because I will never again take them out (1) unless I really have the time. (Interview 4, 15 May 2005)

So how does LTCC explain the absence of conceptual change as evidenced in Lenka's, Jana's and Iveta's stated beliefs about motivational teaching in general and their role as motivational practitioners in particular, their observed practices in relation to students' engagement and their intentions to engage with the new principles? In a nutshell (see Figure 6.1), it appears that the major reason why the teacher development course did not stir any of them to a deep reflection on its content was that it simply did not tap into their ideal language teacher selves; in other words, their identity goals were not implicated by the course content. As a result, they appraised it either positively or in a neutral (benign) way and thus experienced no dissonance emotions necessary to trigger one's motivation to further process the course content systematically. Consequently, Lenka, Jana and Iveta used their heuristics (i.e. prior beliefs and theories about motivational teaching) to assess the course content and because the outcome of this assessment was their disagreement with the relevance and/or feasibility of such an approach to teaching in their respective contexts (even despite a generally positive appraisal of the course itself and some of its principles in theory), no conceptual change occurred as a result of their participation in this teacher development initiative. An empirically-based summary of Jana, Iveta and Lenka's 'Nice-but-not-for-me' developmental trajectories is provided in Boxed Text 6.1.

Although, in the context of their overall data set, the developmental routes of these three teachers were fairly transparent, some departures from these paths in their data deserve attention. To start with, my data records document a moment in the course of the fieldwork when Lenka, despite her general confidence in her teaching and her conviction that the course content did not implicate her ideal self, might have experienced dissonance caused by her realisation of a discrepancy between her temporarily adopted ought-to self (i.e. the one implied by the course content, which will be discussed in detail in

Boxed Text 6.1 Lenka, Jana and Iveta: a summary of their 'Nice-but-not-for-me' LTCC route

Ideal language teacher self:

- Subject-matter related: self as English expert:
  'English is music to my ears.' (Lenka)
  'I teach because I want to stay in touch with the language.' (Jana)
- Self-esteem-oriented: self as highly regarded person:
  'Like it's this thing when somebody tells you, thank you that you smiled at me today, you made my day. You know. And at schools this cannot happen ... I think I need in my life that sort of recognition.' (Iveta)

Implicates self?

No. The content of the TD course does not relate to their ideal selves, i.e. creating motivating conditions for students' learning is not central to their working self-concept.

Appraisal:

- Positive:
  '[I liked] everything, everything!' (Jana)
- Benign (neutral):
  'but I have gathered so many things ... [and] I'm using a lot of that'. (Lenka)
- Negative:
  'No. I personally can't do that. I can't integrate it in [my normal lessons]. I can't. And they also ... Even if I tried something of that sort, they don't cooperate. ... For them, it somehow doesn't fit into a normal class.' (Iveta)

Heuristic engagement facilitated by the teachers' prior theories and experience:

- 'We should think whether we should waste our time on those who are not interested and neglect those who are or the other way round.' (Lenka)
- 'If students are not interested in what you want them to do in class, you should simply let them be.' (Iveta)
- 'As I see it – they either want or don't want to learn.' (Jana)

Yielding?

No. Their beliefs are in contradiction with the course content.
Outcome: no conceptual change

Chapter 8) and her actual self. This is documented in my journal (6 January 2005):

> Lenka rang me today to let me know that she's not coming to the seminar because the ... exam questions had to be submitted soon ... and she left it to the last minute, that's why she cannot come to the session. I have actually anticipated this, given her lack of engagement in Session 2, and I honestly think she probably decided there and then, with this just being an excuse. She also asked, not very courageously, whether I was coming to her school. I said I would love to if she did not mind, but should it cause any trouble to her, I was all right and we could postpone it. This time, I didn't have the feeling how welcome I was (as opposed to the first time when she generously offered me the chance to observe as many classes as I needed).

The excerpt shows that Lenka may have become conscious of the kind of language teacher self that the course input implied and realised that she did not feel comfortable with some of the elements promoted by the course or the research methods. My data indicate that the reflective approach that was often required in classes or interviews could have been the major challenge for her (see also Kubanyiova, 2008). Because she might have become aware of her insufficient skills and motivation to engage in such an approach to teaching, it is likely that Lenka perceived her prolonged engagement in the project as threatening her sense of self and hence, she may have decided to gradually withdraw participation.

It seems, therefore, that Lenka's LTCC developmental route resembles that of Tamara (discussed in detail in Section 8.6) rather than the one proposed here. However, the insights into Lenka's motives, major concerns and beliefs allow me to conclude that Lenka's Ideal Language Teacher Self as an Expert Speaker of English was so central to her working self-concept that its influence was able to override the threat of any feared selves that might have been induced by her continuing involvement in the project. Her decision to remain involved (she did come to the subsequent session of the TD course and did invite me with the same generosity to observe her classes in the subsequent phase) despite her temporary feelings of uneasiness and anxiety suggests that the feared self associated with not fulfilling the project's requirements became peripheral and the threat to her identity was therefore averted.

In short, Lenka's relentless pursuit of her Ideal Language Teacher Self seems to have rendered this temporary course-related ought-to self insignificant and therefore with no long-term impact on her participation in the project, which provided her with a valuable and rare chance to practise English conversation.

There were instances in Jana's data, too, that suggested a slightly different LTCC path than is proposed here. While Jana's motivation to teach was undoubtedly rooted in extrinsic reasons, some segments of her data set do not allow hasty conclusions that creating a motivating learning environment was not part of her Ideal Language Teacher Self. On the contrary, her concerns indeed seemed to be linked with improving the conditions for students' learning, the core part of the TD course content. She describes this in her second interview (11 January 2005):

> *Interviewer* You mentioned XY and how she wondered why on earth anyone would want to attend some teacher seminars on a Saturday morning. Could you perhaps explain why you do that?
>
> *Jana* Sure. ... it seemed to me that this would be helpful to me in that it could help me to revitalise my classroom a bit, make it more dynamic and a little bit, not really make them, but motivate them to learn. Because I feel it so much that they actually take it as a punishment, as an obligation. That now we need to attend this English course, because we have signed up for it. And for me this is demotivating. That they must and that's how they behave in the classroom as well. And I would be so happy if I could arouse this feeling in them, like we want to learn this. Because we enjoy it, because English is great, because this is interesting. So that's why.

However, in the context of her overall data, particularly with regard to her intention to implement the course input discussed earlier as well as her ambitions for the future (she did not really plan to teach unless her financial situation required it), these ideas seem to represent her abstract ambitions rather than ideal selves (see also my earlier theoretical discussion of the difference between possible selves and fantasies in Section 3.3). Although she valued and positively appraised them in theory, she did not really feel they implicated her self in practice. The following, a purposefully lengthy extract (Interview 4, 13 May 2005), captures Jana's struggle to establish whether or not the course input implicated her identity goals. In the light of her complete data set, I venture to suggest that this

attempt may in fact be a reflection of the interplay between her temporary ought-to (rather than ideal) and actual selves:

Jana And (.) I don't know (.) but I myself (.) I observed that [the course] hasn't influenced me that much, I haven't started to teach differently, but I started to think about certain things – that if I have time, I'll do them. But, for example, today when I (.) but perhaps I would have said that regardless of the project ... don't know whether you were there then when I said that they're not working as a team. I told them also at the beginning that I didn't like how they don't cooperate, don't copy things for each other, don't pass things or information on to each other. That has lasted until now, and I haven't succeeded in solving this. To bring them together as a team and encourage them to work together. Not at all. Not even in this group, although at the beginning I thought they were a better team ... So, this I haven't succeeded in, but perhaps when I have time to really go through all the materials from the seminars again, to read them and begin working in that spirit, I think I could perhaps succeed in something of that sort, you know, bringing students together as a group, team and to motivate them a bit. I think the motivation bit is somehow going past me ... I myself am not motivated, so I can't motivate those students to want to learn.

Interviewer You are not motivated, in what sense?

Jana I'm not motivated (.) hmmm (.) ehm (3). I go to teach perhaps mainly for (1) (quietly) the money ... So I'm not really enjoying it that much. ... But even so (2) I don't know. I haven't really thought that it's necessary to motivate learners. As I see it – they either want or don't want to learn. So ... and I myself am not motivated enough to engage in further learning. But what motivates me is a person like yourself – to do something for myself, and of course for the students, to think about my classes ... So when I see something that is interesting for me, that motivates me. But (2) well (1) I also tried to do something interesting for the students, to bring some elements to my classes like to have them decide what they want to do, what they find interesting, so I thought that would motivate them. But then ... well something worked out and something didn't.

This excerpt reveals that Jana is aware of a number of course-related issues, with the aspects of group-sensitive teaching being one example.

However, it is also quite clear that she has not fully grasped conceptually what group-sensitive teaching entails (i.e. that it may need the teacher's proactive intervention rather than reliance on the groups to develop naturally into the kind of productive groups she desired to have), but she struggles to see how her self is implicated by the reform message. Being a motivating language educator is, as she candidly admits, not part of her Ideal Language Teaching Self and although she makes the effort to make sense of the course content, she simply does not feel the necessary dissonance between who she is (actual self) and who she wants to be (ideal self) even though she actually reports incorporating some elements into her practice. Thus, in her case, the teacher development input variables, such as the course, the tasks, the trainer, the peers and the actual content, failed to induce any dissonance emotions and therefore functioned as heuristic rather than persuasion cues. Jana simply lacked the motivation to systematically process the course content in relation to her practice, and while she liked the approach, she concluded that this was not something that was relevant for her teaching context at the time. Therefore, she did not yield to the course content and no belief change occurred as a result.

And, finally, although I have grouped Iveta with Lenka and Jana, it has to be said that, initially, her developmental path appeared to be slightly different, displaying cues that her behaviour and discourse (either during the observed classes, interviews or course feedback) were guided by what she perceived were the obligations of the project, that is, her ought-to self. For example, in the initial fieldwork phases, she attempted to give somewhat more creative twists to coursebook vocabulary exercises (e.g. by having students prepare definitions of unknown words from the coursebook article themselves and have the rest of the class guess their meaning). In her feedback, she also seemed to positively appraise the TD initiative and perceive it as beneficial to her professional development, as the following excerpt from her feedback on Session 2 illustrates:

> Ever since I became involved [in the project], I tend to reflect much more on my classes, their structure and on what the students will get from them.

However, there were significant discrepancies between these appraisals and her teaching practice that I witnessed in the later stages of data collection, as well as her own reflections on this practice. The next interview extract (Interview 3, 3 January 2005) is possibly the best illustration that her beliefs remained intact and her intention to reflect on her classes

and how they create opportunities for students' learning simply did not become part of her goals:

> *Interviewer* So when you now prepare for the classes, it's more or less like –
>
> *Iveta* – I open the book, go through what's there, read the article. That's it. The only thing that I might think about is how to introduce the lesson. E.g. a short discussion related to the article. That's what I think about. But otherwise, I look at what's in the book and go.

As I have documented earlier, these discrepancies need to be understood within the context of her striving for recognition, which, as has been documented earlier, was a critical part of her vision of who she ideally wanted to become. However, her attitudes towards teaching became more transparent in the later stages of data collection and, possibly because of her realisation that her extended involvement in the research project no longer allowed her to project certain ought-to selves and gain the recognition that originally may have motivated her participation in the project, she had no problem with frankly admitting her beliefs about teaching. For example, she no longer made any extra effort to prepare for her observed classes in the later phases of data collection and even admitted openly her inability as well as unwillingness to do that in general:

> I don't really have the time [to invent something interesting for each class], and I don't feel like it either, to be honest. (Interview 3, 3 January 2005)

As we have seen in the earlier discussion, Iveta's thinking, rationalisations, classroom practice or even participation in the course seemed to be guided by her vision of a respected and loved person. At the same time, it appears that specific language teaching identity goals were absent from Iveta's self-concept, and because the course content did not imply a direct link between the course implementation and the recognition she wanted to get (i.e. she did not think she would increase her chances of being appreciated by the people in her teaching context by implementing the ideas of the TD course, though there was a possibility that she could achieve that by her participation in the TD initiative), Iveta did not perceive her ideal self as being implicated by the course content in any way. Consequently, there was no basis for course-related dissonance appraisal. Instead, she appraised the course input as neutral, used heuristics (heavily guided by her past experiences as a language learner) to assess

the course content, and concluded that she played no role in her students' motivation and she saw no reason to change this belief:

> And [the fellow course participant] was trying as a result of her kindness to persuade me that children are good. But I don't have the impression that all children are good. And she always blames herself that it's her fault if the kids are not learning, it's her fault when ... But I don't buy that. I don't think it's always just my fault. But I know from my own example that whatever the teacher (.) if I didn't want it, they would not make me. They could do whatever. Stand on their heads. If I didn't want it, I didn't want it. That was it. And (.) the kids, who don't participate in the class because perhaps they don't like me as a teacher or something? Well, alas! I can't do much about it can I? If they want to learn English, let them choose another school, or I don't know... (Interview 2, 22 November 2004)

6.5 Summary

This chapter has introduced the construct of language teachers' visions, conceptualised here as Ideal Language Teacher Selves. As is clear from the above empirical discussion, ideal selves should not be understood as mere future career ambitions, but rather in terms of the teachers' internalised future images of themselves that guide and define how they approach and make sense of their work. A poignant reminder that such images are critical even in contexts that are scarred by armed conflict and offer very little hope for the future has been made by Krishnan, a Tamil EFL teacher working in Sri Lanka (Hayes, 2010, p. 76):

> [Krishnan]: I don't believe in the future, I believe in the present.
>
> I [Interviewer]: So you have no vision of where you personally might be in five years time?
>
> [Krishnan]: Not in the timeline, but I visualize myself ... I have more energy, I have more knowledge of working things out so I think I would be kind of like a magnet. I would be transferring some of the energy to people who are going to be associated with me in the years to come. That's what I believe in doing. I know I'm gathering things, I know I must leave it to others.

We have seen from the data presented in this chapter that ideal selves are a central part of the teachers' lives. Not only do they guide the teachers' motivation to teach and participate in professional development,

but they are firmly imprinted in what the teachers do in the classroom, what concerns them about their practices, which classroom events they are determined to act upon and to which, in contrast, they, subconsciously or deliberately, turn a blind eye.

Most importantly in the view of this study, we have seen that the images that the teachers have internalised as their Ideal Language Teacher Selves impact significantly on how they engage with new ideas encountered in teacher education programmes and teacher development initiatives. The findings of Iveta, Lenka and Jana have shown that conceptual change, which requires a deep reflection on the course content, is unlikely to occur if the teachers' ideal selves are in no way implicated by the course input. This is because without such concurrence, there is no reason to embark on the more effortful route of systematic reflection and, as a result, the teachers' decisions about the nature, relevance, practical application or desirability of the new ideas are made by falling back on rather than reviewing their prior theories. Thus, the efforts to bring to a conscious level what the teachers know and believe may be futile if their ideal selves are and remain at odds with the visions implied by the teacher education input.

One important finding that needs to be emphasised here concerns the content of Ideal Language Teachers' Selves. Contrary to prior evidence and common-sense expectations, there was a major contrast between most teachers in this research sample and those in, for instance, Hayes's (2005) research. The latter, once in the profession, talked about a strong sense of pride of their students and cited the 'gleam in their eyes, the way they show that they understand' (Hayes, 2005, p. 178) as the major source of their personal and professional satisfaction. In contrast, I had hardly ever heard the research participants in the current study talk about their students' 'moments of learning' (Tardy and Snyder, 2004). Instead, irrespective of years of teaching experience, their main concerns centred around their expertise in the subject matter and maintaining a positive self-image. Sadly, therefore, Watzke's (2007) conclusion about the primary concerns of teachers appears in sharp contrast with the data generated in this project. As he maintains,

> Across various types of teacher education programs, a similar pattern emerges: Although beginning teachers initially struggle with self- and, increasingly, task-related concerns, these concerns are never as important as concerns for impact. Teachers' concerns for student learning and personal well-being are central to their work, regardless of years of teaching experience. (Watzke, 2007, p. 66)

As we have seen in this chapter, this is not always the case and has important implications for language teacher conceptual change. If the images that are central to the teachers' self-concept are different from or perhaps even directly contradict the images implied by the teacher education input, the 'Nice, but not for me' metaphor is likely to represent these teachers' reaction to the pedagogical principles and practices advocated by it.

7

Emotional Dissonance: Essential but Insufficient Catalyst for Conceptual Change

So far we have analysed in detail what happens when the teachers' ideal selves are incompatible with the teacher education input. In this and the remaining empirically based chapters, we will take a closer look at instances when the teacher development content *is* part of the teachers' future images. We will see that even though the teachers' visions are central cognitions in conceptual change, their existence is in itself not a guarantee that meaningful change will occur. In the next two chapters we will examine the role of two types of emotions, emotional dissonance and threat, which have both significant, albeit very different, consequences for conceptual change: the former is an essential, though not sufficient, condition, whereas the teachers' experience of the latter can be a major hurdle on their route to conceptual change. This chapter will apply the LTCC framework to examine Silvia, a research participant in this study, whose data have shown promising signs of an Ideal Language Teacher Self compatible with the TD course philosophy, but who has not experienced a moment of disequilibrium that is so clearly evident in the teacher from Horn et al.'s (2008) study in the following quote.

> That first week in class I wanted to communicate to my classmates [that] I know what I'm doing, so I gave the answers pretty confidently. And she would come right back on top of me – not saying 'you're wrong,' but with the questions that led me to [realize] I was wrong, or like there's another way here ... I realized all the things I'm doing, all the things that I thought were good math teaching that were helping my students, I really wasn't helping them ... that all of what I thought I knew (*laughter*) that was good teaching, I didn't. (Horn et al., 2008)

The purpose of this chapter is to examine in depth the consequences of this lack of dissonance which challenge the view that reaffirmation of one's beliefs can be considered as a meaningful teacher education impact. We will also consider examples where emotional tension was clearly experienced, but not followed up by the teachers' systematic reflection on the course content, which has been repeatedly emphasised in this book as the essential prerequisite for conceptual change. Hence, this chapter introduces the concept of emotional dissonance as an essential but insufficient catalyst for language teachers' conceptual change.

7.1 Teacher development as an emotionally charged process

The role of emotions in teaching has been the subject of extensive conceptual as well as empirical inquiry. Anecdotal evidence and our everyday experience converge with empirically based and theoretically developed arguments that teaching is a highly emotional process (Chang, 2009; Day and Leitch, 2001; Fullan, 1997; Hargreaves, 1998; Nias, 1996; Zembylas, 2003, 2004, 2005a) and emotions have also been explicitly acknowledged and examined in studies on teacher learning and change (Ambrose, 2004; Ashton and Gregoire-Gill, 2003; Kaasila et al., 2008; Kubanyiova, 2004b; Scott and Sutton, 2009). Several recent, mainly narrative, research studies have also documented the specific role emotional dissonance plays in teacher development.

For example, in her narrative account documenting her development as a teacher of English literature to immigrant students in the public schools in New York City, Herndon (2002) reflects on her immense enjoyment of the subject matter and the passion with which she prepared for her classes. Yet, as she recalls, although she had no doubts about her expertise and effectiveness as a teacher, something in her teaching did not 'feel right' (p. 35). This emotional dissonance between how she aspired to teach (i.e. allow students ownership of the literary texts) and the impact that her teaching actually had on the students (i.e. she felt that her excitement belonged more to her than to her students), triggered a whole new engagement with her own practice. She began to systematically examine relevant theories and, in collaboration with her colleague, developed a course whose aim was to facilitate the students' sense of ownership. This also led to a complete transformation of her own instructional and interactional practices, 'allowing [her] students to take centre stage' (p. 48), which also had a tangible positive impact on the students' engagement in the class.

Similar patterns have been documented by Golombek and Johnson (2004, also see Section 2.3.4) who examined teacher-author narratives for evidence of teacher learning. One of their research questions concerned factors that initiate and then drive the process of development. Their inquiry, grounded in sociocultural theory, into the teacher learning processes as evidenced in the teachers' narratives revealed that it was the teachers' emotional dissonance that triggered their recognition of contradictions in their teaching practices, which, in turn, led some of them to formulate a specific action plan to address those discrepancies. Golombek and Johnson conclude that rather than having a complementary role in aiding teacher development, emotions are in fact its primary driving force.

And finally, Galman's (2009) ethnographic study of the identity development of beginning teachers enrolled in a US teacher preparation programme has yielded very similar findings. Galman concluded, based on her analysis of the pre-service teachers' stories of the many contradictions they encountered in their teaching worlds as they were trying to make sense of their new roles, responsibilities and identities, that emotional dissonance may play a key catalytic role in the development of pre-service teachers' identities.

We can see from this brief overview that empirical evidence is converging around the critical role of emotional dissonance in conceptual change and this is clearly acknowledged in Gregoire's (2003) theoretical model described earlier as well as in LTCC, which is the main focus of this book. What we need to understand in the context of this anatomy of failure, however, is what contributes to the teachers' feelings of emotional dissonance, why it is not always experienced and what consequences this has for conceptual change. At the same time, it is also important to find out whether emotional dissonance, once the teachers have experienced it, is a guarantee of meaningful development. Let us start by taking a look at Silvia's developmental route within the LTCC framework.

7.2 LTCC: 'Couldn't-agree-more' route

Silvia's engagement with the course input was in many ways similar to that of the previously described research participants. Her LTCC route, however, is distinct from Iveta, Lenka and Jana in that her Ideal Language Teacher Self seemed to be aligned with the images of language teacher implied by the TD course. Thus, although, similarly to the previous group of teachers, Silvia underwent no conceptual change as a

result of her participation in the TD course, the reasons for this outcome in her case are quite different.

As can be seen in Figure 7.1 and in a summary provided in Boxed Text 7.1, Silvia's Ideal Language Teacher Self as a humanistic motivating English teacher is directly compatible with the course content, and this is in sharp contrast with the ideal selves of Lenka, Jana and Iveta analysed previously. This is, in fact, evidenced in a slightly heated discussion in Session 2 of the TD course. We may still recall Iveta's argument about simply 'letting the students be' presented in Section 6.4. Silvia's reaction to this idea in the same group discussion was the following:

> I had a really bad teacher in high school, but then we had a different teacher and I loved her and that's when I decided I myself wanted to be a teacher. She pushed me beyond my limits and I started to love English with her. So without this teacher who DID do something to motivate me, who didn't just let me be, I would have never liked English and I would have never become an English teacher. So I think, the students will be sorry later on that they did not do anything if I don't try my best to motivate them. (Field notes, TD Course Session 2, November 2004)

So not only does Silvia seem to strongly believe in the importance of the teacher's proactive role in facilitating students' engagement in the classroom, but she also explicitly defines herself along the lines of the TD course philosophy. The following interview excerpt (Interview 2, 11 November 2004) shows that she clearly perceives herself as someone who belongs to the right camp, values and does the right things and has whatever it takes to be a motivating language educator:

> I think [motivation] should be a subject. Like how would a university graduate ever have a clue what's to come when she enters the classroom. ... So whatever she learnt, she can't use. Like you come to the classroom and the kids have their legs like this (puts her legs on the table). Well, I solved that very quickly, I put my legs on the table as well (laughs). And they were shocked. So I have it, I'm lucky it comes naturally to me, but not everybody has it.

In addition, and this appears to be a particularly strong theme in her data set, Silvia's data contain frequent hints that her vision of who she is and wants to be involves clearly distancing herself from the rest of the teachers in her school and perhaps even teachers in general. The following

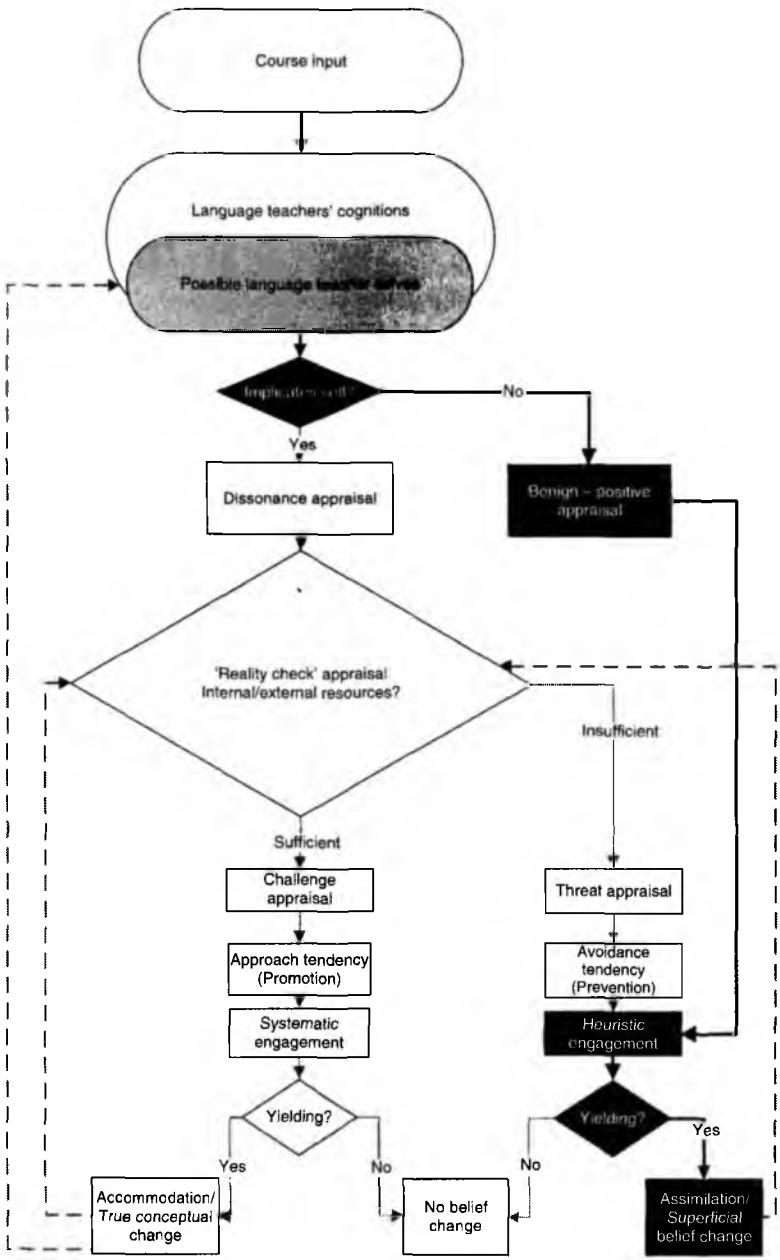


Figure 7.1 'Couldn't-agree-more' route of LTCC

Boxed Text 7.1 Silvia: a summary of her 'Couldn't-agree-more' LTCC route

Ideal Language Teacher Self:
Self as motivating humanistic English teacher:

'I've always wanted to teach'
'Why do we have to [yell at them]? Why can't we just talk to kids like normal people?'

Implicates self?
No. Although the content of the reform message is relevant to her Ideal Language Teacher Self, her identity is not implicated by it as she believes her practice is already aligned with the core principles of the reform message:

'I have [the ability to deal with motivation problems], I'm lucky it comes naturally to me, but not everybody has it.'

Positive appraisal:
'I think [motivation] should be a [university] subject.'

Heuristic engagement facilitated by her prior theories and experience:

'I had a really bad teacher in high school, but then we had a different teacher and I loved her and that's when I decided I myself wanted to be a teacher. She pushed me beyond my limits and I started to love English with her. So without this teacher who DID do something to motivate me, who didn't just let me be, I would have never liked English and I would have never become an English teacher. So I think, the students will be sorry later on that they did not do anything if I don't try my best to motivate them.'

Yielding?
Yes. Her beliefs are in agreement with the reform message.

Outcome: assimilation

extract (Interview 3, 9 March 2005) illustrates both these dimensions, her ideal self as someone who cares about the children and who, at the same time, differs from the others:

> You know, the thing is that the whole attitude [in this school] is totally off-the-mark. ... you see, if somebody (referring to a specific colleague)

> starts yelling in the corridor, like, go to your classroom (shouting)! And that student just came out of the classroom to have a little stroll or something. Like why do we have to do that? Why can't we just talk to kids like normal people?

It appears then that Silvia seems to have formed some kind of imagined community to which, according to her, she, myself and only few other teachers belong:

> You know, XY (university lecturer), she's the type like you or me, who deviates from the norm. (Interview 2, 11 November 2004)

Thus, caring relationships with the children and a 'deviation from the norm' seem to be two important and overlapping elements in her Ideal Language Teacher Self. There are many more examples in her data, especially interviews, pointing to the centrality of this image in Silvia's self-concept, but let me quote one last excerpt, this time from my own analytical memo (22 February 2007), which documents my growing awareness that Silvia clearly did not experience any dissonance between who she perceived she was (actual self) and who she wanted to become (ideal self). I focus in this memo on Silvia's use of a particular phrase which she used with a great frequency and which seemed to fulfil a specific function:

> I think her frequent use of the phrase 'you know' is quite significant. By throwing it in every now and then, she may want to remind whoever her audience is where she positions herself and use it as a device to ... make it clear that the course content does not concern her in the sense that she should change anything as she, 'you know', already does everything that needs to be done. By using the phrase, she in fact does not allow space for any doubts or questions her audience might have about some of the claims she makes.

It is perhaps only understandable that a closer look at Silvia's classroom-related data reveals her lack of deep engagement with the implications of her ideal self and, consequently, the relevance of the course content to her own teaching. A heavy reliance on heuristics dominates her post-observation reflections (e.g. simple rules like 'they didn't participate because of the weather') and where she encountered anomalies between her theories and the actual data (e.g. objective evidence from the classroom attesting to a lack of challenge for the students), she resolved

the problem swiftly, in a matter-of-fact manner by either ignoring the anomaly or reinterpreting it without amending her existing theory (cf. Chinn and Brewer, 1993). In this way, she was, for instance, able to justify the use of trivial tasks ('it's a fifth lesson, they need something lighter') without attending to the objective evidence that the students were not challenged enough. Even though such heuristic strategies used by Silvia in rationalising what she did in the classroom often resulted in messages which may have sounded incoherent and illogical, her confidence never appeared to be shaken. One example of Silvia's processing is provided next.

I found no traces in Silvia's data of the TD course impact (which is unsurprising, given her previously noted belief with regard to her actual language teacher self), apart from one brief moment. In her feedback on Session 1 of the TD course, Silvia wrote the following comment:

> we were talking about listening to each other and what is going on in our heads. It was a new thing which I learnt and I will think about it when I do listening with my kids.

She did not elaborate on this any further and because I was not sure about her interpretation of this aspect of the course content, I had planned to inquire about it in the subsequent interview. Before I had the chance to do that, I witnessed the following instructions she gave to her students (speaking in her first language) in one of her observed classes (11 November 2004) prior to the interview:

> The only thing I will ask you, turn your chairs so as to see those who are reading and listen to them (*noise as they start rearranging their chairs*) until your last breath, yes?

It seems, therefore, that she indeed picked up the course message regarding the importance of establishing certain social group norms in the language classroom, such as listening to each other, which are believed to facilitate the development of cohesive learner groups. However, even though she communicated the norm verbally at the beginning of the class task, she did not follow it up in any way and, more importantly, did nothing when the norm was almost instantly violated. One interpretation could be that this instance reflected the developmental process in Silvia whereby, although she had acquired a new conceptual understanding, she had yet to develop specific instructional strategies of enforcing the norm in her class. As I had planned, I asked her to elaborate

on her feedback in the post-observation interview, also hoping to get insights into whether or not my preliminary interpretation was viable. Surprisingly, her deliberations not only did not resemble in any way the course input, but she never made the connection between this particular course message and her previous, not more than an-hour-old, classroom implementation.

> That was the [activity] we did at the beginning, it was when you suddenly said, when you suddenly asked us what we were thinking about while the others were talking. And I then realised that yes, I wasn't listening at all, I was thinking about my own stuff, like how happy I was and [things] (laughs) and then when it was nearly my turn, I began to pay attention. So what I took from that for my own practice was that I observe when [we do] listening, like who is really listening and then I can see, really you can tell from the facial expression whether the person is listening or daydreaming. So now I am sort of aware of this. You know. That now. It may have been a bit strange to me, but now I already know what it is. That I'm just the same. So I don't really punish them for that. Because sometimes (laughs) it's really better to do something else than listen to them (laughs).

Even though she may have displayed some signs of impact in her previously described observed classroom, the above extract shows that she did not engage cognitively with the course input and, as a result, did not grasp its conceptual basis. Instead, she produced a whole series of heuristic 'rules' to justify her views (e.g. 'it is all right not to listen, because I'm like that too', or 'sometimes it's really better to do something else than listen to them') and to demonstrate her awareness of what she interpreted to be a motivational approach ('So I don't really punish them for that'). The absence of her systematic processing, however, prevented her from seeing that the conclusions she reached were in contradiction with those implied by the original course message. Indeed, rather than facilitate her students' learning, the application of the principles just articulated would, in fact, directly contribute to their disengagement and there are a number of examples in her observational data where this was exactly what happened.

So what can we conclude about Silvia's developmental route in relation to her participation in the TD course? Even though space limitations do not allow further analysis of her data, it is important to emphasise that numerous motivational strategies were part of her teaching practice

(e.g. use of humour, personalised digressions from more structured dialogues), student engagement was in evidence (e.g. frequent help seeking) and her warm rapport with them was obvious. This suggests that a Motivational Language Teacher was an important part of Silvia's Ideal Language Teacher Self, even though there is evidence that it may not have been fully grasped at a conceptual level. In contrast with the previous three research participants, Silvia also explicitly positioned herself as someone whose aspirations converged with the TD course content.

However, because she was confident that her cognitions and instructional practices were already aligned with the core principles advocated by the TD course (i.e. she perceived no discrepancy between her ideal and actual selves), Silvia, similarly to the previous three research participants, did not perceive her self implicated by the TD course input and experienced no emotional dissonance. Consequently, she did not engage in systematic reflection on the course content in relation to her teaching practice, but relied instead on her prior beliefs and theories about motivational teaching. Because Silvia perceived these as aligning with the course content, she yielded to the idea of motivational teaching and assimilated its principles into her existing belief system without further examining those principles in depth. This outcome failed to impact on her instructional practice in any significant way, and the conditions for students' learning remained unchanged even though her data revealed instances when her interpretation of motivational teaching may actually have hindered (and in some cases actually did) rather than fostered student engagement.

7.3 When dissonance does not lead to conceptual change

Although this issue will be discussed in depth in the next chapter, it is important to make just one brief point here as a preamble. The reason for offering an anatomy of failure in this book is the finding that conceptual change was not evident in the research participants who took part in this study. Yet, the analysis of the rich data set has shown abundant examples of the eight teachers' emotional dissonance experiences.

For instance, what Lenka was going through and what almost led to her withdrawal from the course could be interpreted as an example of emotional tension. Yet, as we saw in Section 6.4, this did not have an impact on Lenka's development. Highly emotional experiences are profuse in the data of Tamara (discussed in the next chapter) or Monika

(who will be the subject of Chapter 9) with some instances so emotionally charged that they even posed serious ethical dilemmas in this research project (Kubanyiova, 2008). For instance, this is how Monika reflected on her course participation experience, clearly going through an emotionally disturbing experience:

> while I'm enjoying something, it's great, but when all my energy's gone, that's it. (*laughs*). Humanist or no humanist. Yeah, like what does she want from us! (meaning me) (*laughs*). Yeah, I was, within me, angry, like what does she, all the time, what does she want?! I've got other things to think about. (Interview 2, November 2004)

Yet, as will be shown later, these emotional tensions experienced upon their realisation of discrepancies between their teaching and the course ideas did not lead to Tamara's deep engagement with the course input, and even though Monika's data may have shown signs of such engagement, its effects did not last. Another example from Monika's data also suggests that similar dissonances occur throughout the teachers' careers, but not all of them necessarily lead to the mobilisation of their inner resources in the way that, for instance, Herndon's (2002) narrative documents:

> I was never happy with my classes. It worried me too. But I didn't know what I was doing wrong. Who would tell me? (Post-project Interview, December 2005)

It seems, therefore, that although unarguably essential, emotional dissonance is not a sufficient catalyst of conceptual change. It also appears that there might be different kinds of emotions at play, some of them facilitating development and others having detrimental effects. The purpose of the next chapter will be to shed more light on this distinction.

7.4 Summary

We can conclude that conceptual change did not occur in the case of Jana, Lenka, Iveta and Silvia because they did not experience a moment of emotional dissonance between their actual and possible selves triggered by the TD course content. A good illustration of this is Iveta's interview extract (Interview 2, 22 November 2004) which shows that although she is cognitively aware of discrepancies between what is and what should be, she has come to a stage in her career due to a number of personal

and professional circumstances when she no longer feels 'emotional about it':

> I think I've changed because I had to. I'm totally different. [inaudible] I'm intelligent enough to be able to see that it's not right. But I can't help it. Maybe I am in the stage of my life when my work is less important than my own feelings. The work is interesting and I enjoy it, but perhaps I'm no longer so (2) emotional about it? I am a bit [more detached]. This is what I do and that's it.

There seems to be a significant difference, however, between the two LTCC routes of development we have analysed so far. The teachers 'travelling' through the 'Nice-but-not-for-me' route may be able to see and cognitively recognise discrepancies between the course input and their teaching practices, but because teaching in the way promoted by the new material is not part of their vision of who they aspire to be, they are unlikely to feel 'emotional about it'.

In contrast, those pursuing the 'Couldn't-agree-more' route of conceptual change endorse the principles and aspire to attain visions implied by the newly introduced ideas. In fact, teachers experiencing this developmental pathway may often feel so inspired and enthusiastic about the new ideas, principles or approaches that they even want to 'pass this knowledge on', a desire which Silvia as well as Monika articulated in their post-project informal interviews. This, of course, is very positive and encouraging. However, a closer look at the data discussed in this chapter suggests that if this positive energy, passion and vision that the TD course may have awakened are not accompanied by dissonance emotions and the teachers remain confident that what they believe and do in their classrooms already represents those visions, there is no real impetus to engage with their actual practices and the theoretical principles more deeply.

Of course, it may be that there is no need to do so and that the teachers' practices are very much in line with the new principles advocated by the specific teacher education programme. In this case, then, the affirmation in the teachers' existing cognitions could be considered as an important impact of teacher education (S. Borg, 2006). If, however, there are aspects of the 'couldn't-agree-more' teachers' practices that offer potential for increasing opportunities for student engagement, these are likely to be overlooked or assessed heuristically, as we have seen in Silvia's data, with no real benefits for students' learning. In this latter case, then, it may not be constructive to talk about reaffirmation of one's beliefs as a significant and meaningful impact of teacher education.

Finally, it appears that development is an emotionally charged process but as we have seen here, feelings of dissonance may not always lead to conceptual change. The purpose of the next step in this anatomy of failure will be to consider those experiences that may threaten the teachers' sense of self, and rather than result in deep cognitive engagement can actually lead to the teachers' conscious avoidance of the new ideas.

8

When Change Threatens the Teachers' Sense of Self: Emotional Battles in Balancing Ideal, Ought-to and Feared Selves

Come to the edge.
We might fall.
Come to the edge.
It's too high!
COME TO THE EDGE!
And they came,
and he pushed,
and they flew.

Christopher Logue

The previous chapter has demonstrated that emotional dissonance is indispensable on the teachers' route to conceptual change, for without their realisation of the discrepancy between their current and desired future states, there is no motivation to engage in a deep reflection on the new teacher education input. This chapter considers a different kind of emotional encounter arising from the teachers' awareness that not only does their engagement with the new ideas not lead to what they would consider as effective teaching, but it also makes them feel disorientated, demoralised or even angry and can in fact alienate them from their deeply cherished visions of who they would like to become. This threat to one's sense of self can be profoundly traumatising and in order to avert it, the teachers tend to respond by withdrawing any intellectual involvement with the new material. In this chapter we will endeavour to understand the nature and origin of these highly threatening emotional experiences and the consequences for conceptual change. To facilitate our enquiry, the constructs of Ought-to and Feared Language Teacher Selves will also be introduced.

8.1 Ought-to Language Teacher Selves

In his study of belief change in prospective teachers of mathematics, Grootenboer (2008) identified three typical responses to a particular teacher preparation course: the student teachers' non-engagement, their adoption of new beliefs and a reformation of their existing beliefs. He argued that although some course participants seemed to do and say all the right things, they showed no 'personal commitment or affective connection with the so-called correct answers.... In short, there seemed no passion or sense of personal struggle as they adopted the new mathematical beliefs promoted through the course' (Grootenboer, 2008, p. 486). The absence of such an affective involvement was, according to the researcher, a clue indicating the first of the three identified responses, that of non-engagement.

Grootenboer's (2008) study highlights a challenge that most teacher cognition researchers face, although not all necessarily acknowledge: what do we make of behaviours and declared cognitions which somehow do not seem to reflect the teachers' firm commitment, or, in other words, do not feel genuine? A traditional response to such situations would be to treat them as the 'observer paradox' and advice would be directed at efforts to minimise such 'threats to objectivity'. I believe there is no need to explain why such an approach would be totally misconceived in research that seeks to understand the activity of language teaching, which includes language teacher cognition studies, particularly those with transformational agendas.

One way to tackle this could be to adopt Grootenboer's approach. However, the study described in this book was quite distinct from Grootenboer's in that the participants were in-service teachers who volunteered to take part in the project, their involvement did not place any obligations on them with regard to implementation, and the teachers' practices, although observed, were not formally assessed against any course-derived checklists. In short, there was no pressure to 'deliver' that is typical in, for instance, assessed pre-service teacher education contexts.

And yet, there indeed was a sense in the data of some research participants that they were consciously working with their assumptions of what was expected of them by the researcher and tried to live up to these expectations through the ideas they pursued in the interviews or tasks they performed in the classroom without necessarily identifying personally with what was said or done. When such instances were in evidence, however, they were almost always accompanied by various kinds of emotional struggles. To label these examples as *non-engagement* in this

study would therefore mean to grossly misrepresent the nature of the teachers' involvement. So what do we make of these less internalised yet emotionally taxing forms of engagement and how do we distinguish them from those that the teachers are genuinely committed to? I will argue that applying the construct of Ought-to Language Teacher Self to the findings of this study can not only shed light on why the teachers may have felt compelled to 'do and say all the right things', but also offers a unique insight into the processes involved in language teacher conceptual change when the multiple images of who the teachers would ideally like to become, who they think they are expected to become and who they are afraid of becoming meet and clash.

8.1.1 Traces of identification in the teachers' less internalised forms of engagement

I became aware of the emotional tensions experienced by some research participants fairly early on in the project. Somehow, however, these did not seem to represent the kind of dissonance that we talked about in the previous chapter: emotional disequilibrium resulting from the teachers' realisation of the discrepancy between how they aspired to teach and what their actual practices were. Rather, the experience of emotional distress seemed to be connected to the teachers' perceptions of their obligations stemming from their involvement in the project, their efforts to incorporate elements of these obligations into their teaching and their subsequent confrontations with models of effective teaching well established and expected in their teaching contexts. Interestingly, the closer the rapport between the researcher and the research participants, the more frequent the efforts to comply with the perceived expectations, and, consequently, the stronger these emotional experiences appeared to be.

Monika's and Tamara's data offer compelling evidence that they were guided by their desire to live up to the assumed expectations of the project and that this was associated with some kind of identification element, an externally defined identity goal, which often clashed with their more internalised ones. Although both research participants' relevant data have been analysed in more detail elsewhere (Kubanyiova, 2008, 2009c), let me provide a brief overview of empirical evidence that led to these conclusions, drawing on Monika's data.

Monika seems to have adopted an image of a committed research participant, eagerly taking on all the tasks associated with the project. There were plentiful examples in her observational data throughout the research project of her various attempts to implement the course-related ideas. Some of these efforts actually went beyond a simple replication

of specific TD course activities that was typically seen in the very few examples of implementation in the overall data set. Her positive outlook and discourse of change were quite prominent in her reflections on the course in the interviews or in the course feedback, an example of which is the following extract:

> Being aware of it or not, we ARE changing! Every little step, every little information, every little idea or association that we have during our seminars make a BIG change in us as teachers! (Feedback on Session 4)

However, Monika's initiatives were associated with feelings of exasperation, resentment and guilt when it was difficult to maintain the momentum in the context of the many pressures of her teaching environment. For example, as one of the very few participants to do so, she began to keep a reflective teaching journal, but soon started to feel a clash between her wanting to pursue this image of an enthusiastic course participant and her inability to do so because of her heavy workload. I began to sense her growing feelings of unease and the following entry documents what transpired during my informal conversation with Monika on the night before Session 3 of the TD course:

> I have a feeling as if she started to regret joining the project or at least committing herself to some of its tasks. She kept complaining about too much work as if to prepare me for the fact that she did not write any reflections. I think she may have felt guilty about it and was trying to offer some excuses. Then she told me she was actually considering not attending the session due to her workload. (Researcher's journal, January 2005)

Even though she, in the end, did attend that session, my hunch expressed in the above journal entry about Monika's internal battles was confirmed several times in the life of the project when she would withdraw previously regular and frequent contact between the project phases or remain passive in some course activities on the one hand and produce an extremely positive and enthusiastic feedback on the other. While she gave some indirect hints of her emotional distress in one interview (see the excerpt in Section 7.3), she admitted it quite openly six months after the project ended:

> I remember coming home from the seminar and I was thinking, damn, what did she, like, what was she on about? ... I tended to moan, like

this will not work and this is easy to say to someone who hasn't tried it... (Interview 5, December 2005)

It seems, then, that Monika's efforts to take on board the TD course ideas, very important though those efforts were (see Chapter 9), may not have necessarily come from her internalised conviction about the value of those ideas. Rather, what seems to have played a far bigger role in driving her behaviour was her desire to be identified in the eyes of the researcher and the fellow project participants – 'Firstly, I have to say that I had been really looking forward to meeting you guys' (Feedback on Session 2) – as someone who is very much 'on board': committed to the project, diligent in fulfilling its requirements and a better teacher as a result of her participation in it. However, when faced with a whole arsenal of competing images in her teaching context (cf. Kubanyiova, 2009c), sustaining the one inspired by the project proved difficult and even threatening to her sense of self.

I will return to the issue of 'threat' later, but what appears to be a connecting theme in Monika's as well as Tamara's accounts was their desire to perform whatever they interpreted as expected behaviours. In contrast with more formal teacher education or in-service teacher training contexts, however, the teachers in this study did not have to do it in order to get a good grade, salary increase or promotion. Rather, they seemed to engage in these behaviours because fulfilling the project's 'obligations' had, in their view, important implications for how they were perceived in the eyes of the researcher and/or fellow course participants. In other words, behind these instances of what appeared to be less internalised forms of engagement lay a prominent identification element.

8.1.2 Emerging ought-to selves in the teachers' discourse

Parallel to the above reflections was my growing awareness of specific features of the teachers' discourse when they were attempting to integrate TD course ideas into their teaching or reflections. Because these features seemed to suggest less internalised forms of engagement, I developed a whole coding tree of such instances with a working name 'Living up to expectations' (see Table 8.1 for a summary of relevant NVivo nodes and sample data coded at them), which featured particularly strongly in the data of Monika and Tamara and were also traceable in Iveta's data collected in the earlier stages of fieldwork.

Most of these categories could be classified as 'parenthetical remarks' (van Enk, 2009), which concern statements that are not solely focused on the content of what is being said (text), but are also oriented to the

Table 8.1 A summary of early coding of teacher talk for 'Living up to expectations'

Node name	Node description	Sample data coded at the node
Parenthetical remarks to students	Messages to students commenting on the rationale of new type of activities. These may not have been uttered in the absence of the observer.	You need to express yourself and now you have the opportunity. So you see, it is also possible to revise this way. Why should I always check your homework. Try to check the homework in pairs.
Parenthetical remarks to researcher	Short comments, typically in feedback, e-mails or interviews, indicating the participants' monitoring of their 'performance' against assumed expectations of the researcher.	Hope you find it useful. Please let me know if this is enough and if not, I'll do better next time. So I don't know if you saw what you were interested in.
Ambiguous use of terminology	Using TD course terminology ambiguously, often indicating lack of conceptual understanding.	I felt the class was not as dynamic as I wished it to be. I like it when it is dynamic.
Temporary departures from routine	Any traces in the classroom discourse or in interview responses that suggest a temporary or sudden departure from routine, referring to some aspect of the TD input.	The teacher's announcement to the class: 'We're going to do something non-traditional today.' *I* Do you think you wouldn't have done the activity... if I hadn't been there? *T* Hmmm...I wanted the class to be more dynamic.... But no, I would probably not have done it...
Post-hoc development of teaching rationale	Any indications that the teacher was not certain about the rationale for the implemented TD-course related activity and attempted to develop it post-hoc, either during the class or in an interview.	*T (to students at the end of a 'jazz chant' activity)* So this is what I learnt at our teacher development seminars and. Did you like it?... Yes? Yes? Well, when you look at the verses that we repeated. vocabulary of this little exercise. you will indeed see that it's a useful language for complimenting someone or somebody if you have (2) I don't know (1).

(continued)

Table 8.1 Continued

Node name	Node description	Sample data coded at the node
Incoherent or contradictory messages	Either incoherent or contradictory post-observation rationalisations of the teachers' practices often incorporating traces of the TD course terminology.	I always plan my lessons in such a way, well, my aim is always to start communication among students themselves, not myself. Communication channel, so that it works among them, sharing information.
Messages of dissatisfaction	Any indication either during the lesson or in post-observation interview that an implemented TD-inspired activity did not match the teacher's idea of a good L2 lesson.	*I* ...do you feel that it was not a good class then? *T* (*silence*) Well, as such, it was not really my idea. This [activity] should have been the beginning. [Here], it was the end. So it didn't have any particular (1). This is what I try to do; the classes have to have head and tail. What we did was a sort of post-activity.
Unsolicited apologies	The teacher initiating discussion on what she didn't do, suggesting that she was working with some kind of assumptions of the researcher's expectations.	Immediately after the lesson she told me that she can't move and walk around the class that much these days. And she admitted that normally, she is sitting during the class and only stands and moves when I'm there to observe her.

Notes: underlining = utterance in first language L1; (2) = pause, length in seconds.

audience and their expectations. By using parenthetical remarks, such as qualifying, elaborating, digressing, apologising, hedging, or editorialising (van Enk, 2009), it is as if the speaker functioned as a 'broker' of her own statements, 'a mediator between text and audience' (Goffman, 1981; cited in van Enk, 2009, p. 1279). While these teachers' remarks would typically be addressed to the students or the teacher educator (text), there was a strong sense that they were primarily oriented to the researcher (audience) in order to justify, explain, elaborate or qualify what was occurring in the class or stated in the feedback on the TD course sessions.

A careful study of these remarks along with other features of the teachers' discourse (such as incorporating the TD course terminology in an ambiguous manner or a post hoc development of the teaching rationale for implementing TD-course-related ideas) revealed that the teachers

were not only closely monitoring what was expected of them, but also feeding their awareness back to the researcher. Their discourse was therefore an informative window into their interpretations of what they were expected to do and what a motivational teaching practice entailed, but also what prior cognitions, including more internalised future images of selves, they were bringing to these interpretations. Focusing on teacher talk and its different functions in this way soon revealed patterns which made the examination of teachers' ought-to selves essential in my quest to understand the teachers' engagement with the TD course input.

We have seen, then, that the teachers' less internalised forms of engagement with the TD course input were guided by their visions of who they imagined they ought to become. This is what we, as members of various social groups, do all the time, and acting on one's ought-to self should therefore not be seen as unusual or undesirable. In fact, as we will see in Chapter 9, pursuing ought-to selves can be an important first step to engaging with the course input more deeply or even constructing more internalised future images. What we, however, still need to get to the bottom of in the context of this study is the nature and sources of the 'emotional battles' as the teachers tried to navigate their more as well as less internalised images and ascertain the consequences for conceptual change. To shed more light on this question and to contextualise the ideas presented so far, let us examine Tamara's engagement with the TD course within the LTCC framework. It is important to add at this point that Denisa's developmental pathway was very similar to Tamara's and even though space limitations do not allow an in-depth examination of both these teachers, a detailed focus on one will allow us to understand more general mechanisms of conceptual change when teachers come to evaluate their internal and external resources for change.

8.2 LTCC: 'Nice-but-too-scary' route

Tamara's ultimate LTCC developmental route was identical with that of Lenka, Jana and Iveta in that she did not perceive her self implicated by the course input, appraised it positively and as a result of her heuristic processing concluded that the motivational approach actually 'distract[ed] [her] from teaching' (Interview 3, 13 January 2005). Therefore, no belief change occurred and she continued to interpret motivational teaching as a list of warm-up activities.

However, alongside this straightforward LTCC route lies a richly textured and highly emotional developmental detour where Tamara's multiple ideal, ought-to and feared selves collided. What emerges as markedly

different from the previously discussed research participants' data is an exceptionally strong and fairly transparent presence of Tamara's course-related Ought-to Language Teacher Self. Hence, this discussion will focus on those mechanisms of LTCC that involved her temporarily adopted image of who she perceived she ought to be (see Figure 8.1 and Boxed Text 8.1). A brief summary of these is also provided in the next paragraph.

The course content implicated Tamara's Ought-to Language Teacher Self in that she was aware of the discrepancy between what she did in the classroom and what she believed the course input implied she ought to do. Therefore, even though she had not personally identified with the course content (i.e. it did not tap into her Ideal Language Teacher Self), she constantly sought ways how to incorporate the new ideas into her teaching. However, because of her repeated negative experiences with the course implementation accompanied by negative emotions, she appraised her internal and external resources as insufficient (i.e. she felt 'it doesn't work' because not only was she 'not able to arouse the same enthusiasm in [the students]', but they were also 'disappointed' if she deviated from the regular structure of the class 'they're used to'). In order to avert this threat to her identity, which she felt further implementation would lead to, Tamara made a conscious decision to avoid course-related experiments (i.e. instead of continuing in her attempts, she wanted 'to do more with the actual grammar', which she believed to be a counterpart to the motivational approach). Because she perceived her beliefs about language teaching to be sharply contradicting the course content, she did not yield to it and no belief change occurred as a result.

Before we analyse one of her course implementation attempts in detail, let us take a closer look at the nature of Tamara's Ideal Language Teacher Self, which she seemed to perceive as incompatible with the course message. As was mentioned in Chapter 6, 'feel[ing] important for [the students]' (Interview 1, 22 September 2004) was shown to be central in Tamara's working self-concept. The data indicate that for her, one of the most important ways of enacting this identity goal was through rigorously structured lessons with well-linked content, an essential part of which was grammar. The emphasis she put on grammar is evident throughout her data. For example, she was dissatisfied with her lessons whenever she failed to incorporate explicit grammar instruction into them. She also expressed her reservations about a newly established school leaving exam (*maturita*), quoting insufficient grammar coverage and too much emphasis on listening and reading as negative features

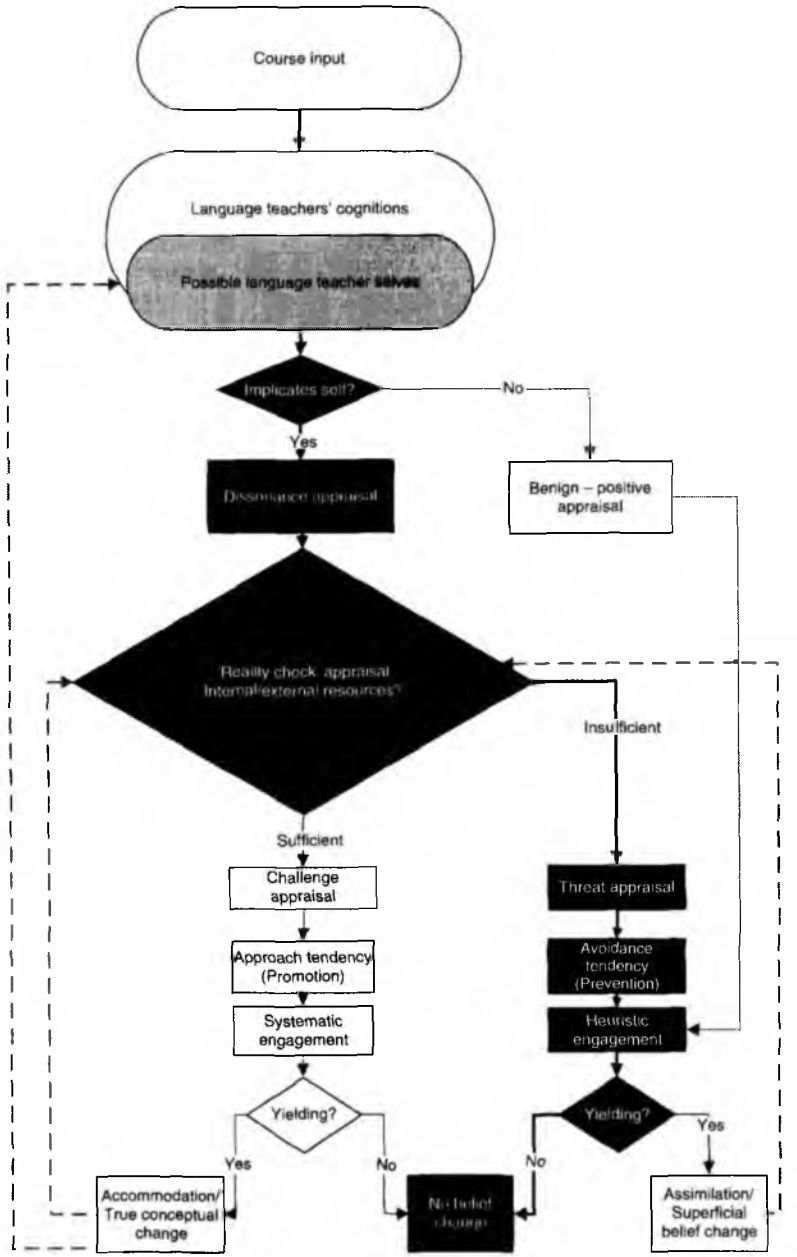


Figure 8.1 'Nice-but-too-scary' route of LTCC

Boxed Text 8.1 Tamara: a summary of her 'Nice-but-too-scary' LTCC route

Ideal Language Teacher Self:
'I like ... the feeling that I have taught them something. I feel important for them at that moment'; 'I am a grammar person'; 'I am a person who must have intro, body, conclusion.'

Implicates self? No.

Positive appraisal:
'You were a wonderful ENTHUSIASTIC lecturer, ... girls were wonderful partners [and] GREAT and MOTIVATIONAL activities were done!' (original emphasis)

Ought-to Language Teacher Self:
'I wanted the class to be more dynamic.... But no, I would probably not have done it [if you hadn't been there].'

Implicates self? Yes. The content of the reform message relates to her Ought-to Self.

Dissonance appraisal:
'I felt the class was not as dynamic as I wished it to be. I like it when it is dynamic.'

Reality check appraisal: insufficient internal/external resources:

- Low self-efficacy:
  'If it didn't work, my enthusiasm was gone, because I was not able to arouse the same enthusiasm in them.'
- Fear of not meeting students' expectations:
  'I can see that they are disappointed if we don't have a new grammar exercise, they're used to drills. ... I have a feeling that speaking alone doesn't fulfil their expectations.'

Threat appraisal:
'I was embarrassed, I saw them [wondering] 'And what was this?', 'What was it about'?'

Avoidance tendency:
'I feel that I should really have done more with the actual grammar. I am a grammar person, you see. I feel most comfortable explaining grammar.'

Heuristic engagement facilitated by her prior theories and experience:
'[Motivational teaching practice] distracts me from teaching.'

Yielding? No.

Outcome: no belief change
'Many [seminar activities] will be included in my warm-ups list.'

(Interview 4, 8 March 2005). It will probably be no exaggeration to consider the following excerpt (Interview 1, 22 September 2004) as representative of her idea of language teachers' 'heaven':

> Homework check was at the beginning, then association, we were looking for similarities between their opinions and the article. Opinions on friendship, he/she should be loyal. And then we were back to the original article, what I needed, because then I could connect it to another activity – there were 16 new verbs, they were asked to find them, find equivalents of full meaning words, this was nicely done, practised in sentences, so from that article I moved to grammar.

In sum, Tamara saw herself as someone who 'must have intro, body, conclusion', whose lessons must 'flow well' (Interview 3, 13 January 2005) and in order to appraise a class as successful, it has to include explicit grammar instruction. Students' learning would certainly be a bonus, but its absence in no way implicated her Ideal Language Teacher Self. As the following analysis will demonstrate, it appears that a motivational teaching practice as she interpreted it directly violated her prototype of a perfect language lesson.

Let us now turn to the analysis of one representative example of Tamara's course implementation in the classroom. In this specific lesson segment (13 January 2005), Tamara decided to replicate an ice-breaker activity that was part of the TD course (see the description of the rationale as well as procedure in Boxed Text 8.2). By examining the lesson observation and interview data, our aim will be to establish the nature of this implementation. We will therefore look at (1) those instances of Tamara's classroom discourse and behaviours during the implementation that are indicative of her underlying cognitions, and (2) her post-implementation appraisal. Let us start with the examination of what transpired in the classroom.

In order to link the activity to her own teaching context, Tamara used a coursebook article that introduced the topic of travel. Boxed Text 8.3 provides a transcript of the instructions part of this activity. Space limitations

Boxed Text 8.2 A description of 'Grab the Finger' activity on the TD course

> At the beginning of Session 3 of the TD course, we did a simple ice-breaker activity, so-called 'Grab the Finger', with the rationale to get the group together, by having a laugh, and a bit of excitement and challenge. The teachers stood in a circle, arms out to the side, their left hand palm up, right index finger pointing down and touching on their neighbour's outstretched palm. The participants were asked to listen to a short story and whenever they heard a specific word (in our case 'marry'), they had to try to grab their neighbour's finger in their left hand and at the same time prevent their right finger from being grabbed. The winner of the task would be someone who not only gets caught the least number of times, but, to double the challenge, who can also summarise the story. The story for this task was written in easy English (lower-intermediate), so as not to make the challenge unattainable and was read in an expressive manner with dramatic pauses to add further suspense.

do not allow an in-depth analysis of all the insightful elements in the transcript (e.g. Tamara's clear enacting of her Ideal Language Teacher Self) and the current discussion is, therefore, restricted to the examination of the rationale with which the activity was carried out. Lines 27–29 provide some insights into this, when Tamara announces, 'I hope that we know each other very well. But I don't know whether you trust your partner. So I'm going to test you on the trust.' Judging from these instructions to the students, she seems to have adopted a social purpose for this task. More specifically, gauging the trust level among the students seems to have been her major goal, even though we do not know at this point why she thinks this is important in this particular class and how exactly she intends to fulfil this objective.

Unfortunately, a closer look at the actual 'in-action' phase (see Boxed Text 8.4) does not clarify the previous concerns as there is no indication of how 'trust' is being 'tested'. What Tamara's discourse, however, does reveal is insight into what she does *not* envisage as the activity's purpose. She clearly does not want the students to 'laugh and chat' and is, in fact, really annoyed by their having fun. She simply wants them to 'do this simple movement and that's it' (Boxed Text 8.4, lines 17–18). Because the students continue chatting, laughing and generally enjoying themselves whenever they have to perform the 'grab-the-finger' action,

Boxed Text 8.3 Grab the Finger: instructions

3:58

T Now, what I wanted to do. Close everything. Leave everything from your brain, don't think about anything, concentrate on my voice, on what I'm going to tell you. OK? And. Every instruction, every instruction that I'm going to give you, please xxx. OK? Now. Stand. *(Ss stand immediately).* Now make a circle. *(noise of chairs, inaudible, T repeats several times, I can hear some students saying* 'What?' *or* 'In circle?' *to each other. They go to the front and start making a circle).* Well, so far it looks like xxx or a bean, but there's no way this is a circle! I didn't say moon. *(Ss laugh).* I said make a circle. Do you think this is a circle?

Ss No.

T No. I'm not in. I'm out. I want to see a nice circle. Go closer to each other. Go closer to each other. *(several inaudible sentences related to their making the circle, some noise, students moving chairs).* Now put you hands like this. *(demonstrates)* Put your hands like this. OK? *(students do it)* Ehm. Next, make a little more space. Make a little more space *(students do it).* OK. Good. Now each of you, each of you, put (1) your (1) ehm (2)

S index finger

T Yes, index finger on your left, no, on your partner's left hand, sorry. *(some confusion, students ask about it).* Yes. I'm saying it right, on your partner's left hand. OK. Index finger on your partner's left hand. OK. Now. The partner's hand must be stretched. You must stretch your hand, not like this *(demonstrates).* Let's stretch it. Stretch your hand. OK? That's good. That's not good (looking in one student's direction). Stretch your hand (some students laugh). I hope that we know each other well. But I don't know whether you trust your partner. So I'm going to test you on the trust. OK? So when I say a particular word, when I say a particular word, those of you who have the finger on the palm. I'll say this in Slovak, those who have their finger on the palm, you will try to lift it up as quickly as possible and those who have the palm stretched will try to, they will try to close their palm. *(upon realisation as to what they're going to do, students burst out laughing in a positive sense. They obviously find it amusing. They do a mock run.)* OK, once again. If I say a word, let's say, tada dada da,

I don't know *(gives an example which makes everybody laugh).* I will read you and you will do the same, it means, the
40 palm stretched. *(brief description again)* and the words will be those that have the same root, which is travel. That is, all word classes that are related to travel. OK?

Ss Yeah.

T So do I understand? *(she tends to use the first person to address*
45 *the students)*

Ss Yeah.

T So if you hear travel, travelling, traveller or anything else, of course xxx. OK?

Ss OK

50 *T* OK. Let's start.

8:27

Transcription key: (.) pause of less than a second; (4) pause, length in seconds; underlined text – uttered in speaker's first language (L1); (*italicised text*) – field notes; xxx – inaudible; 6:35 recording time in minutes and seconds; S, Ss – unidentified students; S1, S2 – specific students.

she is frustrated and makes the effort to put the class 'in order' by telling them to keep quiet.

In the post-action processing stage (see Boxed Text 8.5), we witness a transformation of what seemed to be her original rationale behind this activity. As can be seen from lines 5–22, Tamara performs a typical listening comprehension check, even though explicit instructions about the importance of paying attention to the content of the text were never given. This may explain why the students were taken aback and were only able to provide very basic answers, most of which seemed to be simply a result of students' common-sense guesses rather than actual comprehension of the article.

Towards the end of this implementation episode, Tamara makes an additional attempt to return to the originally announced purpose of the activity (lines 23–24) before trying to develop a whole series of purposes which the activity could possibly have served and this, as we have seen earlier, is a typical example of a post hoc development of teaching rationale, suggesting the existence of her Ought-to Language Teacher Self (lines 27–35).

In fact, we can see a number of indices in Tamara's classroom implementation behaviour that suggest that rather than having a genuine desire to experiment with the new approach, her behaviour was guided

Boxed Text 8.4 Grab the Finger: in action

8:27

T *(starts reading)* Travel ... *(students taken aback, do the 'action', laugh)* Remember, you have to do it. Ok. ...is very popular amongst...

(continues reading the article, students keep chatting, she has to 'shhhh' them, they are quieter, she continues and they do the 'action' when they realised that she has just mentioned the word travel again. They are quite excited. The article, however, is too long and the students obviously don't pay any attention to the content of the article itself, they only concentrate on the word travel. The teacher in fact reads it in a rather monotonous way and so it may actually be quite hard to concentrate. It now seems that the teacher feels it's getting off the handle, she has to hush the students after each time they've done the 'action'). (9: 40)

And there is another thing. I didn't say that you laugh and chat, did I? You only have to do this simple movement and that's it. OK? So let's try not to laugh and xxx.

(inaudible; she has a serious tone in her voice, it's clear that she is frustrated with how the activity is going. She carries on reading. She now mentioned 'transport' and all the students get excited and do the 'action'.)

Hey! It's not travel! Travel. Transport, huh?

(She now looks really annoyed, and continues reading. Students continue chatting, probably still about their previous mistake and laugh while the teacher's reading. Another 'travel' follows, the students do the action with excitement, the teacher 'shhhes' them and continues reading without any comment. She reads a rather long passage without any action and after she's read the last sentence, she says)

That's the end. (12:40)

by her temporarily adopted course-related ought-to teaching self. What comes through particularly strongly in this transcript (and indeed in most of Tamara's implementation attempts) is her struggle to identify the purpose her implemented activity was supposed to serve. Yet, she included it in her lesson plan despite her uncertainty, in her effort to

Boxed Text 8.5 Grab the Finger: post-task processing

12:40

T How many times were you caught? (*some students say 4 times*). It means that you were not listening well, right? Who wasn't caught at all? One time? One time only? OK. Maybe it was because concentrating on the word (*inaudible and comments in the sense that listening properly is important*). 13:34 OK. What was the text about? (2) What was I reading about.

S Transport *(others burst out laughing).*

T *(serious, doesn't laugh)* Tell me about the text. Something from the text.

S *(uncertain)* Something about kangaroo *(others laugh).*

T Yeah, the word kangaroo was there. *(Other students now provide other words they caught, teacher repeats after them: Australia, India, Africa. T now starts asking some wh- questions about the text. Several students attempts to answer. She elicits, prompts when they don't know and finally approves of the answers)* Very good. One way of travelling was mentioned at the beginning and that's the xxx way of travelling. Do you remember?

S xxx

T Excuse me?

S Trams.

T Trams? Any other? (2) This one is more dangerous. (4) Never mind. OK. Thank you very much? *(Students go back to their seats now; T speaks over the noise).* So did you feel any particular feeling when you were holding your partner's finger? (3) Yes? Was it difficult for you?

S *(inaudible; quite a long sentence in L1)*

T OK. So it was similar to listening to a tape; maybe you have to concentrate on the word, you have to concentrate on the whole context, on the voices of people who are speaking together, and maybe you have to concentrate on some exercise like true false xxx. That was something like concentration, but also something about the trust. You have to trust your partner. (1) OK? Maybe if you can't xxx, then the partner will help you in some way. OK? So this was meant to introduce the topic that we had started and xxx *(inaudible, the rest in English)*

16:41
T So today we will continue on page 23 with the topic types of transport *(students open their books; T reads the instructions for the exercise and explains the topic).* So I'd like to ask you ... *(the next task follows)*

fulfil her 'obligations' associated with her participation in the research project. However, because the outcome did not satisfy her vision of good language teaching, she made several attempts at redefining the rationale as if to see whether it could be aligned with her image of an ideal English language teacher. The lack of success in arriving at a satisfactory purpose resulted in her negative emotions of dissatisfaction and frustration, with her identity of a highly organised language teacher with perfectly structured classes threatened. In her appraisal immediately after the lesson, she drew the following conclusions:

> Students can't concentrate on the content as well as on the activity and so my conclusion is that listening comprehension and movement don't go together. You can only do the activity if you simply want to start them off – a warm-up kind of thing. (Field notes after the lesson, on the way to the staffroom)

We can see that Tamara appraised her internal/external resources as insufficient and her fear that her further implementation of this type of task in her classes would pose a threat to her deeply cherished vision of who she ideally wanted to become (a respected, serious and highly organised teacher, who knows what she is doing) made her determined to avoid future experiments with this type of course input. Because she never systematically processed the course message, her heuristics was the only source of information that she used to make a decision as to whether or not to yield to the reform message. The result was her reinforced prior beliefs about motivational teaching: you can't use motivational (which she interprets as warm-up) activities to actually *teach* the language and therefore serious language teaching and a motivational practice do not go together. These findings, based on the observational data and the brief post-lesson comment, converge with Tamara's deliberations during the formal interview (Interview 3, 13 January 2005).

First, she admits that she did not feel comfortable with the activity and her uncertainty about its actual purpose is obvious from her rather vague justification as to why she chose to implement it. Note that 'enjoying

themselves', which she quotes as one of the reasons, is in stark contrast with how she actually responded when the students showed signs of such enjoyment in the classroom:

> I have to admit I didn't feel at home with the first activity, even though I instinctively chose it, like it would be good to try whether these older students are capable of developing (1) or (1) simply (1) their relationships in terms of touching each others' fingers or enjoying themselves.

Tamara does not hide her feelings of dissatisfaction. From the way she analyses this classroom activity, her uncertainty, dissatisfaction and her Ideal Language Teacher Self gradually emerge:

> *Tamara* I wasn't at home with the activity because they were too excited, they had too much fun, you know I had to tell them several times that they should be quiet and shouldn't laugh so much and should not elaborate on that so much, if they caught the finger, they caught it, that's it. So maybe that was also necessary to say it as part of the instructions. That when something like that happens, but you [TD course leader] didn't tell us! We [the teachers at the seminar] were different automatically, did you feel that we behaved differently from the students?
> *Interviewer* Yes. And I wonder why.
> *Tamara* I think it is about discipline and also the fact that we are more mature. They really acted like children here (1) like (1) 'Yeah, I caught your finger! Wow!' And then they went on about it. So. So that was what got me off the track.

There are two issues that the above excerpt points towards. First, Tamara clearly expected that by doing the same task as was done on the TD course, she would achieve the same results and was disheartened when it was not the case. Like most of the research participants in this study, she would put the failure of a new 'experiment' down to the immaturity of the students, their disagreement with the approach, or their contradicting expectations. Therefore, the actual 'experiment' would never get scrutinised and in this case, the purposes, intended outcomes and instructions, as well as the length, difficulty level and actual presentation of the text were never considered as potential factors contributing to the 'failure' of this task in Tamara's classroom. This reflects a more general lack of reflection in the Slovakian EFL teaching context (cf. Kubanyiova, 2006) and explains the teachers' frequent use of heuristics, such as prior

cognitions or feelings rather than actual classroom-based evidence, in assessing success or failure of their language instruction. This type of processing, however, is unlikely to lead to conceptual change.

Tamara's interview data presented above reveal a further insight into her Ideal Language Teacher Self. Clearly, too much disorganised fun and laughter is not part of her routine and it simply 'gets her off the track' and 'distracts her from teaching'. So in a way, by performing the activity she was experiencing dissonance between her actual self at the given moment in the classroom implementation (fun and chaos provider) and her ideal self (a highly organised teacher with a well- planned and carefully structured lesson). Thus, it appears that her newly adopted course-related Ought-to Language Teacher Self was in effect identical with the negative counterpart of her ideal self, Tamara's Feared Language Teacher Self (i.e. a disorganised and chaotic teacher), and by engaging further in the new initiatives, a threat to her identity was imminent. This is also captured in the next extract:

Tamara I don't know whether you noticed that, but I feel that it wasn't closed, the first part. I was searching for words, and in the end I only found the link between travelling and the topic of last class. Like what we were doing with that activity. Because I think sometimes it's not necessary to tell them why we did it, that it's enough if I know, and they don't have to know it.

Interviewer And now you felt that you had to tell them in this case?

Tamara No. This time I didn't feel that I had to tell them. But on the other hand, I was embarrassed, I saw them [wondering] 'And what was this?', 'What was it about?' ... Because I think that people are (1) so used to (1) I don't know (1) perhaps I look at it from my perspective, but I think that when people do something they need to know why they do it. (3) The purpose must be there. But does anyone tell them the purpose of that [typical classroom task]? No, and they know that they need to know it because of the maturita exam or because they will be orally tested in the following class. But the meaning of this kind, either a warm-up activity or something of this entertaining sort, it's very difficult to explain to the students, in my opinion.

The fear of not meeting students' expectations seems to play an important role in Tamara's anatomy of failure. She feels that it is difficult to explain the purpose of 'a warm-up activity or something of this entertaining sort' to the students and that is the reason why she is reluctant

to engage in such activities. However, there are a number of pointers in Tamara's as well as other research participants' data that students' expectations were typically processed through the filter of the teacher's own beliefs and therefore judgements about what the students would think or feel were typically processed heuristically with no data-based backing. The descriptive classroom observation data for this particular activity suggest that the students actually *were* having fun and did not seem to require further explanation. Therefore, it may not so much be the students' need for explanation at stake as it is the teacher's, as Tamara herself seems to admit towards the end of the interview:

> Everything that is non-standard, I think they perceive as ... some of them maybe as entertainment, like relaxing that we don't do grammar exercises, and some of them indeed seek the purpose, why we did it. And then I do want to explain it to them, why, but many times it comes to me, really why? (laughs) Although I know that you had the explanation when we did it in the seminar, that it's the trust. But then who thinks about the trust in the class? Towards the teacher. Towards each other. Towards the group they are in.

I argued in the theoretical explanation of LTCC in Chapter 4 that even if the teachers' desire to implement new pedagogical principles is externally motivated, in other words guided by their ought-to self, conceptual change is still possible provided this self becomes internalised. Tamara's data indicate that the internalisation was unlikely for a number of reasons. First, Tamara's new ought-to self clearly lacked *conceptual grasping* (even though trust was an important topic of one of the TD course sessions, Tamara appeared unsure as to why this was important and how it was conceptually connected to practical activities such as the one chosen by her in this lesson extract), lacked *specificity and plausibility* (her new vision had no clear contours and lacked specific strategies and action plans for attaining it), and was not expected, let alone *modelled*, in her teaching context (in fact, a number of competing images of what was expected of her in the given context were in opposition to the new and fragile future self that Tamara was attempting to enact in her classroom). And, most importantly, Tamara's self-efficacy, that is her belief in her capability to bring about desired outcomes in her classroom by adopting the new approach, was very low. All these factors appear to have contributed to her appraisal of 'internal/external resources' as insufficient, which clearly resulted in her feelings of frustration, which was at its most intense when she perceived the outcomes of her implementation

efforts as contradicting her image of the good language teacher that she was striving to become.

This is particularly critical as it appears that Tamara's Feared Language Teacher Self, as a counterpart of her Ideal Language Teacher Self, was much more *central* in Tamara's working self-concept and was specified in considerably greater detail than the course-inspired ought-to self. That is, Tamara had a very clear image of who she was afraid of becoming, and standing in front of her students as someone who is chaotic, disorganised and does not do 'proper' teaching was her worst nightmare scenario, which she imagined as a very real and imminent possibility if she had continued in her efforts to implement the new ideas that were only vaguely specified in her ought-to self. As a result, Tamara withdrew her commitment to this ought-to self and did not plan to continue experimenting beyond the life of the project. In short, even though she may have appraised the ideas positively at some abstract level, once confronted with the realities of her teaching context and the images that were central in her self-concept, she concluded that although these principles of motivational teaching could be 'nice', it was simply too 'scary' and threatening to continue to explore them in her classroom.

It appears, therefore, that Tamara 'returned' from her 'nice-but-too-scary' detour of trying to pursue a course-relevant ought-to self. Having resolved the emotional tensions that those efforts set in motion, she got 'back on track' and even though she may have remained aware of the course expectations, she no longer felt pressure to conform to them. In her fourth interview (8 March 2005), she is very honest about it:

> I'll tell you using my example of me attending this XY training programme (unrelated to language teaching) about how to involve people, and stuff like that. The trainer, when she speaks about it, it's so clear, I'm so enthusiastic that if they asked me to do something, I would do it. But as soon as the door closes and I'm at home – it's gone. I think that maybe I'm not enthusiastic enough, maybe I'm not convinced about it. They work using those methods and they are successful, but maybe I'm not that convinced about it so I don't go for it. And maybe it's the same with the [TD course]. Yes, this is true, we should do it this way, but then you return home and you say to yourself: It's much more comfortable to do it the old way.

The above is an expressive explanation in Tamara's own words of the theory of language teacher conceptual change and of her own response to the TD initiative. Even though she attempted to implement some

elements of the TD course in her classes and may have positively appraised the teacher educator, the tasks, the peers or some of the ideas, the course content did not implicate her Ideal Language Teacher Self and therefore she was 'not convinced'. In other words, because Tamara did not possess the vision of a motivating, autonomy-supporting and group-sensitive language educator implicated by the reform message, she did not perceive any dissonance between who she was and who she wanted to be (she was happy and 'comfortable' with the way she was) and was therefore not motivated to cognitively engage with the message any further. By employing her heuristics, she concluded that motivational teaching is no more than a list of warm-up activities, which could actually often 'get [her] off the track', and thus no belief change occurred.

8.3 Summary

Whether we are pursuing our ideal or ought-to images of our future selves, there comes a point when we are faced with a reality check: 'Will this really work? Am I really up to it? Do I have the energy? Time? Money? Supportive colleagues? Willing students?' And the most persistent of all questions will start creeping in: 'What will colleagues, students or parents think of me if I fail?' Interestingly, our answers to these questions may not necessarily reflect the objective realities of our teaching contexts (cf. Kubanyiova, 2009c), but will be the result of an often emotional battle among our multiple and often contrasting future images of ourselves, each competing to a greater or lesser degree for our attention and compliance. The one which is most important to us, most central to our working self-concept and most vivid in our imagination, will play a critical role in influencing our developmental direction in response to a teacher development input.

We have seen in this chapter that teachers' efforts to come to terms with new ideas can bring about emotionally unsettling experiences and can threaten the teacher's sense of self. If the teacher translates this threat into a vivid and elaborated picture of her Feared Language Teacher Self and if this is far more specific and prominent in her self-concept than any other future images, she is likely to abandon her commitment to the course-inspired ought-to self in what has been termed in possible selves literature as 'downward self-revision' (Carroll et al., 2009). This, in turn, has obvious implications for conceptual change, as teachers who experience such a threat to their identity goals are likely to actively avoid rather than approach the course-related ideas in an effort to avert the imminence of their feared and undesired selves.

Thus, in order to understand the dynamics involved in conceptual change of language teachers, we need to understand the visions that are central and elaborated in their self-concept, for it is these that will have their say when difficulties occur. When Tamara confronted the realities of her teaching context, her feared self started to kick in. It was not the fear of being seen as someone who is uncommitted to the research project that was central to her self-concept, however, even though this image may have guided her classroom implementation of the course ideas initially. Rather, her fear of not appearing as a good teacher (based on her personalised and socially constructed definition of good teaching) in front of her students or colleagues had a far greater prominence in guiding her response to the teacher development course. And so despite Tamara's positive appraisals in the course feedback, it was her feared self as a counterpart to her ideal self that prevented her from 'coming to the edge' and did not allow her course-inspired ought-to self to 'fly'.

9

It's not as Simple as It Sounds: Teacher Change as a Multifaceted, Situated, Emerging and Dynamic Process

Having come this far in our quest to understand language teachers' conceptual change, let us take a moment to reflect on what we have learned so far. We have seen compelling evidence that teachers' cognitive representations of themselves in future states, that is, their possible selves, are central cognitions in shaping not only what teachers do in the classroom, but, crucially for this anatomy, how they approach their professional development.

In our inquiry so far, we have encountered teachers whose visions were quite different from the central philosophy of the teacher development course and who, therefore, saw no need to systematically engage with its content ('nice-but-not-for-me' route). As is clear from our discussion, however, embarking on the surface rather than the systematic developmental path is unlikely to lead to conceptual change. We have also examined an example of a teacher whose vision, in contrast, was very much aligned with that advocated by the course. However, because she was strongly convinced that what she believed and did in her classroom already reflected the teacher development course philosophy, she, similarly to the previous group of teachers, did not experience emotional dissonance between her actual and ideal selves ('couldn't-agree-more' route). Conceptual change, it has been argued, is unlikely to occur without an experience of such disequilibrium, no matter how great the teacher's enthusiasm for new ideas may be. And finally, we have studied a scenario when teachers may find their possible selves, ideal or ought-to, implicated in the course message, experience emotional dissonance as a result and even make conscious efforts to implement the course ideas in their classrooms. Yet, even in these circumstances conceptual change is far from guaranteed if the teachers' fear of failure is more intense and more clearly defined than their desire to develop ('nice-but-too-scary' route).

The three metaphors I have used for describing these LTCC developmental paths offer a powerful explanation for some prototypical reactions which not only correspond with those of the teachers in this study, but resonate more widely with our images of ourselves, specific colleagues, applied linguistics students or teacher development participants as we make sense of new theoretical or pedagogical insights. Yet, even though these trajectories can sometimes be fairly predictable and straightforward (as we could see in the data of Iveta, Lenka, Jana and Silvia), unexpected detours, abrupt U-turns and long delays describe the busy roads to conceptual change more precisely at other times. As Nicholas Baker has put it:

> I don't want the story of the feared-but-loved teacher, the book that hit like a thunderclap, the years of severe study followed by a visionary breakdown, the clench of repentance: I want each sequential change of mind in its true, knotted, clotted, viny multifariousness, with all of the colorful streams of intelligence still taped on and flapping in the wind. (Nicholas Baker, cited in Gardner, 2004, p. 4)

Tamara's data have afforded us glimpses into this complexity, and as we will see in this chapter, it is when teachers start making deeper connections among their visions, their teaching contexts and the new teacher development input that a messy but fascinating picture emerges: multiple developmental routes are pursued simultaneously in different contexts, what appears to be conceptual change today, may turn out to be less than that tomorrow, and where there was not a glimmer of hope yesterday, a spark may have been unearthed today. One of the greatest strengths of LTCC then is not simply in its explication of the specific prototypes, but also in its recognition of the multifaceted, situated, evolving and dynamic nature of conceptual change. What comes next is a more in-depth, albeit far from exhaustive, analysis of the complex nature of two teachers' coming to terms with their development.

9.1 Monika's developmental U-turns and reconnecting with her ideal self

I do not pretend to offer a comprehensive analysis of the numerous facets of Monika's engagement with the course input here. In fact, it is Monika's data that force us to humbly acknowledge the limitations and inadequacy of any theoretical paradigm or model, including the one presented in this book, to account for the complex ways in which human beings function and interact in the multiple social worlds they inhabit.

At the same time, however, an ecologically valid theoretical model can go a long way to illuminate some important trends in what would otherwise remain just messy data and appreciate the complex and dynamic nature of language teachers' development. So while this brief section can never aspire to do full justice to Monika's coming to terms with the TD course, let me focus on an important 'cycle' in her development, which reveals multiple dimensions of her developmental trajectory and eloquently dispels the myth of conceptual change as a linear, predictable and once-and-for-all process.

Monika differed from the previously analysed research participants in that she seems to have gone through multiple, often simultaneous, developmental routes, characterised by constant clashes between the diverse and competing images of who she would like to become and what she believed was expected of her either by her teaching context or the teacher development course. The project seems to have caught her at a significant crossroads in her teaching career when she was beginning to internalise images of good teaching modelled in her school which, although in contrast to those she started her career with, were becoming more and more dominant in her working self-concept. The following excerpt illustrates Monika's efforts to reconcile the different visions as she was trying to make sense of the course input in relation to teacher control:

> I hear [colleagues] say, look how perfect her class is, what order she has in her class! But what's her relationship with the students, how do the students perceive her? You know she would say I'm the boss, I'm the captain here and everybody will obey me. And I say, well, maybe from the outside it may look to her that they are listening to her, but ... are they really? I don't know whether this is the right relationship? (intonation as if seeking approval) Like, what's the aim? To have authority and have everybody listen to me? And [let them] say nothing? Or will I value if [the students] tell me that this is something they don't like, that I do give them space to speak up. Hmmm. This is what I'm struggling with. It's easier when you're a captain from the outset. It's easier. Simply, this is how things will be done around here and you don't give them any space. And they often do need a firm hand. But what I'm trying to prove is that it can be done without it, too. Although with more effort, but it can be done. (Interview 1, 22 September 2004)

Even though Monika identified the image of a controlling teacher as contradicting the course input and her own aspiration, there is an air in this excerpt of her internal struggles to make sense of the many

competing images of good teaching. On the one hand, she saw control and authority as critical to her image of a good teacher, and when assigning different roles to individual students in her class as part of her classroom management strategy, she would in fact tellingly label herself as a 'company owner'. On the other hand, the above excerpt suggests that she consciously strived to disassociate herself from this image in response to her participation in the TD course. Yet, interestingly, when Monika decided to implement the TD course ideas in her teaching practice, these were often interpreted by her as 'fun activities and warm-ups', most of which were not necessarily linked with less teacher control or indeed greater student involvement in their own learning.

And so when we look at Monika's data in our effort to understand her development, we need to attend to at least three distinct images of future selves that played a prominent role in this process: (1) Monika's Ideal Language Teacher Self, that is, her vision of a creative language teacher with which she entered the profession, but which was gradually being suppressed by a very different yet powerful image dominant in her teaching context, (2) her almost internalised Ought-to Language Teacher Self, that is, the vision of a 'captain' and 'company owner' modelled in her teaching context, and, finally, (3) her newly adopted Ought-to Language Teacher Self inspired by the teacher development course. As we will see later in this chapter, Monika's desire to live up to this, what appeared a very vivid, image of someone who is committed to the new ideas shook the foundations of all these visions. Let us start our inquiry into Monika's developmental paths by looking at some examples of her implementation efforts with regard to what seems to be a central and recurrent theme in her data: teacher control versus student responsibility.

As mentioned before, Monika's interpretation of the TD course input typically entailed incorporating 'shocking' and entertaining tasks into her lessons with little or no conscious emphasis on increased student engagement. As the project progressed, however, a deeper engagement with the principles of group-sensitive teaching (including promoting the norm of group responsibility) became apparent in Monika's classroom discourse. In addition to peppering her lessons with 'little activities', she also seemed to be consciously guiding students towards greater responsibility for their own learning and classroom participation. The examples of such guidance, whose influence can be traced back to the last session of the TD course input, include:

- Communicating the norm of group responsibility in her introduction to a group task (e.g. 'You are responsible 100% for your own

> work, you as a person? And also you are responsible 100% for the work of the whole group', Classroom observation transcript, 3 May 2005).
> Communicating the norm of tolerance when, during a specific task, a group of students started to make fun of an incorrect use of language by members of another group ('If I wouldn't be tolerant of your mistakes, if I was laughing all the time, you wouldn't like it, I'm sure. You wouldn't make much progress. (1) So all you need is tolerance. (1) We all make mistakes. And it wasn't our task to correct mistakes, to correct the questions [but to answer them]', Classroom observation transcript, 10 May 2005).
> Group processing with the aim to get the students to reflect on the effectiveness of their work in groups ('OK. What was the best strategy before arranging yourselves? What did you find useful? What worked? What helped you?' Classroom observation transcript, 10 May 2005).

An interesting insight into how these instances came about is provided in the following interview excerpt (Interview 4, 10 May 2005). I asked Monika to tell me more about the message of tolerance that I had witnessed in the previously observed class and this is what she says:

> ... I think it happened when you were there the last time [i.e. 3 May 2005] as well. I have a feeling that you observed it as well. I saw that you were looking at the boys and they were kind of laughing when somebody said something and they made mistakes. So at that time I kind of I didn't know how to react. I didn't see that moment. I wanted to tell them something that would touch them, but I didn't find the proper words. But? I didn't forget. ... I knew I wanted to do something about it and maybe was waiting for the right time. And there when they were laughing, I just like OK, you're laughing. But do you understand the question?

It is clear from this transcript that Monika's implementation was prompted by her course-inspired ought-to self and, more specifically, her desire to address what she interpreted as the researcher's concerns. Although we could see a similar underlying motive in Tamara's classroom implementation, Monika's vision of who she ought to become led to engagement with the course input that went beyond a simple replication of a TD course activity and the effect on students' learning engagement was obvious (the reprimanded students indeed stopped laughing and focused instead on the task at hand). It seems, therefore, that the pressure associated with pursuing her course-inspired ought-to self was

instrumental in helping Monika become more sensitive to the motivational dynamics of her classroom, facilitated her deeper engagement with the course content, and culminated in classroom implementation that actually had a positive effect on students' learning engagement. This is a confirmation of an important role ought-to selves play in inspiring conceptual change (cf. Kubanyiova, 2009c). However, as Monika herself admits in an interview, such implementation was usually restricted to classes immediately following the most recent TD course session (which often happened to be classes scheduled for observation), rather than reflecting some long-term implementation plan:

> You know it could be that I didn't do many activities recently? (3) Very recently yes, after the [TD course] session. And I'm very much like, you know, during the course, I always feel like, OK, on Monday I will be like the best teacher! (laughs) and on Friday I will always forget. (Interview 4, 10 May 2005)

This reflects a general trend in Monika's data when, on the one hand, there would be clear signs of her readiness to embark on the systematic route to conceptual change driven by her ought-to self and indeed of evidence of some important shifts in her understanding of a motivational teaching practice. This involved moving away from simply focusing on entertaining activities in her teaching to considering strategies for helping students engage in language tasks more productively. On the other hand, however, it was also clear that these shifts were typically short-lived and were almost immediately followed by a U-turn as Monika came to realise more fully the consequences of pursuing the new vision ('it's easy to say to someone who hasn't tried it'), was forced to reassess her internal and external resources for change ('And how can that work in school? And there [is] so much. And all at the same time') and abandoned the new ideas for fear of enacting her undesired self ('[The students]... think that they learn best by drill. And if you as teacher do something else, they say you're again fooling around and making up non-sense things.'). Let me illustrate this type of developmental U-turn in context by examining a classroom episode in which Monika decided to enforce the norm of group responsibility.

Session 4 of the TD course input (29 April 2005; an extract from this session's field notes can be found in Boxed Text 5.1), which clearly inspired the following implementation during one of the observed lessons (3 May 2005), involved an interactive lecture on learner autonomy

and group responsibility. Among other things, we discussed various autonomy-supporting strategies (cf. Dörnyei, 2001a), including simple verbal and non-verbal signals to the students that their participation in learning tasks is not in the teacher's but in their own interests and that the pressure to engage in them must therefore lie with the learners. One such non-verbal strategy we considered included extended wait time. A transcript of the lesson segment in which Monika attempted to incorporate this strategy is presented in Boxed Text 9.1.

As we can see from this transcript, Monika's implementation of the 'wait time' concept produced prolonged periods of silence and, if anything, led to students' decreased rather than increased activity. The students' reactions captured in the field notes suggest, however, that the students' passivity did not reflect their learning attitudes or inability to take charge, but, rather their unawareness of what was actually being asked of them. Immediately after the class, I elicited Monika's appraisal of what had just transpired. Her reaction is captured in the following field notes excerpt (3 May 2005):

> I know I didn't [have the time to] do what I had planned, but I have a good feeling about this class. Although at times I started to feel embarrassed, I didn't want to do it for them. I expected there would be a leader, they would organise themselves as group, but they didn't really cooperate. When S2 went to write, what she wrote was not a result of a group decision. But maybe it's OK, next time it will be better.

Monika's post-lesson appraisal of her implementation attempt may appear a little puzzling at first. While she was aware that the students did not fulfil the task requirements, she, nevertheless, had 'a good feeling about this class', even though she 'started to feel embarrassed' when the students did not take the kind of action she had envisaged.

This ambiguity is more than understandable, however, in the context of the multiple visions that Monika was pursuing. On the one hand, she had every reason to be satisfied for she interpreted her classroom implementation of the 'waiting' strategy as a successful enactment of her course-inspired ought-to self. She relentlessly pursued this vision and refused to give in when the students did not respond. Of course, she was fully aware that the strategy did not produce the desired outcome, but implicitly ascribed the failure to the group's developmental stage in the hope that with more exposure to such an approach to teaching, the students may improve the quality of their engagement in group tasks.

Boxed Text 9.1 Field notes of Monika's implementation of the 'wait time' strategy

T Now you as a group, try to choose three, decide on three of these adjectives that you think best characterise you as a group. (3) OK? *(some chatting – task related, they ask questions).* three of the adjectives? Let's *(over the noise)* say from the key words? On page 80, or you can use some that were at the end of the book, but they are not in the xxx. You have a difficult task. Now? To agree on three qualities that characterise you as a group. *(they start chatting)* So I'll just wait here in the classroom for when you're ready?

6:35

(Students start talking. It seems that some of them are not on task, some of them speak L1, some silent, but generally I can hear some adjectives being generated. T does not interfere, she is waiting at the front of the classroom. In the meantime she has written the following on the board:)

We ARE
1).....
2).....
3).....

9:39

(The class is becoming quieter now and there are some voices in L1 like: So what are we supposed to do now? *The class seems to be ready now, they are quiet. T is waiting quietly. After some time, they start chattering again and several seconds later, they are almost completely silent, waiting for the teacher to do or say something. T is waiting without giving any instructions. After some time the T says)*

T I didn't tell you to be quiet *(in a pleasant tone with a smile)* (2) *(some voices from the students now, T laughs).* 10:24 I'm just waiting for the qualities that characterise you as a group, that's all.

(some students mumble something in L1, but the whole class again falls into almost complete silence, 10:30 – most students have their heads down, some giggle, some look embarrassed, some start whispering in L1: What's she waiting for? What's she waiting for?)

(12:51 i.e. after almost 2 and a half minutes of silence, T laughs; silence continues; it is without any doubt that the students are totally flummoxed, they have no idea what to do)

(14:04 *a student mumbles something like:* We don't have to be quiet. *And others start laughing, another student responds:* Ahaaaa, we don't have to be quiet that's good! *All in L1; silence continues*)

15:29

T I could write it myself, but I don't want my opinion, I want yours on the board.

(some chatting has started among them now, immediately a student (S2) gets up and goes to the board. She starts writing. Writes the first one: Creative. Another student (S6) tries to tell her what to write next: Try the second one. Write confident, patient! *She does not respond, possibly didn't hear him. Others shout* 'helpful'. *She ends up with a list of 3 adjectives: creative, flexible, helpful and goes back to her desk.)*

T OK?

S3 Uhm?

T So this is it? Is this your result? Are you satisfied with this?

S6 *(low volume, not heard and not responded to by anybody)* No.

T This is what you came up with, yes? *(and she starts asking them questions about the qualities)*

But there is another layer to her evaluation of what had just occurred. Although Tamara was more vocal about her feelings of embarrassment when a TD course-inspired activity she attempted to implement in her class did not have the desired effects (discussed in Chapter 8), Monika's overall data are interwoven with similar signs of emotional discomfort, the signs of which we can also sense in her appraisal of this episode. It may be that, like Tamara, Monika, too, was beginning to see clearer contours of her feared self during this episode; an image of herself as a teacher who is perceived by the students as 'fooling around and making up non-sense ... [and] silly things'.

Certainly, there are important differences between these two teachers' data. For example, in contrast with Tamara, Monika's fear of not living up to the researcher's expectations (i.e. a counterpart to her course-inspired ought-to self) seemed to play a decidedly more central role in her self-concept, which may be why Monika appeared more determined than Tamara to risk her reputation in front of the students and entertain a feared equivalent of her almost internalised ought-to image of future self. Yet, what both these teachers seem to have in common is their focus on avoiding their undesired selves, which, in turn, seems to have

Boxed Text 9.2 Student focus group interview extract about the 'wait time' episode (10 May 2005)

I Let's talk about the class I observed recently. How did you feel about it?
(All laugh)
S1 We didn't know what to do.
S2 We didn't get it.
S3 Like we felt it was a kind of game of something, we were just looking [at the teacher] like what are we supposed to do?
S4 I like wanted to ask, but then thought maybe it was mentioned and I just didn't hear or something.... Do you know what I thought? I thought that the teacher waited so that she could observe us or something so that she could then write her opinion about us, like what we are like. (*laughs*) Like whether it will match ours. I don't know. It somehow made sense, like she waited a bit and then wrote down the 3 words [the task]. But when she didn't say anything, then (*showing resignation*).
S1 It was very weird. We were just looking at each other, like what? What? What's going on?
I And didn't you feel some sort of pressure to actually ask?
All Oh yes!
I And so why didn't you? Like did it feel weird, or were you afraid, embarrassed, or?
S4 No so much embarrassing as it was weird.

completely obscured their ability to analyse classroom evidence for the reasons behind the students' failure to respond to the new challenges.

When I shared my field notes with Monika, she was astonished at the students' reactions and admitted that she had been completely unaware of them. This and further evidence of the nature of the students' inactivity (Monika agreed to elicit feedback from her students and I did the same in a focus group interview, an excerpt from which can be found in Boxed Text 9.2) undoubtedly aided Monika's greater understanding of the classroom episode.

Yet, even though she readily accepted and was able to learn from this post hoc data-based evidence, the classroom episode itself seems to have, nevertheless, left a scar on her confidence to live up to her course-inspired image of self and bring about the desired changes in her students' classroom engagement. This may be why when, a week later, she was

Boxed Text 9.3 Classroom scenario: promoting group responsibility

T 'Who wants to continue?'

[silence – 2.5 seconds]

T 'Somebody must continue.'

[silence – 2 seconds]

T 'So, Betka, tell us...'

confronted with a similar situation in a classroom scenario as part of an interview elicitation task (see Boxed Text 9.3), she seems to have completely abandoned the concept of wait time as a strategy that can send a signal to students that their participation in learning tasks is in their hands rather than the teacher's. The following interview excerpt captures Monika's reflections on this classroom scenario:

> I mean, I wouldn't say somebody must, but I would, OK, who wants to continue? OK. So I would do this. I would this. I usually do it. I really don't know. Well, now. Maybe? I would wait. Xxx I would remain silent. But if nobody wanted to, if they remained silent, I really don't know what I would do. (2) But. I mean. Now I can imagine how Betka feels. (2) Now I can think about how she feels. I wouldn't think about this before. I would just like, OK, Betka, why not. But now I can xxx, arghh, Betka again! (*laughs*) ... Or maybe, do not ask this question, but kind of there's always you make them, you can make them do something and they won't be realising that you make them do it. I could give them cards, for example, and say, OK. Those who have, I don't know, number ehm, ... whatever. I don't know. I mean. (Interview 4, 10 May 2005)

To my question whether it might be useful to try and wait for someone to volunteer rather than decide for them, her response was

> OK. So if they don't respond, what do I do?

A week earlier, she was ready to sacrifice almost ten minutes of class time to 'wait' for the students to take charge. In this interview, in contrast, waiting does not even appear in the list of options. Instead, Monika

proposes creative and subtle ways of gently coercing students into activity. While these can undoubtedly be a useful starting point in helping students participate more fully in the classroom interaction, they appear to contradict the idea of student responsibility that Monika pursued so uncompromisingly in the previously discussed episode and instead put pressure on the teacher to come up with a technique that can 'make' students volunteer.

It is important to note here that the aim of this analysis is not to suggest a right or wrong solution to the given scenario and judge Monika's response against some kind of 'answer key'. Far from it. In fact, Monika's assessment of the inappropriateness of the teacher's question in the given context and a more holistic appraisal of the situation demonstrate the multiple and complex dimensions that inform teachers' pedagogical choices in their everyday teaching practice. Yet, we also need to acknowledge that in the context of Monika's previous engagement with the 'wait time' concept, the strategies that she is proposing here imply a U-turn in her response to the TD course. Thus, even though the analysis of the earlier classroom episode may offer a conclusion of conceptual change in Monika's appreciation of the importance of group responsibility (though, admittedly, her understanding of the teacher's role in facilitating the group developmental process was yet to develop), this outcome does not seem to have stood the test of a 'reality check'. Despite Monika's positive appraisal of the class ('I have a good feeling about this class') and the objective evidence that the students' failure to respond in the desired way was caused by reasons other than Monika's ability to enforce the norm or the students' unwillingness to take charge, she, nevertheless, seemed to completely abandon the idea of wait time in the later stage of the project. It appears, then, that in relation to this concept she reappraised her internal and external resources as insufficient and embarked on the heuristic 'nice-but-too-scary' route of conceptual change. In a joint interview with another research participant more than two weeks after this class implementation, this is how Monika responds to the same classroom scenario (which was also used to elicit the other research participant's views):

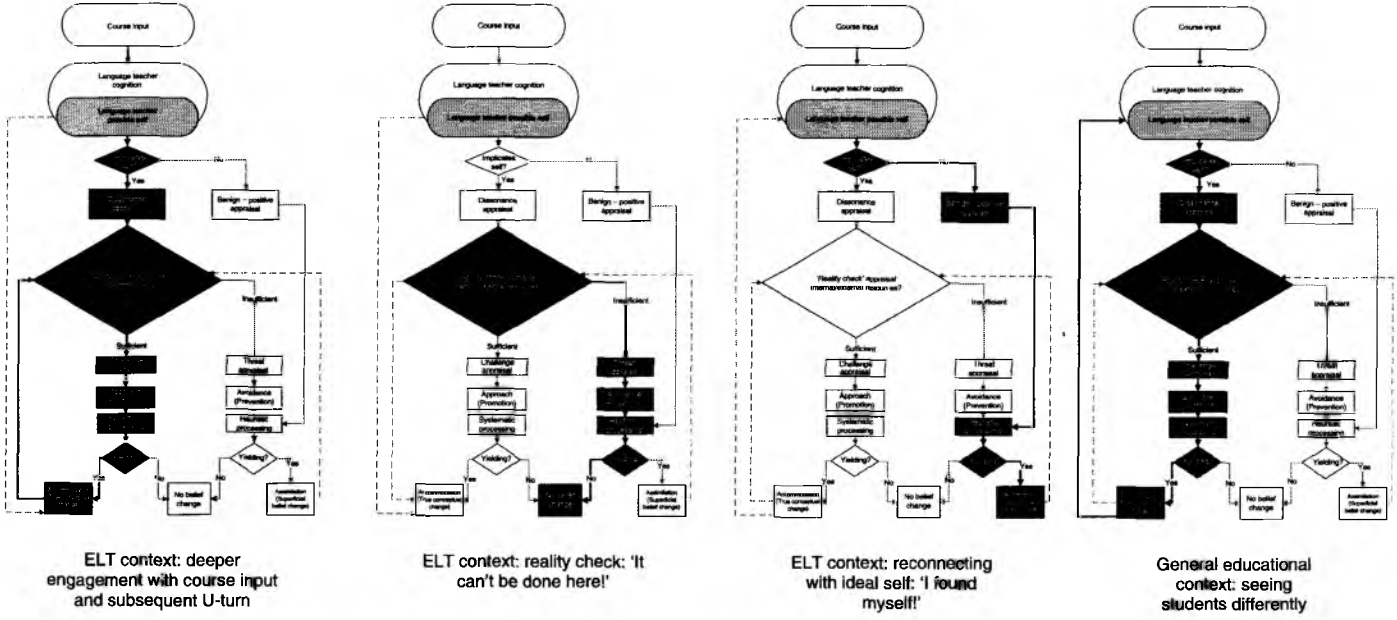
> Well, I said that I'd wait. And I also tried it in class and I then waited till the end of the class (all laugh)! Really! But then I found out, when I asked them to write feedback, that they actually didn't understand the instructions. They didn't have a clue what I wanted them to do. And then Maggie was there and they thought that we were perhaps testing them or something. So that was, like there were various factors.

But I really don't know what to do. (Joint interview with Erika, 19 May 2005)

This LTCC 'U-turn cycle' recurs throughout Monika's data with abundant examples, either in dialogic mentor–teacher exchanges or in the classroom application, of her emerging understanding of key concepts of motivational teaching evident in one phase of the project and completely absent in the next. It appears then that although her course-inspired ought-to self may have moved Monika to deeper reflection on the course content, her commitment to the new idea was fragile and she reverted to her prior understanding of motivation as soon as she began to realise more fully the potential threat that her 'experiments' posed to her sense of self. A graphical representation of Monika's developmental U-turn can be found in the first two diagrams of Figure 9.1 and a summary of empirical evidence of her typical 'nice-but-too-scary' developmental route is provided in Boxed Text 9.4.

So what can we conclude about Monika's development from this episode as well as her wider course-inspired implementation data? There are undoubtedly clear signs that she engaged more deeply with some of the concepts and, in contrast with the previous research participants, demonstrated visibly more advanced implementation of the course input. While previously she would simply try to introduce 'fun' or 'shocking' activities with no obvious benefits for students' learning, this and other classroom episodes attest to the shift in her focus on students' classroom engagement and show her understanding of specific pedagogical principles. However, Monika was constantly forced to reassess her internal and external resources and it appears that, like Tamara, she, too, concluded that these were insufficient (students expected something else, teachers were not always 'lucky' to 'have mature groups', and the educational context placed 'too many demands' on the teachers to engage in extra work). In her effort to avert the threat to her image of self modelled by her teaching environment, she resorted to the heuristic evaluation of the course input and chose 'the easier way'.

Yet, it would be a severely impoverished picture of Monika's development if we simply left it at the above conclusion of no conceptual change. This is because what may at first glance only appear as confirmation of no conceptual change is in fact a significant turning point in Monika's development: a moment when she completely discarded her image of a fearsome and stern 'captain' and fully embraced her old vision of a teacher who creates a stimulating and creative environment for her students. The following extract from an interview conducted six months after



ELT context: deeper engagement with course input and subsequent U-turn

ELT context: reality check: 'It can't be done here!'

ELT context: reconnecting with ideal self: 'I found myself!'

General educational context: seeing students differently

Figure 9.1 Monika's LTCC multiple cycles

Boxed Text 9.4 Monika: a summary of her 'Nice-but-too-scary' LTCC route

Ought-to Language Teacher Self:

'It's easier when you're a captain from the outset. It's easier. Simply, this is how things will be done around here and you don't give them any space. And they often do need a firm hand. But what I'm trying to prove is that it can be done without it, too. Although with more effort, but it can be done.'

Implicates Self? Yes. Dissonance appraisal.

Reality Check Appraisal: insufficient internal/external resources.

- Low self-efficacy:
  'This will not work and it's easy to say to someone who hasn't tried it.'
- Lack of conceptual understanding and contextual constraints:
  'You feel that something's wrong but you don't know what it is. You try all sorts of things, quick fixes that may work for a while, but then you're back to normal. The core hasn't been dealt with.....'
- Fear of not meeting students' expectations:
  'For [the students], the best way is drill! They think that they learn best by drill. And if you as teacher do something else, they say you're again fooling around and making up non-sense things. They don't understand why we can't just do textbook, exercise, textbook, exercise ... they're like "why should we do these silly things?"'
- Unsupportive system:
  'And how can that work in school? And there [is] so much. And all at the same time. ... And ... who cares about the teachers? [They tell us] you've got a degree, you should know how to teach. Teach!'

Threat appraisal:
'Yeah, I was, within me, angry, like what does she, all the time, what does she want?! I've got other things to think about.'

Avoidance tendency:
'While I'm enjoying something, it's great, but when all my energy's gone, that's it!'

Heuristic engagement facilitated by her prior cognitions:
'[Motivational teaching means] little activities ... [for] some sort of setting the atmosphere or something' 'a little warm-up or ... some fun'

Yielding? No.

Outcome: no conceptual change
'And then in the middle of all the problems and tasks and everything, you give up and choose the easier way.'

the project (30 December 2005) shows that although students' learning remained at the periphery of Monika's priorities, there is a strong sense of a different kind of transformation:

> I [now have] moments when I really [enjoy] preparing for classes, and I like, you know what I really enjoy? Lesson preparation. But teaching, you can send somebody else to teach the lesson! (*laughs*) I took that book and now how could this be done and that and create things and cut and stuff and then, I don't know, it's as if you've already gone through the class and to teach it, you're happy to have someone else do it. (*laughs*) Like I will only do preparations (*laughs*).

Although the TD course did not seem to inspire lasting conceptual change in Monika's understanding of principles for enhancing students' engagement in *language learning*, her participation in the course undoubtedly helped her rediscover her creative potential and enabled her original vision of her Ideal Language Teacher Self to flourish. It is as if through her participation in the TD course, Monika's original vision of who she always yearned to become, was once again allowed a legitimate place in the limelight. And as soon as Monika 'found [her]self', her reaction was quite radical: rather than putting up with the pressures of the system and letting it stifle her re-energised vision of who she wanted to become, she left the state sector for an environment where she had unlimited control over how the educational process was managed. Not only did she instantly translate this vision into action by creating a highly inspiring physical environment in her teaching rooms, but in the effort to 'transmit' her new knowledge and enthusiasm to her colleagues, she

organised a teacher development workshop inspired by the TD course ideas. Thus, what started as Monika's desire to live up to an image of a converted educator in order to demonstrate commitment to her course-related ought-to self, later turned out to be a dramatic turning point in her career when the troubled waters of the constant emotional struggles as she navigated the conflicting images of good teaching finally calmed down: a moment when she reconnected with her cherished vision of herself (this is represented in the third diagram in Figure 9.1). Rather than a neat and straightforward LTCC route, then, Monika's development can best be seen as a series of cycles; some occurring in sequences, with others being pursued side by side (see Figure 9.1).

Although this is not quite the end of Monika's story yet (to which we will return at the very end of this book), we will now move on to exploring the complexity of Erika's developmental journeys.

9.2 Traces of 'I've-got-to-teach-differently' route in Erika's development

We have now covered almost all key concepts and trajectories that the data of this longitudinal grounded-theory ethnographic project have revealed. As has been reiterated throughout this book, the TD course described here failed to bring about lasting conceptual change in the eight teachers who took part in it. It should therefore come as no surprise that the LTCC route of intentional conceptual change has not been analysed in depth, despite the sparks that were evident in Monika's data. What we are about to see in this brief account of Erika's development, however, does allow us a little taster of this route of development inspired by an ideal vision of future self. Of course, as the title of this chapter suggests, in order to fully savour such a treat, we first need to understand the multiple contexts that had shaped this teacher's response to the TD course.

We may remember Erika from our earlier discussion as someone whose vision appeared to correspond with the core philosophy of the TD course. As we could see in Chapter 6, she was one of the few research participants who would explicitly define their motivation to enter the profession as inspired by a desire to teach or be with people. Even though, similarly to Tamara and Lenka, the family influence seems to have played an important role in Erika's career choice ('My dad was a leader of our ... group and I always went with them wherever they went, so I was used to being with people? And perhaps that was what kind of gave me direction. Being with

people, working with them', Interview 1, 24 September 2004), there was, at the same time, a clear sense of agency in her decision, as the following interview transcript shows:

> Well, I can't remember this exactly, but my parents tell me that I had always wanted to be a teacher, since I was a child. At primary school I remember choosing grammar secondary school because that was the best choice if one wanted to study at a university. I wanted to study at a university because I wanted to become a teacher, but originally I wanted to teach Maths. (*laughs*) I remember that. But that was when I didn't understand things (*laughs*) and then I started to have problems with Maths, and then came English that kind of gripped me. (Interview 1, 24 September 2004)

Certainly, this in itself does not provide us with sufficient evidence of Erika's Ideal Language Teacher Self. However, across all her data sources, be it interviews, TD course feedback or classroom discourse, we find plentiful examples attesting to Erika's vision of someone who wants to help her students learn and for whom their participation in the classroom tasks is an important concern guiding her thinking and instruction. While the desires and concerns expressed in the following transcript were not frequent in the data of most of the other research participants, they formed a staple of Erika's deliberations:

> when the kids are not so enthusiastic ... that's what you have to work on and that is what is difficult. I have been thinking about this for quite some time, like how to get this sort of kids to be enthusiastic. The little ones, they're sweet. They're on a completely different level when it comes to enthusiasm. But mainly those older kids who have been attending the courses for longer or those who only attend because their parents push them. This is what I want to learn. (Interview 2, 23 November 2004)

It appears, then, that with her vision of someone who wants to facilitate learners' engagement in classroom tasks and her awareness of a discrepancy between this image and the actual status quo, Erika's situation afforded an exceptionally fertile ground for conceptual change. There are at least two important details, however, that offer insights into why, despite what may have appeared to be such a conducive climate for change, Erika's participation in the TD course did not lead to transformation of her language education practices: first, at the time of this project, Erika taught English exclusively to groups of young learners in a private

language school, and second, her operationalisation of her language teaching vision was strongly influenced by a technicist view of teaching. Let us, for a moment, consider the impact of these factors on Erika's response to the TD course.

Based on her prior experience, Erika saw the 'little ones' as 'sweet' and 'enthusiastic', which is why her repertoire of motivational strategies and her coursebook in particular, which she held in very positive regard, could easily address their needs and ensure their engagement in the classroom. In other words, although she personally identified with the vision implied by the TD course, its content did not implicate her self because a motivational teaching practice was 'for [her] ... a natural, a matter-of-fact way of teaching' and there was 'not a big gap' between how she aspired to teach and what her current teaching of young learners in a private institution required and allowed her to do. As a result, her beliefs about a motivational teaching practice, which she, similarly to the other research participants, interpreted as 'video and flashcards and boardgames and everything', were not exposed to a systematic scrutiny, but remained unchallenged and grounded in Erika's heuristics. Of course, this is in no way to mean that Erika's teaching practice did not engage her students in learning; quite the contrary. However, when opportunities for enhancing students' learning experience arose within the context of what Erika was already doing, she, like Silvia, was unlikely to seize them.

In the light of Erika's conceptions of motivational teaching, it is perhaps unsurprising that even when she was given adult language classes to teach in the later stages of the project, she did not always see the relevance of the TD course ideas to her language teaching *('By the way, the way you presented your lecture – we had to collect cards – was great too. If I teach at the university ..., I will definitely use it or use something similar', Feedback on Session 3)* and if she did, her implementation was typically aligned with her prior understanding of a motivational teaching practice and therefore did not go beyond incorporating some of the TD course activities into her language teaching practice. When she spoke of her desire to 'learn' to address the issue of motivation of 'older learners', what she usually expected was the right kind of 'activity' that she could add to her growing repertoire. In this sense, then, the TD course content, with its emphasis on understanding students' learning rather than providing a set of 'effective' activities, did not produce the kind of emotional disequilibrium that we discussed as essential for conceptual change in Chapter 7.

We could argue that one of the main reasons for the lack of dissonance that would stir Erika into reflecting on her teaching practice more deeply was the profound influence of her teacher education on the way she

operationalised her language teaching vision. Erika was deeply impressed with the teachers on her university language teacher education programme and because the specific activities and language teaching techniques that were introduced in those classes were radically different from the traditional methods she had been exposed to as a language learner, she embraced them unconditionally and equated 'video and flashcards and boardgames' with 'interactive', 'humanistic' and 'motivational' language teaching. For her, the more techniques and activities she could gather, the more effective teacher she could become and was 'hoping' that her students would 'never tire of' those activities that 'work'.

This view reflects a more general trend in language teacher education in Slovakia at the time of the study, with the underlying pedagogical approaches on the EFL didactics courses largely grounded in a technicist view of teacher training, whose main objective was to equip teachers with a repertoire of teaching techniques and skills rather than encourage critical reflection on the language learning and teaching process. Erika was, therefore, understandably puzzled when some of those techniques did not have the expected effects when she applied them in her classroom:

> The only thing that surprised me was when we, in our [language teaching] methodology classes, tried out various activities, ehm, we had microteaching? I tried to use some of those things in my classes. And at the university, they worked brilliantly, we had loads of fun doing the activities, but it worked differently with the students in my classes. That's what surprised me a lot, sometimes in a quite negative way, like, simply it didn't have the same effect as I had expected. Like I imagined it how it was done in the methodology class and how it was then done in practice. For example, miming. Maybe they're not quite used to it, maybe that's why. Like when I went there and started to do these things they were like giggling and shy and, like they had a slip of paper with a sentence, say I'm eating a banana and their task was simply to mime it and the others had to guess it and that was a big problem for them. But I imagined that it would be like in our class. I thought they'd enjoy it and that this way will be good for them, but it didn't have that effect on them at all as I had wanted. So that's what I found different. (Interview 1, 24 September 2004)

In the absence of tools that would encourage and enable reflection, Erika's response to such baffling experiences would be simply to discard the activity, rather than critically reflect on the specific context in which it was used. Similar patterns of unconditional positive appraisal

can be observed in her evaluation of a specific coursebook that she was using with her young learners. Although she may have been aware of particular issues that needed addressing in her classes (e.g. students' lack of participation or discipline), approaching them in ways that would mean departure from the coursebook syllabus was more or less out of the question, because she '[didn't] skip many things from this book'. When she expressed concerns about students fooling around, her reaction to my suggestion that they may need a bit more challenge was:

> ... I don't know what to do with them. Because the coursebooks are designed in such a way that I can't really give them extra work or something. (Interview 3, 11 January 2005)

This lack of reflection is reminiscent of the other research participants' data and mirrors the wider educational and teacher preparation culture in this specific sociocultural and historical context (Kubanyiova, 2006). We have now seen substantial evidence that the absence of reflection can have serious implications for conceptual change. Not only can it severely undermine the teachers' sense of self when they evaluate their implementation efforts through the prism of their feared vision rather than data-based evidence (as we have seen in the case of Tamara and Monika), but it can also prevent them from experiencing the gap between their actual and ideal selves (as we have seen in Silvia and, now, in Erika).

Indeed, Erika equated the TD course input with her prior model of 'interactive' teaching that she had received in her teacher education and that she had been emulating in her language teaching 'for a long time'. She was happy to include specific course-inspired activities in the language classes in which the coursebooks she was using did not always 'work', and if she saw those activities as suitable for the given age groups. However, in contrast with Tamara or Monika, she did not interpret this as doing something different, but simply as enriching her repertoire for new activities that enabled her to continue to teach in the way she '[had] always done'. In this sense, therefore, Erika's developmental trajectory is identical with that of Silvia. Both personally identified with the TD course message and both were convinced that their actual selves were already aligned with their ideal visions, which, in turn, fully represented the central philosophy of the TD course. Their positive appraisal of the course therefore led to heuristic rather than systematic analysis of the TD course content.

So what exactly was I referring to when I promised a taster of the systematic developmental route in Erika's data? As we saw earlier, teaching

English was not the only teaching context that Erika was working in. In addition to her part-time job in the private sector, she was also employed as a part-time lecturer of the other subject in her double major at a public university. And it is precisely this context in which traces of intriguing 'movements' can be found.

I still have a vivid image in my mind of Erika during the last activity of the first session of the TD course, as she was feverishly completing the task and starting to copy down the motivational quotes displayed on the teaching room walls. I will forever remember that look in her eyes at the very end of the session when others had started to pack and she was still sitting there, almost in trance-like state. That look will for me always represent 'dissonance in action'. As my eyes caught up with hers, she exclaimed: 'I've got to teach differently!' It was not an exclamation of despair, however, but more of a sudden flash illuminating the gap between the kind of teacher she was and the one she earnestly aspired to become. But there was something more in it than just a realisation of discrepancy: this was an outcry of passion and determination to do something about it.

And surely enough, in her feedback on the session and in the subsequent phases of the project, Erika talked very enthusiastically about the 'radical changes' she made to the 'content' as well as 'methods' of her university course, the 'journals' she introduced to her university classes to 'get an understanding of what the students were making of the material', and the 'posters on the wall, interactive teaching, [and] discussions' that completely transformed her previously 'absolutely horrendous' way of teaching. Almost all aspects of the first session of the TD course were recognisable in Erika's 'new' approach, including ways of working with texts, encouraging reflection in journals or reinforcing key ideas on the posters around the teaching room. Although such a direct impact was to various degrees also evident in the data of Tamara and Monika, Erika's implementation seems to have reached an even higher level where she did not simply evaluate whether something worked and discarded it if it did not, but she carefully analysed what transpired in the class by focusing on clues for students' learning and understanding and used this data-based evidence to inform her subsequent pedagogical choices. The following interview excerpt (Interview 2, 23 November 2004) allows insights into Erika's systematic reflection on her implementation of the TD course ideas into her university classes:

> Because these were theoretical things. And I tried to do it this way, because, and that's another thing they positively evaluated, that I did

> it that way. I had 6 theories and we only had 2 seminars for that, so I split them into 3 and 3 for each seminar. And in the first class, I made the theories as brief as possible. Like a page and a half, two pages max. And I split them into groups and each group got a theory and their task was to read it and to find positive and negative aspects of that theory. There were slight problems, like they were not always able to interpret some things so I had to help them there. But in the second class I did the same, but this time, I also provided some guiding questions. That when they know the answers for these questions, it might be easier for them to explain the theory to the others. So that was something that worked. And it's important, the second time, not the first time, I realised that in the second lesson that it's important to write it on the board. So it worked better. This is what I have learnt. Like, the first time, I could have put the questions on the board. It's more, they themselves actually mentioned that in their journals. They liked it this way that it wasn't just me talking but, simply, that they had to do something too. That's what they tend to write in their journals that they liked discussions, the idea that they too can express their opinions? Because it's always, these things, they depend on how you look at them. And then that I tried to get them to participate, that they're not so passive.

It is true that I never got the chance to observe Erika's actual teaching in this specific context and the claims that I am making here about her development are based solely on Erika's self-reported data. Yet, the detail and depth with which she recounted her experiences in interviews or course feedback can give us sufficient confidence that a significant transformation of Erika's understanding of her role in facilitating students' learning was taking place, which, in turn, appeared to have tangible benefits for her students' engagement with the course material.

There is another important feature in Erika's data that deserves attention, which relates to how she approached challenging moments in her implementation of the TD course ideas. While all the other teachers would typically see students' disapproval of specific approaches as a threat to their self-image and, therefore, a clue for abandoning novel practices, Erika was, in contrast, strengthened in her resolve. In the following interview excerpt (Interview 2, 23 November 2004), she describes one such moment:

> I don't want them to nod and say yes, you're right, because I'm not right, it's all, it's developing, what is true now will not be so in 5 years'

> time? But at least I'd like to achieve that they're open to other views, they will know that there are different perspectives. I've got a couple of, mostly male individuals, who, as soon as something is about men and women, it's feminist? And automatically it's negative. That's how it's usually understood here, what is feminist is bad. But that there are so many kinds of feminism? And many different feminist approaches? That was my first lecture, we talked about feminism and how it's usually negatively perceived and this view is typically portrayed by people who know nothing about feminism. But nobody dares to speak in biology, for example, if they're not educated, but as soon as it's feminism, everybody feels the right. (4) I got such a (2) harsh journal from a student and it was very disappointing, but I told myself that I won't worry because of such a person.

Although we have already seen traces of the systematic route in Monika's data, we may still remember that, being guided by her course-inspired ought-to self, she approached this route much more cautiously. As she became aware of her low self-efficacy, contrasting expectations of the students and the pressures of the teaching environment, she began to find the new teaching approach too threatening and, as a result, gradually withdrew her commitment. As Erika's data have shown us, it may be that when the teachers' development is inspired by their ideal rather than ought-to selves, the ideal vision appears to provide a greater source of power, passion and perseverance in tackling the difficulties. Instead of seeing them as threats to be avoided, the vivid, elaborated and central images of who they would like to become can help the teachers transform the difficulties into challenges to be approached.

Now we may be justified in assuming that such a profound shift from a 'bank of activities' to a more inquiring attitude towards students' learning would not take long to translate into Erika's language teaching practice. Yet, interestingly, in all her reflections on the TD course impact on her development, Erika drew a clear line between her two teaching contexts. When I asked her in an interview about her feedback on Session 1 (Interview 2, 23 November 2004) whether her reactions to the TD course also implied English language teaching, she quite explicitly excluded this context from her consideration and continued to do so throughout the project:

> I think I know what you mean. And I talked mainly about the university. Because when I came back from Seminar 1, ehm, I spent all of Sunday preparing my lessons, which was triggered by that seminar.

> Because when it comes to English, I have been trying to do these things for some time now, I also search for all sorts of things on the Internet? I've got less time now, that's true, and I perhaps prepare less, but...

Erika's vision of who she wanted to become as a language teacher was clearly operationalised in her self-concept thanks to the prior models of effective language teaching that she had been exposed to in her teacher education. Because she equated those models with the TD course content, she did not see her language teacher self implicated in it. However, because she had no clear models of successful teaching in a university setting and only drew on those that she later described as 'horrendous', she was immediately able to see a considerable gap that the TD course was able to fill. It enabled her to operationalise her vision of the kind of teacher she always wanted to be and this, in turn, allowed her to embark on the systematic route of development. From then on, she started to see herself not as someone who simply 'talks', but someone who can 'achieve that they're open to other views' and who can 'try to bring that horse to the water'. A summary of Erika's developmental route can be seen in Boxed Text 9.5 and the graphical representation of her LTCC developmental 'cycles' in Figure 9.2.

Let me conclude this analysis of Erika's development with something quite unexpected, but very much in the spirit of the main argument of this chapter. I remained in contact with Erika beyond the life of the project and we would exchange e-mails from time to time. She had in the meantime changed her place of work and was teaching English full-time in an environment that allowed her to teach the way she wanted. While she had never before as much as hinted at the need to approach her English language teaching practice differently, it was in early 2008 when I received this e-mail from her with 'I'm desperate!' in the subject line:

> I'm in real trouble. I have such a terrible feeling about my teaching, I am sinking into some sort of stereotype and I'm running out of imagination. I would very much like to teach in a, let's call it humanistic, way, but I have a feeling that I totally can't do it.

Of course, it is completely beyond the scope of this book to analyse the context of this, what appears, a very distressing situation for Erika. Neither am I able to provide any details on what happened next. In the light of what we know about the important catalyst for change from this anatomy, however, we cannot help but see in this 'moment

Boxed Text 9.5 Erika: a summary of her 'I've-got-to-teach-differently' LTCC route

Ideal Language Teacher Self:
'... I had always wanted to be a teacher, since I was a child.'

Implicates self? Yes. Dissonance appraisal:
'... I taught [the university classes] in an absolutely horrendous way. I do realise that. It was this typical university approach.'

Reality Check Appraisal: sufficient internal/external resources:
'I got such a (2) harsh journal from a student and it was very disappointing, but I told myself that I won't worry because of such person.'

'Now I know I can help the situation, I can help the students in some way, even if it is sometimes very difficult.'

'The workshop gave me a great motivation to persevere and constantly try to improve my teaching. I went back home full of positive energy and lots of ideas, and my poor boyfriend had to listen to me all evening as I needed to share my feelings.'

Challenge appraisal:
'I've become aware that this is what I want to do, because, not just in English, but every single subject should be taught in this way so that the students learnt something too. Ehm. I think I started to realise that after that seminar, that I should do something about it.'

Approach tendency:
'I immediately had to set to work and start applying some of the ideas not so much in my English teaching, as in my university course ... I not only changed the content of this course, but also the methods. I made some radical changes, including posters on the walls, interactive teaching, discussions, journals ...!'

Systematic engagement:
'There were slight problems, like they were not always able to interpret some things so I had to help them there. But in the second class I did the same, but this time, I also provided some guiding questions. [I thought] that if they know the answers for these questions, it might be easier for them to explain the theory to the others.'

Yielding? Yes.

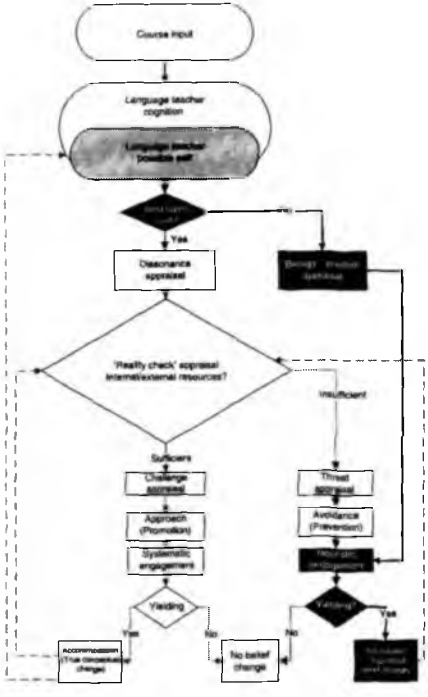
Outcome: conceptual change:
'When I was teaching before, ... I never thought about the fact that I, as a teacher, can help the group to be more productive, more effective and more confident. ... Now, I do think about it very often. I do observe my students, how they behave during the lessons and I try to analyse it in different ways. ... Of course, you can lead the horse to the water, but you can't make it drink. But thanks to the information from the last session, I know I can do much more to try to bring that horse to the water. Before, I simply didn't know it.

of dissonance' a powerful story of hope. What three years earlier may have appeared as seeds that fell by the wayside, turned out to be a slow germination process: with a little increase in temperature and a bit more water, the seedlings started to push their way above the ground.

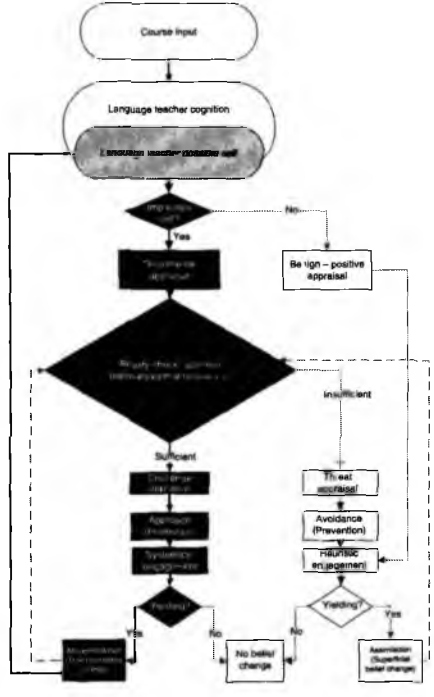
9.3 Summary

In the last chapter of this anatomy of failure, we have been able to see, perhaps a little paradoxically, the stories of success. It is true that these successes were perhaps a little fragile or that they turned up where they were least expected, in shapes and forms that could not have been anticipated. It is also true that in some cases they were running parallel with stories of no change. Even so, these successes have afforded us important glimpses into the 'knotted, clotted, viny multifariousness' (Nicholas Baker, cited in Gardner, 2004, p. 4) of language teachers' development. Clearly, for some teachers, the outcomes can be fairly predictable and straightforward. But as soon as the teachers start engaging with the new ideas more deeply, a textured, multilayered and dynamic picture of conceptual change comes to light.

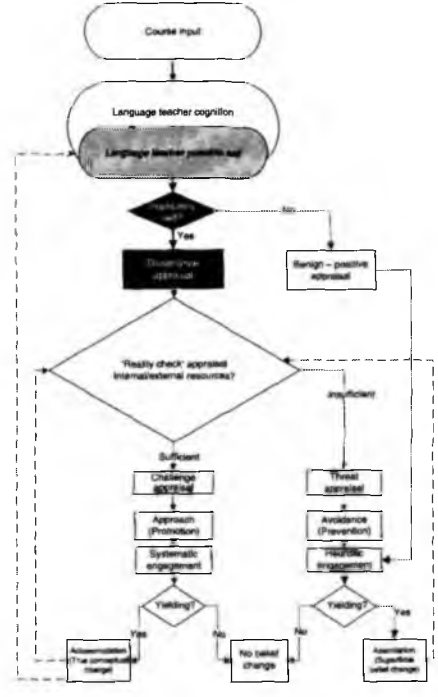
One important finding that has emerged from this discussion is the role of ideal and ought-to selves. Although the signs of conceptual change were traceable in both Erika's and Monika's data, we could sense an important difference, which, as has been argued, can be ascribed to the extent to which the teacher's vision has been internalised. Monika's main motivation to engage with the course input seemed to be guided by her fear of consequences if she failed to enact her image of a committed and converted teacher. Her desire to pursue this course-inspired



ELT context (2004–5):
'Couldn't-agree-more' route



University teaching context
(2004–5): 'I ve got to teach differently!'



ELT context (2008): 'I have such a
terrible feeling about my teaching!'

Figure 9.2 Erika's LTCC multiple cycles

vision of her ought-to self allowed her to experiment with new ideas and enabled her to go much deeper in her understanding than Tamara's fear of appearing an incompetent and disorganised language educator in front of her students did. Yet, when difficulties occurred and pressures of competing visions started to kick in, Monika, like Tamara, would also find greater comfort in avoiding rather than approaching the new ideas. Thus what may have shown all the signs of conceptual change in the first instance, was reconsidered in the light of the other images that Monika was trying to come to terms with. As a result, when the danger of being seen as uncommitted to the research project had passed (i.e. outside of the project phases), she would often reverse into a comfort zone.

On the other hand, because Erika was guided by her more internalised vision of who she was striving to become, she seemed unaffected by the difficulties and instead showed resilience and determination to fight whatever conditions threatened to prevent her from enacting her ideal self. As a result, when difficulties occurred and pressures started to kick in, it is as if Erika clung to her image of ideal self as a firm anchor in rough seas. Because Monika's anchor was, in contrast, not yet set securely, cruising to a safe spot was for her often the only way of keeping safe.

Much can be understood about teacher development through the lens of the integrated model of Language Teacher Conceptual Change (LTCC). What this chapter has clearly shown, however, is that LTCC must never be seen as a static, causal and linear framework that compartmentalises the richness of human experience into clear-cut and predefined theoretical trajectories. Even though no conceptual model, however sophisticated, can ever aspire to fully encompass this complexity, LTCC has been instrumental in helping us to make sense of the dynamic, multifarious and unpredictable nature of teacher change. We have seen change that is dramatic with immediate consequences for action, change that is slowly bubbling under the surface without anyone taking notice, and even change that takes subtle or, in contrast, quite dramatic U-turns. LTCC has been used in this book not to simplify but fully recognise and embrace this richness.

10

Conclusion: New Metaphors for Researching and Educating for Teacher Change

We have now arrived at the end of our exploration of language teachers' conceptual change and yet one of the key findings emerging from this journey is that we can hardly talk of end points in development. The research described in this book has allowed us glimpses into the complex dynamics of teacher change characterised by intricate, evolving and often entangled relationships among teachers' multiple visions, passions, dissonances, beliefs, knowledge and motivations as they engage in everyday practices of educating diverse students of a second language in specific educational, sociocultural and historical contexts. Although focusing on isolated constructs in language teacher cognition research, such as teachers' beliefs, has been critical to our increased appreciation of the role teachers' inner lives play in the educational process, this book has shown that even deeper insights can be gained by embracing a more holistic picture of teachers' activity and opening up the conceptual boundaries of the discipline. Drawing on a newly developed model of Language Teacher Conceptual Change (LTCC), each empirically based chapter in this book has highlighted a particular facet of change which played a critical role in the eight teachers' coming to terms with the teacher development course which was at the heart of this study. Instead of reiterating the conclusions reached in those chapters, therefore, let me conclude this book with a few reflections on what these findings may mean for researching and promoting teacher change.

10.1 Complexity theory as a constructive metaphor for ecological language teacher cognition research

Teacher learning has traditionally been examined from an individual perspective, but there is now a growing awareness of the need to understand

teachers' cognitions and practices within their communities (Shulman and Shulman, 2004) and the nested social 'ecosystems' in which teachers' activity is embedded (Woolfolk Hoy et al., 2006). This appreciation of the situated nature of teaching is in line with ecologically informed approaches to research on learning and development which are concerned with the quality of learning environments, account for temporal and spatial dimensions of development, and integrate self and identity in the learning process (van Lier, 2004). As we have seen in the earlier overview (Chapter 2), the extent to which language teacher cognition research has been able to address these 'ecological' concerns in its empirical investigations is variable, with some lines of inquiry being more successful in this respect than others.

The findings of this study have shown teacher conceptual change as a complex process emerging from the dynamic interaction of diverse and interconnected agents in the social cognitive systems in which teachers' activity is embedded. We have seen compelling evidence that teacher development programmes or processes do not *cause* change, but that we need to talk instead of multiple reasons for change or lack thereof and, equally, multiple routes of development. Teacher conceptual change does not follow a predictable trajectory, but may instead occur at any time and in any setting, not necessarily the one that had been circumscribed by the researcher or the teacher educator. And finally, we have seen hints in this study that big changes do not always have big consequences, just like insignificant movements do not always imply insignificant effects.

One specific theoretical framework that accounts for this complexity and enables us to view change from a more ecologically sensitive vantage point is *complexity theory,* which aims to understand 'how the interacting parts of a complex system give rise to the system's collective behaviour and how such a system simultaneously interacts with its environment' (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008a, p. 2). This perspective is now increasingly adopted in applied linguistics, especially in the second language acquisition domain (Dörnyei, 2009a, 2010; N. C. Ellis and Larsen-Freeman, 2006; Larsen-Freeman, 2006; Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008a, b; van Lier, 2004), and I would like to suggest that it can be an equally profitable metaphor for understanding language teachers' cognitions (also see Feryok, 2010) and addressing the methodological challenges which I outlined in Chapter 2. In the remainder of this section, I adapt some of the complexity-sensitive principles from the work of Diane Larsen-Freeman and Lynne Cameron (2008a, b) and propose a number of overarching methodological guidelines for deepening our inquiry into language teachers' conceptual change.

1. Embrace the spatial and temporal dimensions of teacher change

Researching from a complexity theory perspective means recognising connections across levels and timescales of teachers' development. Teachers' mental lives, which are at the centre of language teacher cognition research, can be seen as complex dynamic systems (Feryok, 2010) with a web of interacting and co-adapting beliefs, knowledge networks, identities, emotions, motivations and future visions, all of which are in a dynamic relationship with the immediate microcontext of the classroom and school culture, the larger contexts of local and national educational policies, which are, in turn, embedded in the broader context of sociocultural and political values and norms. These webs and relationships evolve and transform over time from the minute-by-minute of dialogic interaction in a conversation with a colleague or in a classroom activity to career and lifetime trajectories.

While understanding these connected spatial and temporal dimensions is critical to our appreciation of the complexity of teacher change, it does not imply that we need to study all these nested ecosystems and timescales in depth in each and every study of language teacher conceptual change. Indeed, foregrounding those that are salient in our specific investigations, while being aware of the dynamic systems that remain in the background, is an important focusing exercise. However, in order to preserve the ecological nature of our inquiry, we must give a careful consideration to the levels of the system we choose to include or, for that matter, exclude, we should be prepared to seek explanations from outside of our focus and, just as important, we must be careful not to make assumptions about the whole system based on our examination of one small part (cf. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008a).

2. Study the initial conditions to get an understanding of the persons in context

Complexity theory places great emphasis on the initial conditions, since these 'form the system's landscape and influence the trajectory of the system as it changes' (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008a, p. 230). In language teacher cognition research, we have long recognised the role that teachers' prior learning and teaching experiences play in shaping their current practices and sense-making processes. Although this has now become an almost self-evident truth, our empirical investigations rarely give an in-depth account of who the teachers are as they embark on their developmental trajectories. Investigating teacher conceptual change from a complexity theory perspective implies a thorough understanding and an appreciation of how the initial conditions shaped by

the teachers' past experiences, present circumstances and future images configure the varied directions and pathways of their development.

It is worth emphasising here that complexity theory recognises individuals and contexts as interconnecting systems, with each teacher entering the learning situation from a unique starting point. Studying the initial conditions in order to understand development therefore means collecting data about teachers as individuals as well as members of their social groups. I would like to argue that such an enterprise requires adopting the 'person-in-context relational view' that Ema Ushioda (2009) has eloquently called for in L2 motivation research and which is equally relevant for researching language teacher conceptual change. This view involves

> a focus on real persons, rather than on learners as theoretical abstractions; a focus on the agency of the individual person as a thinking, feeling human being, with an identity, a personality, a unique history and background, a person with goals, motives and intentions; a focus on the interaction between this self-reflective intentional agent, and the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, experiences and multiple micro- and macro-contexts in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently part of. My argument is that we need to take a relational (rather than linear) view of these multiple contextual elements, and view motivation as an organic process that emerges through this complex system of interrelations. (Ushioda, 2009, p. 220)

3. Unearth the relationships and the changing dynamics within and between systems

Understanding language teacher conceptual change is not so much about generating catalogues of factors contributing to the process as it is about unearthing important relationships between them. Studying how movement on one level and scale may influence shifts on others is perhaps one of the most demanding complexity-inspired guidelines to follow. Yet, as this study has shown, such investigations are critical if we are to avoid premature conclusions and fully appreciate the dynamics of teacher change. As we have seen in this project, looking beyond the originally conceived levels and timescales (e.g. the English teaching setting at the time of the project) allowed a deeper appreciation of the diverse agents, interconnected levels and non-linear processes involved in the complex dynamics of development. Following this guideline also implies a particular approach to variability and messiness in our data. While language teacher cognition researchers have traditionally recognised variability in

development, adopting a complexity theory perspective in our investigation means taking this further and engaging with the 'empirical noise' by providing retrospective explanations, identifying patterns and delineating trajectories that can bring some coherence to the messiness and advance our understanding of the variable and individual ways in which language teachers develop.

4. Consider less obvious influences on change

In order to understand the trajectories of teachers' conceptual change, we need to examine all possible influences on their development, not just the most obvious. This does not mean that we should not carefully scrutinise those that are in the latter category, such as the content and processes of a teacher education course, teacher development programme or a curricular innovation. Yet, restricting our empirical focus to the immediate intervention setting alone may potentially mask the less discernible but perhaps far more critical influences, including the initial conditions or the changed dynamics of teachers' multiple learning and teaching contexts. Entering the research site with an open mind and armed with methodological tools capable of assessing those 'less obvious' influences can contribute greatly to our understanding of the dynamics of language teacher conceptual change.

It is quite clear from this brief discussion of the methodological guidelines that a complexity theory approach to language teacher cognition research lends itself to some methodologies more than others. I would like to reiterate my earlier call from Chapter 2 for an 'in-depth and prolonged involvement with teachers' as an important feature of complexity-sensitive research into language teacher conceptual change. Examples of this approach are ethnographies and in-depth case studies that are capable of integrating data from across levels and timescales. Examining teachers' microdevelopment as evidenced in teachers' talk is another promising direction, especially if combined with strategies for collecting data from larger timescales.

To conclude this section, let me emphasise that I am not proposing complexity theory here as a replacement for the LTCC model that I have introduced in this book. Rather, my aim is to point to an overarching metaphor which offers powerful heuristic tools for thinking about and researching teacher change. At the same time, I am fully aware that the integrated theoretical model I have offered here does not hold all (or even most) answers to the mystery of language teachers' conceptual change. Yet, what makes complexity theory particularly appealing to me personally is that it offers a lens for subject-specific theorising,

invites new questions and, most importantly, encourages sustained wondering, which I see as an inherent feature of any research or indeed teaching activity.

10.2 Creating conditions for conceptual change: if you want to walk on water ...

It would be naïve to expect the research described in this book to generate a catalogue of ready-made techniques for promoting language teacher conceptual change. After all, we have just seen in the previous section that once we apply complexity-theory principles to our thinking about development, we can no longer assume causal relationships between teacher education strategies and teacher learning. Yet, our reflections on the findings throughout this book do shed light on some important principles of managing the dynamics of teacher learning and offer a number of macrostrategies for creating conditions for language teacher conceptual change. Because these are the subject of a thorough analysis elsewhere (Dörnyei and Kubanyiova, in preparation), I conclude this chapter with one last metaphor. Although I am well aware of the risk of simplifying things and highlighting some features at the expense of others (cf. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008a), I believe that the metaphorical image offers a powerful illustration of some important principles for educating for conceptual change.

Soon after I completed this project, I was given a book with this title: *If You Want to Walk on Water, You Need to Get Out of the Boat.* I know that John Ortberg, the author of this book, did not have language teacher conceptual change in mind when he wrote it, yet when I saw that title, it was as if everything about this study suddenly fell into place. I imagined apprentices on a course entitled 'Walking on water', sitting in their little boats in the middle of the sea, intently listening to what the trainer had to say. There was a lot of buzzing, applauding and analysing as they engaged with the latest developments in the art of walking on water. But when the invitation came from the trainer to join her on the sea and try walking on water for themselves, most chose to remain in their boats. Even those who felt the pressure to step out and found the courage to do so, quickly realised how cold and deep the water really was and quickly returned to the safety and cosiness of their boats. Based on the insights from this study, we are in a position to offer the trainer the following advice:

- *Inspire a vision (resonance).* The course participants are unlikely to feel the need to get out of the boat, if the course content does not *resonate*

with their vision of who they want to become. Working with them on growing such a vision seems to be the single most important element of any course whose aim is to inspire conceptual change.

- *Rock the boat (dissonance).* It is much more comfortable to remain in the boat than to risk drowning in the rough seas, yet one can hardly achieve one's vision by staying put. The role of the trainer is to create this *dissonance* by applying strategies for gently rocking the boat and slowly shaking the course participants out of their comfort zone.
- *Spread a safety net (hope).* Rocking the boat when all the course participants can see is rough and dangerous water can be a frightening experience, likely to put many of them off from ever trying the techniques of walking on water again. Spreading the safety nets and providing plenty of models and practice runs can turn the threat into a challenge and give the participants *hope* that walking on water is not something people are born with, but rather a skill that anyone can develop if they learn to trust their vision and persevere in their practice.

Epilogue

I started this book as an anatomy of failure. It turns out that in our discussion of change in its many routes and digressions, trials and explorations, abrupt ends and new beginnings, it is much more appropriate to talk about an anatomy of hope. It is true that no lasting conceptual change could be traced in the intended language education contexts within the confines of this study. But viewing the findings of this project through the lens of a complexity metaphor proposed in the concluding chapter enables us to see 'failure' in a whole new light. If this research has helped us to understand more deeply and perhaps approach with more awe and wonder the richness of language teachers' lives and their development, this is a significant gain. And if the teacher development course that was at the heart of this study has helped some teachers renew their commitment, reconnect with the already fading values and visions with which they entered the profession, and transform their practices in ways that were meaningful to them at the given point in their professional and personal lives, the impact has been immense.

I would like to conclude this book by returning to Monika's 'mysterious' fourth cycle in Figure 9.1. Although her beliefs about motivational language teaching may not have undergone conceptual change there and then, the story that she told six months after the project bears clear testimony of a profound transformation of her relationship with students. Let me reserve the last words in this book to her as a tribute to all the eight teachers who participated in this project, as a celebration of the emotional and intellectual richness of language teaching and as a powerful narrative of hope:

> Well, I was beginning to get into a state when I would do sort of routine teaching only. Really. I remember that year, precisely. When I meet the

students from that year, I even feel bad, guilty that I did lots of things, like, I can see that now, that it wasn't their fault. You know, that I could do lots of things differently and they too could perceive lots of things differently. For example, the students from 'before the [teacher development] course', when I meet them, they all address me with the formal you, whereas those 'after the course' with informal you. And that we can talk in a normal way somehow. Those 'before' when I meet them, they tend to be more tense or formal or something, that there wasn't really any relationship between us. And now when I think of what I did in classes, I really do have a feeling of guilt how I taught. That many times it wasn't their fault at all, that it was me who should have done things differently. And if this [course] hadn't come, I really don't know what would have happened. I think I might have followed in the footsteps of the 'strict XY-type of teacher' (a particular colleague). Because that was really my image of the right teacher. To teach. And I think it was the environment that had formed me. Because I wasn't like that when I started. Then I was relaxed. Then I wanted to do all sorts of things with them, I was full of ideas and creativity and self-confidence in English, because it was then still very fresh after I came back [from abroad], so it all was so relaxed. I also had fewer classes to teach and also it was, like it always is at the beginning, the enthusiasm and everything is still there. But then the second year, I sort of started to search for my place, like what type of teacher I will be and so that is where it was all going. But then this [the course] came, but actually I was never happy with my classes. It worried me too. But I didn't know what I was doing wrong. Who would tell me? This is how it should be, you must keep the order and maintain your authority no matter what and that's when it's good. But actually the kids were afraid of me. There were a great number of those who were afraid of me. Now I am able to look at it face to face, yes, it's true, they were frightened. And then of course they were disgusted by the subject and naturally they did not have good grades and so on. And so many things are actually our fault, the teachers', not the students'. But, on the other hand, there must be a balance. So that it doesn't become something like the student is a saint and everything around him/her and it's just us, the teachers who make mistakes. We all do. The teachers and the students. But, the kind of an open approach, a healthy partnership, not a hierarchy, but it's so in everything else, in children's upbringing, in families, in everything. (3) In everything. So [the course] certainly was a very significant turning point. Sure, not immediately from the start, but, as I say, it came as a lighting from the sky, as a kind of salvation. I then found myself there. I found myself and I knew what to do with it.

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Teacher Development in Action presents a rich account of language teachers' engagement with the latest research in second language motivation on a yearlong teacher development project. It offers an in-depth analysis of how language teachers mobilise (or not) their vast inner resources when they make sense of new material, and sheds light on why language classrooms do not always become acquisition-rich and motivating environments, even when teachers show great interest in new ideas and find them highly relevant to their practice.

Drawing on a grounded theory ethnographic study of EFL teachers in Slovakia, this book breaks new theoretical ground in the language teacher cognition domain and weaves together findings from field notes, classroom observations and interviews into an integrated model of Language Teacher Conceptual Change (LTCC). The new insights into the complex and dynamic nature of teacher development constitute an original contribution to the field of applied linguistics and have significant implications for second language teacher education and development.

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