

CHAPTER 6: THE PARTICIPANTS' PERSPECTIVE

I wondered what course of action I should take and how I should teach - was I a good/bad teacher, what stance should I take. How should I be? (Diarist 4: 267-269)

Speakers lacking the legitimate competence are de facto excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence (Bourdieu 1991, p. 55).

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses the question of how teachers perceive their practices to be affected by commercialisation, as evidenced in the analysis of the critical incident diaries. In doing so, the chapter presents the results of the first of the five data sets used in the study and both draws on and develops the social-theoretical account of commercialisation introduced in Chapter 5.

6.2 LINKS BETWEEN THE DATA CHAPTERS

The relationship between the three data chapters reflects the interactive methodology explained in Chapter 3: this is a recursive relationship in which each chapter draws on and contributes to the findings reported in the previous chapters. Chapter 7, then, draws on and adds to the findings of Chapter 6; and Chapter 8 draws together the findings presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

Together, the three chapters report how the study addressed the requirements established in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 for the investigation of how commercialisation affects teachers' practices. In accordance with the framework established in Chapter 3, the

analysis focuses on how the data sets, as themselves drawn from the “archive” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 227) of discursive practices, shape and are shaped by the discursive practices of ELICOS teachers. At the same time, as explained in Chapter 4, in establishing these interdiscursive relations the analysis aims to acknowledge the micro, meso and macro status – in Mouzelis’s (loc. cit.) sense – of the producers of these texts and of the actors represented within them, thus linking them to the social-theoretical resources explained in Chapter 5. To achieve these aims, the analysis seeks to reveal interdiscursive links between the diarists’ accounts of their practices, how these are represented in transitivity structures in the brochures, and how they are constructed in the EA News, NEAS and CELTA data.

To identify these links the data sets are coded according to how each represents teachers’ practices, focusing in each case on who the participants are, the relations portrayed between them, and how these relations shape teachers’ practices. This and the following two chapters show how this common focus is employed to identify relations within and between the data sets, and how these relations bear on the research question.

6.3 ANALYSING THE DIARIES

6.31 The diarists

As explained in Chapter 4, the qualifications and experience of the eight diarists typify the resources which ELICOS teachers bring to their practices. Table 2 summarises the diarists’ qualifications and experience.

Table 2: The diarists

Diarist/diary number	Qualifications	Years' experience teaching in private ELICOS
D1	BA CELTA Grad Dip Ed	17
D2	BA CELTA	3
D3	BSc CELTA	2
D4	BA CELTA MA (App Ling)	9
D5	BA CELTA RSA Dip TEFLA	8
D6	BA CELTA	2
D7	BA CELTA	1
D8	BA CELTA	10 months

In following the diary guidelines, these teachers described and explained incidents which they felt routinely compromised their ability to carry out their professional role, whatever they understood this to be. In recalling these incidents they were asked to address six questions. The first three aimed to elicit who the participants were, the relations between them, and how these relations compromised teachers' practices. The last three questions were more explanatory. The questions were

- What happened?
- What types of participant were involved (including those who, though absent, contributed to the critical nature of the incident)?
- What were the consequences?
- How did you feel?
- What do you think the causes might be?

- How did this situation resemble others in your experience?

The diarists all recorded their experiences of these incidents as narratives, varying in length and in how they addressed the six questions. The lengths varied from a few paragraphs to Diarist 8's account of her own sacking, which took up her entire diary. While the diarists typically addressed the first three questions within their narratives, they answered the last three both within and between them in more general observations on their experience of ELICOS.

6.32 Coding the narratives

Following the coding procedures recommended by Miles and Huberman (op. cit., pp. 55ff), the analysis of the narratives aimed to develop an explanatory coding system, grounded in the data and guided by my resources as analyst. These resources guided the weight which was attached to codes so that the significance of a code was not only determined by the number and range of its occurrences but also by how it was interpreted from the analyst's perspective within the evolving coding system as a whole. This is an example – explained in Chapters 3 and 4 - of the role played by the analysts' resources in interpreting the data to create a coherent account of the phenomena under scrutiny.

In coding the narratives, two points became apparent. The first confirmed Miles and Huberman's (ibid., p. 57ff) observation, noted above, that the boundaries and significance of segments of text are a matter of interpretation. This was so throughout the diaries, in which, for example, the coded segments were generally embedded in longer narratives in which the same code might be represented a number of times, or overlap with other codes, raising the question of whether to count these appearances as multiple occurrences of a code, or to gather the occurrences together as a single instance. This

complexity was acknowledged by the multiple coding of segments, reflected in the appearance of some overlapping segments of text under different codes.

The second point emerged through the process of developing the coding system, and supported Miles and Huberman's (ibid., p. 56) recommendation, explained above, to remain open to surprises. The coding system evolved in three stages.

The first stage sought to identify the incidents described by Diarist 1. These were coded according to who the participants were and how they were reported to be involved in compromising the teacher's role. This process generated a provisional "start list" (Miles & Huberman, ibid., p. 58) of codes which was then used as the basis for coding the remaining diaries. During this extension of the start list, it became clear that diarists were describing incidents which instantiated practices⁶⁰ which are recognised in the ELICOS sector as central to the teachers' role by managers, teachers, in teacher training and under the NEAS regulations. Examples include lesson preparation and classroom teaching. As I shared this understanding of the teachers' role, these were the practices I had expected the diarists to focus on.

In the second stage, in order to develop a typology of compromised teachers' practices, the codes were grouped according to the types of practice they instantiated. However, as the coding proceeded a pattern emerged which did not fit with the evolving typology. The diarists consistently reported concerns that their ability to give professional opinions was compromised, subordinated to the opinions of managers and students. This occurred in a range of teaching and non-teaching practices in which managers, students and teachers evaluated each other, including performance appraisal, assessment, and staff development. The emergence of this pattern in the coding, then, forced the addition of a

⁶⁰ Consistent with the ontology (Figure 4), it is important here to maintain the distinction between social (professional) practices and the discursive practices associated within them.

new overarching code of 'evaluation/appraisal practices' which spanned both teaching and non-teaching practices.

A second pattern to emerge which resisted classification in the start list involved the values and interests diarists ascribed to managers, teachers and students. Diarists used these characteristics to explain how these three groups contributed to compromising evaluation/appraisal and teaching. The emergence of this pattern led to the third stage of coding, in which these characteristics were coded, and then grouped according to whether they had been ascribed to managers, teachers or students. Examples of these characteristics included managers' commercial priorities, students' attitude to learning, and teachers' confusion about their role.

After coding the sixth diary, only one new code emerged through the coding of diaries 7 and 8. The final coding system has, then, in Glaser and Strauss's (loc. cit.) terms, reached "saturation".

The key question to emerge as the coding progressed concerned the relationship between teaching practices, evaluative/appraisal practices, and the characteristics diarists assigned to the different participants. The following sections explain these relationships and in doing so address the question of how teachers perceive their practices to be affected by commercialisation.

6.33 Linking the data analysis and socio-theoretical resources

In presenting the results of the analysis, the challenge is to explain the relationship between the diarists' accounts of their practices and the social-theoretical account of commercialisation developed in Chapter 5. The risk here – as explained in the theoretical framework - is that one perspective will override or otherwise subordinate the other. The aim, then, is to keep each perspective in play, and, following the "interactive" (Miles &

Huberman., op. cit. pp. 12ff) model of data analysis, to allow the results to emerge from the data, both shaping and shaped by the resources of the analyst's perspective.

6.4 OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

This section summarises the connections which emerged between the diarists' accounts and the social-theoretical account of commercialisation. In terms of the relationship between the participants' and analyst's perspectives, the diarists' perceptions of their practices are consistent with my experience of ELICOS and broadly support the social-theoretical account of commercialisation which informs the rationale for the study. However, as explained in Chapter 4, this consonance between the participants' and analyst's perspectives is not sufficient to explain how commercialisation affects teachers' practices. To meet the requirements of the theoretical framework and research design, there remains the need to investigate evidence of interdiscursive relations between the diarists' accounts of their practices and their construction in the brochures, and to elaborate these relationships from the social/institutional perspective – questions which are addressed in the following chapters.

6.41 Major themes: the three-way struggle between teachers, managers and students

The analysis of the diaries suggests that teachers' practices shape and are shaped by a three-way relationship between teachers, managers, and students, and that these relations are in turn shaped by actors who are usually absent from ELICOS colleges, including student recruitment agents, teacher training, NEAS and the federal government.

The diarists perceived the relationship between manager, teacher and student groups to involve struggles between their commercial and pedagogic values and interests, the dominant influence being the commercial relationship between managers and students.

In these struggles, the diarists believed, consistent with the ELICOS narratives in Chapter 5, that their authority as teachers was being overridden by both management and students, thereby compromising their ability to teach according to their understanding of professional standards. This three-way pattern of tension emerged in the data in the practices of 'evaluation/appraisal', noted above, in which managers, teachers and students struggle over how teaching is to be practiced and understood. At stake in this struggle, then, and thereby problematised, is the notion, included in my research question, of 'teachers' practices' itself.

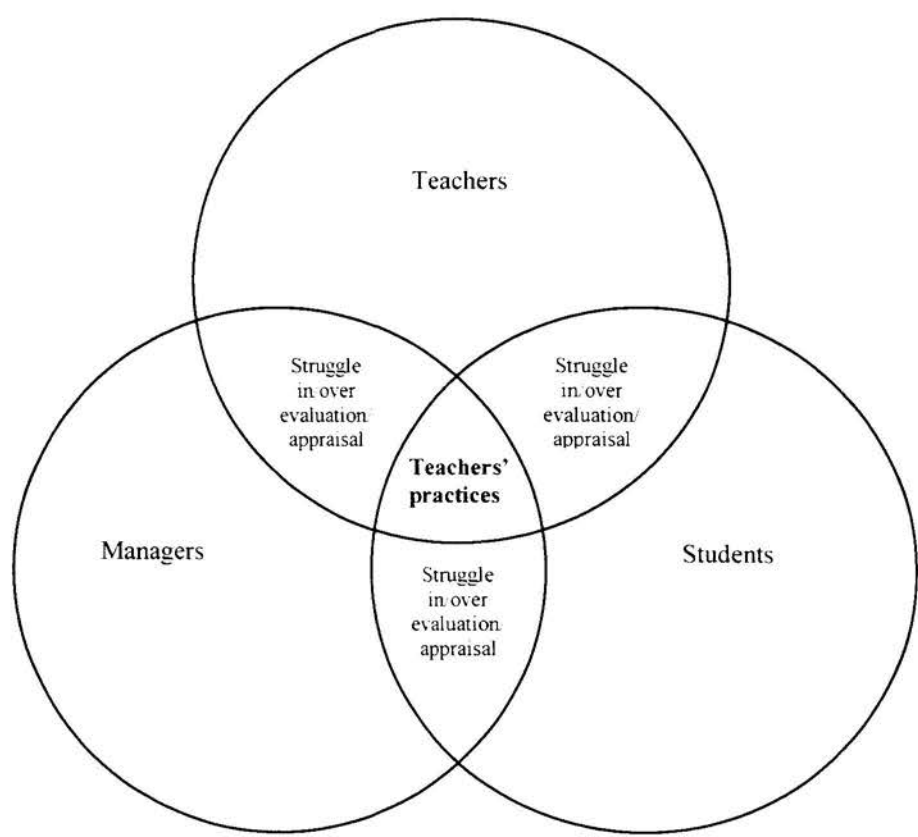
In explaining these struggles, the diarists ascribed different values, interests and dispositions to each group. The diarists drew on these characterisations to explain the motivations, distribution of authority and the stakes involved in the struggle for the 'production rights' to teaching. Thus, while teachers see control of teaching as central to their professional role, and therefore their relationship with students and managers, they also perceive managers' actions to be aimed at securing control of teaching for the commercial purpose of retaining and attracting the maximum number of students. To achieve this, managers emphasise teaching as a means of enhancing students' 'happiness', to the point where performance appraisal incorporates a notion of 'good teaching' which is equated with the creation of 'happy students'. Where a teaching practice risks the happiness of students, a pattern of intervention emerges in which managers override teachers to reduce the risk of student discontent. In doing so, they compromise the teachers' ability to conduct what they perceive to be professional teaching practices. Teachers, however, generally comply with these interventions, or regulate their own behaviour in accordance with them, through fear of redundancy.

These tensions between teachers and managers shape and are simultaneously shaped by the relationships between students and managers, and students and teachers. In these relationships, students have authority over teachers because students' complaints to

managers about teachers can reduce a teacher’s job security. On the other hand, students have authority over management in virtue of the economic exchange they enter into as ‘customers’. Students’ expectations of how this debt is to be repaid – in other words, how they understand teachers’ practices – in turn drive the struggle between managers and teachers, and students and teachers, over the control of teachers’ practices.

Figure 8 illustrates the relations between the three groups and, as explained below, connects the analysis of the diaries with the social-theoretical resources of the analyst’s perspective. In doing so, Figure 8 reflects Miles and Huberman’s (op. cit., p. 63) observation, noted in Chapter 3, that the coding system is “not a catalogue of disjointed descriptors or a set of logically related units and subunits but rather a conceptual web, including larger meanings and their constitutive characteristics”.

Figure 8: Relations between teachers, managers and students



While Figure 8 shows the three groups each enclosed within a circle, this is not meant to imply that they are homogenous, that they do not collaborate, or that they are not influenced by absent participants. Rather, the overlapping circles reflect the most significant themes identified in the diaries – decided on the basis of their frequency of occurrence and interpretation from the analyst's perspective.

6.42 Differences within and between the groups

Complicating these major themes were others in which the diarists drew distinctions between and within the three groups. In relation to students, several diarists contrasted students who made little effort in learning and expected this to be provided by the teacher, with those whom teachers reported to want to study 'hard'. Further complicating the identification of students as a homogeneous group were the cultural differences teachers perceived among them. These differences appeared to affect teachers' ability to distinguish between culturally determined and commercially motivated behaviour, adding to the uncertainty they had about how to teach students. There is also evidence for a distinction between current and prospective students, based on the commercial priority accorded prospective students by managers.

In distinguishing between teachers, one diarist drew attention to the different expectations and levels of competence teachers themselves bring to teaching: these differences are shaped by the training teachers receive and shape how they respond to commercial pressures.

Two further distinctions complicate the relationships between the groups but were less clearly made in the diaries. First, there are differences between managers. For example, there are those involved in finance and marketing, who are usually more senior, and those in educational management, such as directors of studies, head teachers and senior teachers, who are normally recruited from the teaching staff and often retain a part-

time teaching role. However, the diarists' perception of managers as a collective, or at least closely allied, is reflected throughout the diaries. Where distinctions were made, these focused on educational managers as concerned about 'status', rather than 'profit', and as feared by teachers because of their role in evaluating/appraising teachers on senior management's behalf. Indeed, one diarist expressed her resentment at a teacher collaborating with managers by becoming a senior teacher.

Just as the characteristics of the groups have to be qualified by distinctions within them, so in evaluation/appraisal practices, the three-way relationship between the groups was complicated by collaborations. These occur when interests which are shared by two groups conflict with those of the third. Thus, teachers' supported students against managers' interests, and managers supported students against teachers' interests. Teachers and students collaborated over complaints about the quality of teaching conditions, facilities and the ratio of students to teachers in classes. On the other hand, managers and students collaborated in the evaluation/appraisal of teachers and in influencing the assessment of students.

Further complicating the diarists' accounts was the influence of absent participants, which included international recruitment agents, teacher training, unions, the education industry, NEAS and the federal government. Collectively, the diaries present an account of how teachers, managers and students are situated within the broader context of ELICOS sector, which is itself situated within an 'industry' within the national and international market in education.

6.43 Links to the social-theoretical resources

The findings of the diary analysis are consistent with the social-theoretical account of commercialisation as involving Fairclough's (1992) "commodification" (p. 207) and "marketisation" (p. 99). The former is represented in the data as pressure to construct

learning as a product which is provided by the teacher, the latter in the extension of commercial values and interests to define teaching.

The affect of these processes on teachers was to face them with the dilemma of maintaining their professional standards while serving commercial interests, a problem which was reported throughout the diaries to cause teachers inter- and intra-personal conflict; indeed, to lead them to see their role itself as contradictory, a condition strongly reminiscent of my own ELICOS experience and of Fairclough's (ibid., p. 90) notion of "contradictory interpellation". Again consonant with Fairclough's account, these "moments of crisis" were revealed in the "fragmentation of discourse" (ibid., p. 220), situations in which teachers believed themselves compromised in acting *as* teachers in the face of pressure to subordinate their professional standards to commercial interests. The analysis also suggests 'evaluation/appraisal practices' as a medium through which this subordination occurs, and that these practices exhibit a number of the features of "technologization" (Fairclough, 1996, p. 73), and thereby facilitate the colonisation by commercial interests of the discourse(s) associated with teachers' practices. Evaluation/appraisal practices, then, involve struggles between the three groups not only over who has control of teachers' practices but what purposes they serve: in other words, how teaching itself is to be defined.

In terms of social production and reproduction, this revaluation of teaching is consistent with the emphasis, in Bourdieu's theory of practice, on how, in seeking to improve their "life chances" (Postone et al., loc. cit.), those "who suffer most" (Thompson, op. cit., p. 58), are complicit in bringing about the dominance of more powerful "classes" (Bourdieu, 1994a, p. 113). This complicity arises within the "competitive struggle" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 165) between the interests of different classes over the accumulation and valuation of the capital assets they produce and reproduce through their different habitus. The struggles between teachers, managers and students

provide evidence for how certain classes come to dominate the market for the most valuable capital, and thereby come to determine what *counts* as desirable capital. In this process, “the dominated classes allow [the competitive struggle] to be imposed on them when they accept the stakes offered by the dominant classes” (ibid.). In other words, through their domination of both capital and its valuation, the more powerful classes – in this case managers – are able to consolidate their authority by imprinting their determinations of value on the habitus of less powerful classes. It is in this way that the dominated classes – here, represented by teachers – come to recognise the “legitimacy” (ibid.) of the valuations of the dominant classes, and thus become complicit in their own subordination.

Support for this process is evidenced in the diaries by the way in which teachers’ expertise is devalued through evaluation/appraisal practices, primarily performance appraisal and student assessment. These practices devalue teaching expertise by implementing a definition of teaching which prioritises students’ sense of happiness and the impression of progress in their studies over teachers’ understandings of teaching and learning.

The diarists’ accounts of how this revaluation is implemented also provide evidence for the establishment of the “equilibrium” (Boggs, op. cit., pp. 38-40) between “consent” and “coercion” (Gramsci, loc. cit.) required to maintain the dominance of those groups in control, creating what Heelas and Morris have termed a “fear ethic” (1992, p. 13) among teachers. Thus, “consent” is evidenced in teachers’ self-regulation of teaching practices in accordance with the commercial priority to create ‘happy’ students, induced by their fear of appraisal and redundancy. On the other hand, this “consent” is complemented by “coercion” in the form of managers’ directives to teachers requiring them to compromise their teaching standards to meet these commercial priorities if they do not demonstrate, or resist the pressure to, “consent”. Also supported by the analysis is

the notion that “consent” can be induced through a common perception of the “prestige” of the dominant class (Gramsci, loc. cit.). This is evidenced by the high status ascribed to management, the low status attached to teaching, and the way these evaluations facilitate the revaluation of teaching according to commercial priorities.

In terms of the frontstage/backstage distinction (Goffman, loc. cit.), there is evidence that these commercial pressures on teachers penetrate both the front- and backstage regions of their professional and social lives, evidenced in patterns of appraisal, “consent” and “coercion” (Gramsci, loc. cit.) which appear in both teaching and non-teaching contexts, both inside and outside the college - including socialising with students. This penetration of teachers’ backstage lives by the commercial pressure to create and maintain ‘happy’ students supports Sarangi and Roberts’s (op. cit., pp. 4-5) observation that the notion of the institution is itself problematic, with boundaries which may be unclear: indeed the data suggests that these boundaries are themselves a focus of struggle between participants.

This pressure to compromise teachers’ professional standards in order to maintain the happiness of students recalls Sarangi and Roberts’s (ibid., p. 10) notion of “deprofessionalisation”, explained above, and the uncertainty about their role as teachers which it produces strongly resembles the insecurity about social identity identified by Giddens (1991, pp. 10ff) and Bourdieu (1998a, pp. 84ff) in which – to combine their positions – continual (r)evaluation through reflexive practices serving institutional goals devalues the assets which define teachers as professionals and thereby breaks down their sense of a stable self. This theme is prominent in the diaries, and encapsulated by D4’s (267-269) observation that “I wondered what course of action I should take and how I should teach - was I a good/bad teacher, what stance should I take. How should I be?”.

6.5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The remaining sections of the chapter draw together the analysis of the diaries and the social-theoretical account of commercialisation to explain the components of Figure 8. The explanation reflects the structure of Figure 8. The first section focuses on the characteristics the diarists ascribed to each participant; the second section on how these characteristics shaped and were shaped by evaluation/appraisal practices; and the final section on how these practices affected other teaching-related practices.

The relevant parts of the coding system, presented in full in Appendix 1, are displayed in each section of the chapter, where they are explained in relation to the coded text segments which instantiate them. Within the coding system, higher level codes are identified as 'themes' and lower level codes as 'codes'. The two terms reflect Miles and Huberman's (op. cit., p. 57) distinction between "interpretive" codes, here called 'themes', and more "descriptive" codes, here simply called 'codes', which the interpretive codes gather together into the coding system as a whole. In the coding system, the names of codes and sub-codes are included in the 'Codes' column. The number of occurrences of each code and the number of diaries in which it occurs are displayed in the 'Occurrences/diarists' column. The sections in Appendix 2, where the coded text segments which instantiate each code appear, are identified in the 'App.' column⁶¹.

Coded text segments are not included in this chapter but are identified by the line number(s) of the diary in which they appear: for example, (D4: 386-399). In each section of Appendix 2, the coded segments of text are identified in numerical order by diary and line number. Those referred to below are highlighted in bold font. The complete line-numbered texts of the diaries are included in Appendix 3.

⁶¹ This method of referring to the coding system and coded segments of text is also used in Chapter 7. The social resource perspective.

6.51 Accounts of teachers, managers, students and absent participants

6.512 Teachers

Table 3: The role of the teacher

Theme	Codes	Occurrences/di arists	App.
The role of the teacher	Contradictory pressures	13/6	2.111
	Teachers differ	4/1	2.112
	Teachers fear redundancy:	14/7	2.113
	sub-codes:		
	Inexperienced teachers fear most	6/4	2.114
	Teachers are employed for cost/looks	3/1	2.115

The major theme in the diarists’ characterisations of themselves was their role as teachers. This theme emerged from a combination of three codes, reflecting the diarists’ perceptions that the teacher’s role involved contradictory pressures between commercial and teaching interests; that teachers brought different expectations and competence to teaching; and that they complied with commercial pressures because they feared redundancy if they did not. Of these, the most frequently occurring codes were the contradictory pressures of the teacher’s role, which was referred to thirteen times, by six diarists, and fear of redundancy, referred to fourteen times, by seven diarists.

6.5211 Contradictory pressures

An example from D4’s diary (386-399) draws together the points made in the other diaries under the code ‘Contradictory pressures’, and establishes the broader themes of three-way struggle and professional insecurity which run through the diaries. Here D4 identifies the intra-personal struggle of being subject to the pull of competing commercial and pedagogic interests. As in my own experience, and also suggesting Fairclough’s (1992, p. 90) “contradictory interpellation”, she explains the struggle in terms of tensions between the teacher’s interest in maintaining professional standards and managers’ and students’

interests in concluding a commercial exchange for which students expect to gain English language proficiency as their due from the teacher.

D4's (396) reference to "the Marketing Manager" to represent commercial interests is used by other diarists to explain the intra-personal struggle itself. For example, D3 (45-46) asks "Where is the teacher and where is the marketing manager within each teacher?". And D6 (192-196) explains that his "dilemma" in telling a student recruitment agent how his students were progressing involved the same conflict. D6's (193) observation that, in reporting to the agent on students' progress, "I slipped into Company Marketing Rep mode but I couldn't help feeling that this really wasn't my job" supports Abercrombie's (op. cit., p. 177) point that it is the groups who attract new clients which have increasing authority in institutions which supply the needs of enterprising consumers within consumer culture. By aligning one side of their internal struggle with the interests of marketing, then, the diarists draw attention not only to the priority of marketing within ELICOS colleges but also to the authority this implies for students. As Abercrombie makes clear, the increasing authority of consumers and those involved in attracting them is matched by a corresponding reduction in the authority of those involved in production. Within Abercrombie's analysis, this would include ELICOS teachers; and their relative lack of authority is indeed a feature of their contradictory role, illustrated throughout the subsequent sections of this chapter.

The perception that the teacher's role is compromised by pressure to serve consumer and marketing interests can, however, itself be problematised. In the coding system, this point is instantiated by the code 'Teachers differ'. D1 (291-304), the most experienced teacher among the diarists, explains that some teachers differ in how they understand their role, and vary in the competence they bring to it. Though she was the only diarist to make this point, her experiences resonate with mine in ELICOS, where, as

well as the CELTA, there have been different routes to becoming qualified as a teacher and different understandings of what teaching involves.

By focusing on differences between teachers' expectations and competence, D1 draws attention to the resources which teachers bring to teaching, how these shape their understanding of what teaching is, and consequently how teachers' respond to commercial pressures. These resources are therefore significant in explaining how teachers construe their role, and their variability suggests that, among ELICOS teachers, the notion of the 'professional' teacher itself may be problematic, thereby compounding the lack of authority which teachers' perceive themselves to have. The question of how teachers themselves understand teaching points to the importance of teaching qualifications, and beyond this to the discipline of applied linguistics in shaping teachers' resources. The influence of teacher training is raised as an absent participant below, and specifically in relation to the CELTA in the next section and in Chapter 8. There, I suggest that the training it provides both shapes and is shaped by the dominance of commercial interests in struggles to define teaching. As such, this training provides support for Bourdieu's social-theoretical point that classes who come to dominate a market are thereby not only able to accrue and determine the value of capital within it, but to imprint these values on the habitus of less powerful groups – so implicating them in their own subordination (1991, pp. 50ff; Postone et al., op. cit., p. 4ff).

6.5212 Fear of redundancy

The diaries suggest that the major influence on the tension they experience is fear of being made redundant. As D3 (98-104) indicates, this fear arises within a job market increasingly characterised by short-term, casual employment contracts. Thus, reflecting my own experience of the affects of these employment practices, D3 (100-101) observes that "The casualisation of the industry continues to encourage disempowerment", with the

result that teachers perceive that to assert their understanding of professional standards could endanger their jobs.

This fear typically occurs in practices which involve evaluation/appraisal by management or students, discussed below as 'evaluation/appraisal practices'. For example, D6 (28-36) illustrates how fear of redundancy arises in staff development, a practice which he suspects is used as a form of performance appraisal. Because of this suspicion he does not contribute to the session, fearing that to participate would jeopardise his job.

The examples under the sub-code 'Inexperienced teachers fear most' suggest that fear of redundancy is greater for less experienced teachers, who are usually given the shortest-term contracts, and whom the diarists report to be most likely to succumb to commercial pressure. As an example from D7 (89-100) illustrates, they are taken "advantage of" by management. Himself having only a year's teaching experience, D7 describes how another inexperienced teacher, Constance, was affected by this combination of fear, compliance and exploitation. They had recently contributed \$40 of their own money to a student activity, and Constance was unsure whether to claim the money back. When she asked D7 (89-90) "if I thought it was a good idea if we tried to get back the \$40", the implication is not that she was unsure about the legitimacy of her claim, but rather whether it would be imprudent to ask. D3 (200-207) provides a clue as to the nature of this imprudence. He describes how some teachers do not take sick leave for fear of management's reaction, a dilemma which resembles Constance's in its subordination of what D3 calls "rights" to what he identifies as a desire not to be a "bother" to management for fear of being negatively appraised.

The vulnerability of inexperienced teachers to these pressures is compounded by a tendency to recruit teachers on the basis of low cost and, under the sub-code 'Teachers are employed for cost/looks', D1 (134-158) suggests, their physical attractiveness to students. D1 makes this point in discussing the characteristics of teachers who teach international

students at her college. By identifying attractive teachers as a “selling point” (147), which other colleges do not need in virtue of the attraction provided by their association with public institutions, D1 raises the prospect of how, through recruitment, managers can manipulate the resources which teachers bring to teaching. Her example shows how commercial pressures to retain and attract students can not only pressure teachers to compromise their practices, and thus influence what counts as teaching, but, through recruitment practices, determine that those who count as teachers in the first place already have the characteristics which further commercial interests. Viewed as a resource which may be manipulated in this way, a connection emerges here between the physical appearance of teachers and their training, another resource which has the potential to be shaped to meet commercial needs at the expense of teaching standards. This point leads back to the teaching practices promoted by the CELTA, the dominant form of training among ELICOS teachers, the qualification which offers them the best chance of employment, and a focus of Chapter 8, The social/institutional perspective.

In their intra-personal struggles to reconcile the pressures of teaching and commerce, the fear of redundancy, then, generated within evaluation/appraisal practices, provides the chief incentive for teachers to align themselves with commercial interests at the expense of teaching. As evidenced in the next section, this alignment involves a Gramscian (op. cit., pp. 306-307) “consent” with managers, whose interest in subordinating teaching interests to those of commerce is, according to the diarists, their most significant characteristic.

Table 4: Managers’ priorities

Theme	Codes	Occurrences /diarists	App.
Managers’ priorities	Managers prioritise commerce over teaching	20/5	2.121
	Profit or status drives managers	4/1	2.122

The major theme in the diarists’ characterisations of managers focused on the priorities which drive their management of teaching. The theme was instantiated by 20 examples of how managers prioritised commercial interests over those of teaching, these interests being primarily concerned with the need to retain current students and attract new ones. In addition, D1 distinguished between managers who were concerned with profit and those were motivated by status. This instantiation of a code in only one diary is included here both because it resonates with my experience and because it draws attention to differences between teachers and managers, and between managers⁶².

6.5221 Commercial priorities

Under the code ‘Managers prioritise commerce over teaching’, an incident reported by D6 (120-129) again draws attention to the centrality of marketing within ELICOS, exemplifying how the diarists perceived managers’ commercial priority of attracting students to override the interests of teaching. The example makes clear that D6 considers the selection of teaching materials – the teachers’ practice compromised in the example – to be a part of his professional expertise, a perception which is consistent with my own experience as a teacher. D6’s rejection of “all the crap” (127) reflects a view that managers, in asserting this commercial priority, devalue these professional practices as they are understood by teachers. The larger patterns of commercially-motivated intervention revealed in the coding system are consistent with this view, affecting the

range of areas teachers count as relevant to their professional expertise. The nature of these interventions and their social-theoretical significance are examined in relation to the struggles between managers, teachers and students, below.

6.5222 Differences of 'status' and 'profit'

As with her observations on differences between teachers, above, D1 is the only diarist to draw distinctions between managers, explaining that some groups involved in management are motivated not by commercial interests but by status. In the four segments from her diary under the code 'Profit or status drives managers', she observes that "the more experienced the teacher, the less likely they are to actually teach" (121-122). In explaining this "strange phenomenon" (121), she argues that it is "status" (133) which motivates teachers to become involved in management because "Not teaching is a sign of status, and sometimes you hear people say 'only a teacher'" (120-134), the implication being that teachers share and perpetuate this view of their own status. In ELICOS colleges, the teachers D1 refers to would typically become senior teachers, head teachers and directors of studies. According to D1 (206-209), this desire among teachers to accrue higher status by entering management leads to a division between "management on the teaching side" and "management who have never taught", which would typically include managers in areas such as finance and marketing: such managers, she argues, are motivated by "commercial interests" (209) and "profit" (336).

The low status of teaching, especially among the most experienced teachers, provides further evidence that teachers are, as Bourdieu's (1991, pp. 50ff) theory of practice predicts, complicit in the devaluation of their own practices. Again Gramsci's (loc. cit.) notion of "consent" is useful here; specifically, in his explanation of the link

⁶² Differences between managers are examined further in Chapter 8. The social/institutional perspective.

between “consent” and “prestige”, according to which “‘spontaneous’ consent... to the general direction imposed on social life” by the dominant social group is “caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production”. It is with this consensus in place, he (ibid.) argues, that “coercive power which ‘legally’ enforces discipline” can be reserved for “moments of crisis” in which groups fail to consent, “either actively or passively”. As will become apparent below, this “coercive power” is exercised through managers’ directives to teachers, in D8’s case leading to her redundancy.

Reading D1’s observations caused me to reflect my own experience, and to appreciate that, while a teacher, I too held teaching to have low status and was in part motivated to join management in order to increase my prestige. In Bourdieu’s and Gramsci’s terms, then, I too unwittingly contributed to the devaluation of teachers’ practices by consenting to the higher prestige of managers.

6.523 Students

Table 5: Students as learners

Theme	Codes	Occurrences /diarists	App.
Students as learners	Students make little effort:	4/3	2.131
	sub-code:		
	Some students do want to study	4/3	2.132
	Students have financial authority	5/2	2.133
	Culture affects learning	7/4	2.134

In describing students, the diarists focused on how they behave as learners. This theme ‘Students as learners’ resulted from the combination of the four codes listed above. Of these, the code ‘Student make little effort’ was qualified by diarists who commented that some students did want to learn and were themselves frustrated by the behaviour of those who did not. The third code, ‘Students have financial authority’ makes explicit the basis of students’ authority – the obligation on the college to repay its debt to them in a way which

meets their expectations, thereby contributing to the commercial need to retain and attract students. The combination of these codes then provides evidence for the construction of learning as a debt for which both managers and students hold the teacher responsible for discharging. The fourth code, 'Culture affects learning' problematises the characteristics ascribed to students by raising differences between students' cultures as an influence on the diarists' interpretations of their behaviour.

6.5231 Effort and financial authority in learning

In describing how students made little effort in learning, the diarists gave examples of how students would not take the initiative in class, would not follow the teacher's instructions, and would expect to graduate to the next level of proficiency without having made an effort to improve their English. In describing this expectation, D4 notes that

The system and students' perception of it annoys the hell out of me. Is it only me who has language learning as the goal? The students who're most insistent about going up who spend all their time with other students, hardly open a paper and demand I tell them everything (331-335)

This and the other examples under this code suggest a view of teaching and learning which places pressure on the teacher to 'provide' students with learning, as if the debt owed to students by the college were to be repaid as a 'ready-made' product to be consumed, rather than a language to be learnt. The pressure these expectations place on the teacher's role are described by D7 (220-225), who argues that, rather than teaching, students expect a form of "entertainment" in which teachers are responsible for students' learning, their role being to "'show'..." students "...what they SHOULD be doing" (225). And, D4 (336-346) explains, under the code 'Students have financial authority', that

students may exert this expectation that they be, in her words, “spoon-fed” (344) using the financial authority which derives from the debt owed to them by the college.

This understanding of teaching and learning is, however, not shared by all students. Under the sub-code ‘Some students do want to study’, three diarists (D2: 90-98; D3: 148-154; D4: 251-257) compared students who wanted to study “hard” with those who did not. The diarists made clear that they prefer to teach students who work hard. D2 (90-98) linked this preference to the conflict between commercial and teaching interests, explaining that he had allowed students who had not paid for the course into his class at least in part because they “want to study hard” (97-98).

Further problematising tensions between students and teachers is the teaching methodological question of what constitutes ‘working hard’ in language learning. As D4 (251-257) illustrates, students who perceive that teaching does not involve working hard may thereby express an understanding of language learning which differs from that of the teacher. In the situation described by D4, a student perceives that “skills work” is not “studying English”, which for the student involves studying “grammar and writing”. This leads the student both to complain about the behaviour of the other students in class and the teaching methodology employed by the teacher. What D4 means by explaining “the usual things” to the student are arguments teachers use to try to convince students of the educational value of problem solving and other activities designed to develop students’ skills in using language as a means of communication, collectively called ‘communicative activities’⁶³. D4’s reference to these arguments as “usual” points to the ubiquity of these differing expectations among students and of the resources teachers develop to respond to them. As evidenced in my own narratives, tensions over the value of communicative activities are common in ELICOS, particular in ‘General English’ courses, which have no

⁶³ Activities of this kind advanced by the CELTA are part of the dominant teaching methodology in the ELICOS sector, a point taken up in Chapter 8. The social/institutional perspective.

specific academic, vocational or other focus. These struggles over methodology, then, differ from those in which students expect the teacher to ‘provide’ learning – arising as this does from expectations of language proficiency as a debt to be repaid; however, in classrooms, as D4’s examples indicate, the interaction of these two kinds of tension can exacerbate the intra- and inter-personal tension experienced by teachers. Also relevant here is the fact that, though the student in D4’s example may not have based her expectations of teaching on the ‘provision of learning’ by the teacher, she still drew on the authority conferred by the debt to her as a client in arguing that the teaching methodology used should meet her expectations.

6.5232 The interpretation of ‘cultural difference’

The final code which emerged, ‘Culture affects learning’ focused on how cultural differences, both between students and between them and teachers, affected teachers’ understandings of students’ attitudes and behaviours. Under this code, the notion of ‘culture’ was cited by three diarists – D2, D3 and D7 – to explain situations which, they perceived, compromised their ability to carry out their professional role. As with different expectations about teaching methodology, these examples show that it is not always in practice possible – for the diarists or analyst – to separate out the effects of cultural difference from those of the commercial relationship between the college and students. This uncertainty is revealed in a situation described by D7 (213-222) in which, notwithstanding his acknowledgement of cross-cultural effects, he still suspects that the students expect “entertainment” from teachers. Also included under this code, D1 highlights this intertwining of commercial and cultural factors in tensions between teachers and students in her observation that

I believe there is also an element of punishment and revenge in the desire to tell the customers, who are sometimes far from fun, that their eating habits are disgusting and their politics suspect (286-289).

By identifying the “customer” here, D1 isolates the commercial relationship which students have with the college, and which the teacher is in turn pressured to honour in a way which meets the commercial priority of attracting more students. While the notion that teachers might take “revenge” on students as “customers” is consistent with the frustrations the diarists expressed in trying to cope with the contradictory pressures on their roles as teachers, the implication here is that this “revenge” may be exacted not on the student *as* a customer, but as culturally different – the broader point being that cross-cultural understanding is here a casualty of commercialisation.

As well as pointing to the complexity of the tensions between students and teachers, this manipulation of cultural difference to exact “revenge” on students raises the question of how teachers explain the contradictory pressures they experience. This question is brought into focus in the next section, specifically in relation to the influence of absent participants.

6.524 Absent participants

Table 6: Absent participants

Theme	Codes	Occurrences/ diarists	App.
Absent participants	Agents	7/6	2.141
	Teacher training	6/4	2.142
	Unions	3/3	2.143
	Education as industry	4/4	2.144
	NEAS	1/1	2.145
	Federal government	1/1	2.146

The diarists' references to absent participants broadly reflect my own experience of being a teacher, during which I explained contradictory pressures on teachers as resulting from the circumstances of the college – its particular students' attitudes to teaching and learning, and its managers and their priorities – rather than seeing the college itself as shaped by participants operating in the broader economic, social and political context. Absent participants, then, do not figure largely in the diarists' explanations of their practices.

Of the seven absent participants referred to, agents and teacher training were perceived to be most significant in shaping the teacher's role. Under the code 'Agents', the diarists gave examples of how the authority agents possess over managers shapes the commercial pressures which they exert on teachers. With their capacity to recruit students, agents can contribute significantly to the commercial performance of a college. As explained in my director of studies narrative, the feedback they receive from students influences their decisions on which colleges to recommend, which in turn affects students' decisions on where to study. Agents, then, share with students the authority which comes from being able to influence the number of students who enrol at a college. A difference between them is that agents usually have a greater influence on enrolments than students. Under the code 'Agents', D6 (289-297) illustrates how he perceives this authority to operate, describing how an assistant head teacher intervened to raise a student's marks because, D6 (294-296) infers, the student or their agent was able to "influence repeat or further business for the company".

While agents contribute to the commercial pressures on teachers' practices, four diarists observed that teacher training was also relevant. Under the code 'Teacher training', their comments focused on ways in which training could better prepare teachers to cope with the competing pressures on their role. D1 (320-326) captures this point when she describes how a group of teachers reacted to her explaining that their role involved a

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commercial relationship with students. In explaining why teachers do not usually react with “pragmatism” to the notion that they are “providing a service to a customer”, she observes that “Inexperienced teachers who have done a short course in one method of language teaching cannot be expected, of course, to be very flexible in their approach”.

By “one method in language teaching” she is almost certainly referring to the method taught on the CELTA, and her comments again draw attention to the influence of teacher training on teachers’ responses to the tensions which shape their role. Developing this point further, I suggest in Chapter 8 that, while the CELTA does not raise awareness of these tensions among trainees, the teaching methodology it promotes fits well with the commercial imperative to provide ‘ready-made’ learning to students.

Unions were also included as absent participants who are able, at least potentially, to support teachers in maintaining their professional practices. Under this code, three diarists described ways in which their union had, or could have assisted them in struggles with management. These included advice on taking industrial action (D7: 79-87); making teachers aware of their “rights” (D3: 200-207), though the diarist believed this could be done “not necessarily by the union – but by trainers”; and D8’s (256-265) observation that she would have asked the union for help over her sacking *if* she had been a member. Her example illustrates a way in which the influence of the union as an absent participants is less than it might be because, as explained above, the most vulnerable teachers are those on short term contracts and they are less likely than permanent employees to join the union. As D8 (260-261) explains, “I wasn’t in the union, was I? Was going to join when I was more ‘permanent’”.

While unions may not have been perceived to be relevant to teachers’ practices, the commercial orientation of the ELICOS sector in general, and of its links to the national and international market in education, were. The four diarists who mentioned this explained how, in different ways, the tensions in their role were shaped by this trend. For

example, D3 (33-49) refers to the influence of “economics versus education within our industry” to explain the commercial pressures he experienced. Placing these pressures within an international context, D6 (227-232) describes his growing awareness of the change towards commercial priorities in his college, a change which was bringing the college to resemble those he experienced in Japan. Similarly, D2 (242-248) draws attention to how international economic developments had affected job security at his college, explaining how he had decided not to move workplaces because of “the recent economic events in Asian countries” (246-247).

D1 (214-231), on the other hand, focused on how commercial pressures operate through links between ELICOS and other educational institutions. She explains how marketing pressures on educational institutions in general – which I interpret as pressures to maintain the ‘happiness’ of current students and thereby attract new ones – create pressure to compromise teaching standards in courses designed to prepare students for entry to further studies institutions, such as universities. These are known as EAP (English for Academic Purposes) courses, which she describes as “the first step on the escalator of lies” (228). By this she is asserting that, in order to ensure that students pass the courses they have paid for, students’ grades are inflated throughout their academic careers: from the ELICOS college, in which they are not independently tested by the IELTS⁶⁴ test – the main non-American test of academic English proficiency – because the college has negotiated a ‘direct entry’ arrangement with the university, to the universities themselves, in which, she observes, “I know that there is enormous pressure on academics to pass all full-fee-paying students” (222-223).

Combined with the influence of international recruitment agents and teacher training, then, the observations by these four diarists draw attention to how the contradictory pressures on teachers are shaped within the ELICOS sector as an industry

which operates within the national and international context of the global market in education and training.

Of the two remaining absent participants mentioned, NEAS is an actor in the national context, and the federal government on a national and international scale. Each was only mentioned by one diarist and was not described as having a significant influence on teachers' practices.. Thus, D8 (256-265) called NEAS for advice on how to proceed with her unfair dismissal claim, a role which is not part of the responsibility of NEAS as a regulator, and D2 (161-172) referred to student attendance requirements set by the federal department of immigration, DIMA⁶⁵, in relation to what he described as "very minor matters". These perceptions of NEAS and the federal government are consistent with my own as a teacher, but at odds with the understanding I developed as a director of studies, and as a NEAS panelist, in which I came to perceive these and other macro actors, operating within national and international contexts, as influencing both the commercial and teaching operations of ELICOS colleges, and thereby teachers' practices. It is these 'lines of influence' which are the focus of Chapter 8. The social/institutional perspective.

The next section turns to how the tensions identified by the diarists between teachers, managers and students are revealed in the practices in which they evaluate/appraise each other.

6.53 Struggles in and over evaluation/appraisal

The tensions between the three groups emerge in struggles in and over evaluation/appraisal practices, in which teachers' evaluations, in the form of professional opinions, are subordinated to those of managers, reflecting their commercial priority of

⁶⁴ International English Language Testing System

⁶⁵ Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs

attracting and retaining students, and to those of students, reflecting their expectations as clients.

The analysis indicates that teachers comply with the evaluations of managers and students even where these compromise their professional standards. They do so because a negative evaluation by managers, or from students to managers, can, they fear, reduce their employment security. While there are instances in the diaries of managers and students evaluating teachers' practices in order to change them, there also appear to be examples of teachers self-regulating their practices in accordance with their understanding of the producer/consumer relationship. These examples suggest that fear of negative evaluation may induce teachers to shape their own practices in ways which create contradictions in their role. Again, this self-regulation recalls how, in Bourdieu's theory of practice, less powerful classes may come to subordinate themselves (1991, pp. 50ff; Postone et al., *op. cit.*, p. 5), and further supports Gramsci's (*loc. cit.*) account of how "consent" operates together with the "coercive power which 'legally' enforces discipline" which is reserved for "moments of crisis" in which groups fail to consent, "either actively or passively".

The themes which emerged in the analysis of evaluation/appraisal practices are displayed below with the codes which instantiate them.

Table 7: Evaluation/appraisal

Themes	Codes	Os/ds	App.
Students evaluate/appraise teachers	Students' opinions drive management	8/4	2.211
Managers evaluate/appraise teachers	Managers equate 'happy' students with good teaching	11/5	2.221
	Managers appraise teacher's 'attitude'	1/1	2.222
	Sub-code: Managers' priorities not explicit	3/2	2.223
Teachers evaluate/appraise managers	Pressure to be silent	9/5	2.231
	Teachers' opinions are ignored/reinterpreted	11/7	2.232
Students evaluate/appraise managers	Teachers support students against managers	4/3	2.241
Teachers evaluate/appraise students	Pressure to easify assessment: Sub-code:	10/5	2.251
	Students resist teachers' assessments	4/3	2.252
	Pressure to improve attendance	1/1	2.253

6.531 Students' opinions drive management

The diaries suggest that managers' decisions on teaching matters are influenced by the commercial implications of students' evaluations/appraisals of teaching. Four diarists illustrated this point under the code 'Students' opinions drive management', giving examples of how managers' decisions on teaching were driven by students' complaints. An incident reported by D6 (250-255) exemplifies this: he describes how complaints from students led a head teacher to override assessment results in order to change students to the level of class they wanted.

The example and D6's (251-252) observation that "It seems the customer is always right" draw attention to the significance attached to students' complaints by managers, and the authority students have in virtue of the debt they are owed as clients. Moreover, the example illustrates how managers' acquiescence in complaints can devalue teaching practices, leading, in this case, to D6's (254-255) perception that "I'm even more cynical about the process". D1 (161-171) provides a further example, showing how managers' decisions on teaching standards are shaped more generally by students' complaints. She

explains that “As far as teaching standards are concerned, there is little interest in them until there is a complaint” (161-162). In drawing attention to “teaching standards” here, D1’s example not only illustrates the importance of students’ complaints to the management of teaching, but also raises the question of how these priorities shape the managerial definition of teaching itself. This is the focus of the next section.

6.532 Managers equate ‘happy’ students with good teaching

The diaries suggest that students’ complaints not only prompt managers to *intervene* in teaching but give rise to a collaborative relationship between managers and students over the evaluations/appraisal of teaching itself. In meeting their side of the commercial exchange with students, managers advance a *definition* of teaching which reflects the students’ expectation that teachers provide learning and are responsible for students’ progress. From management’s perspective, then, the diaries suggest that the primary purpose of teaching is to maximise students’ satisfaction on receipt of teaching/learning. In the coding system this priority is reflected in the code ‘Managers equate ‘happy’ students with good teaching’, which includes eleven references by five diarists.

Implicit in this obligation on the teacher to provide learning is the combining of teaching and learning into a single process in which the teacher is wholly implicated and which constitutes the debt to be repaid to students. Within this process students are not active learners but passive recipients of teaching/learning. As D4 (204-210) observes, in recounting a director’s opinion of teachers’ responsibilities, “Never could students be at fault, lazy, incapable bad language learners, lacking in motivation, everything came back to the teacher”.

D4 (301-313) captures this nexus of student happiness, teaching quality, and the teachers’ responsibility for progress in learning in another example in which a student’s complaint might have, but turned out not to, reflect poorly on her. The example illustrates

how the focus on students' happiness as the desideratum of teaching fits well with Fairclough's (op. cit., p. 207) notion of "colonization", exemplified in the example by the way in which performance appraisal in terms of teaching standards is replaced by appraisal which implements managers' commercial priorities. Moreover, D4's account is also consistent with Fairclough's (1996, p. 73) observation that "*staff development* and *staff appraisal*" are both practices in which colonisation through technologisation may occur.

Under the code 'Managers appraise teacher's 'attitude'', D8 (78-93) provides an example, from the appraisal process which led to her dismissal, of how this shift in the purpose of appraisal incorporates commercial priorities. In this case, the nature of the criteria by which she was being appraised remained unclear throughout the events which led up to her sacking. Despite numerous requests for clarification, the grounds for the results of her appraisal were not clarified to her satisfaction. She was, however, certain that the results were not based on the quality of teaching, as she understood this. In the example, she describes one of these attempts at clarification in which the grounds for her dismissal are described as a problem of "attitude" (86), exemplified first by how she, unlike other teachers, criticised the college in an appraisal meeting and then by the fact that she did not make the person responsible for organising social events for students "welcome" in her class (92).

The twin issues in this example, criticising the organisation and reducing the sense of happiness in the classroom, are consistent with the managerial priorities identified by the diarists. Interpreted in Bourdieu's terms (1991, pp. 50ff; Postone et al., op. cit., pp. 4ff), D8's example illustrates how the incorporation of these commercial priorities into performance appraisal enables a dominant class to devalue, through manipulation of what *counts* as teaching, the capital assets which teachers hold in virtue of their membership of the profession. From the teachers' perspective, then, the colonisation of the discourse of

appraisal by commercial interests changes it to what might be termed a 'devaluation' practice. This notion is consistent with Bourdieu's account of the relationship between field and habitus in which they are to varying degrees synchronised (Bourdieu & Wacquant, *op. cit.*, p. 127), a relationship which is subject to manipulation by groups which dominate the market in capital (Bourdieu, *loc. cit.*; Postone et al., *loc. cit.*). In D8's case, the fact that she did not understand the criteria by which her competence was being appraised illustrates what might be called the 'desynchronisation' of the teacher's habitus from the field of pedagogy as this is transformed by commercial priorities. On the other hand, the fact that managers did not clarify the reasons for her dismissal illustrates how Gramsci's (*loc. cit.*) notions of "coercion" and "consent" work in combination to maintain social control. As Boggs (*op. cit.*, p. 39) explains, consent is effective as a means for control in part because the interests it supports are not made explicit, thereby facilitating its acceptance as "common sense" by those whom it subordinates. The implication of this for D8's example is that, in employing "coercion", managers did not explain their commercial priorities in order to avoid jeopardising teachers capacity to "consent".

This lack of explicitness about managers' priorities was noted by two teachers under the sub-code 'Managers' priorities are not explicit'. For example, D6 (289-297) describes being directed to increase a student's marks by an assistant head teacher. In explaining his suspicion that this was done for commercial reasons, D6 (296-297) observes "I don't know if it's talked about explicitly in some instances but it always seems to be just under the surface".

Without being sure of the criteria by which they are appraised, the "social capital" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248), in the form of teaching expertise, which teachers hold as members of the teaching profession, becomes not only devalued but destabilised, no longer defined in relation to professional standards but vulnerable to unpredictable shifts in priorities which may lie beyond the teacher's knowledge and control. This institutional

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devaluation of professional standing and practice resonates strongly with Giddens's (1991, p. 10ff, 1994b) account of how "institutional reflexivity" – in this case instantiated in performance appraisal – undermines established knowledge and practices, creating insecurity among those whose social identities are thereby jeopardised.

D8 was unusual in being devalued to the point where she lost her job. It is more common for teachers to act cautiously, exercising control where they can, on an awareness that their job security depends on being careful in how they evaluate/appraise managers – the focus of the next section – and to ensure that they are liked by students, and that managers know this. An example from D2 (187-204), under the code 'Students opinions drive managers', exemplifies this perception of the need for caution and control. In the example, D2's reference to "quality control" provides a link between managers and students' evaluation/appraisal of teachers and teachers' "consent" (Gramsci, loc. cit.) to the colonisation of the discourse of appraisal: in avoiding the risk to their employment prospects from students' complaints, teachers "consent" to prioritise the commercially-motivated concern that they please students, a form of "technologization" Fairclough (op. cit., p. 73) terms "strategically motivated simulation in discourse". As D2 implies, this pressure to please is a pressure to treat students as clients, and in doing so to acknowledge their commercial authority.

Under the code 'Managers equate 'happy' students with good teaching', D4 (257-269) captures how the resulting tension between the need to maintain the "integrity" (Keat, op. cit., pp. 222ff) of professional practice and the pressure to keep all her "students happy" as a means of controlling their complaints shapes the contradictions in the teacher's role – and exemplifies Fairclough's (1992, p. 90) notion of "contradictory interpellation". Furthermore, through her identification of key learning variables, D4 draws attention to the implications of these tensions for teaching practices in general. These implications are explained below in the final sections of this chapter. The next

section focuses on how the commercial priorities which lead to the transformation of appraisal operate when teachers evaluate/appraise managers.

6.533 Teachers remain silent or are silenced

The pressure on teachers not to criticise managers' policies on teaching – illustrated by D8's experience, above – was reported by five diarists, represented by the code 'Pressure to be silent'. There is some evidence here that this pressure operates through a combination of directives from managers and self-imposition by teachers, a combination which adds support to Gramsci's (loc. cit.) distinction between "coercion" and "consent". Under the code 'Teachers' opinions are ignored/reinterpreted', seven of the diarists also described how, when they did give their opinions these were ignored, or that – as in my own experience – they were reinterpreted according to commercial priorities.

In an example which points to how teachers silence themselves, D6 (81-105) describes how he was advised during a staff development session to be cautious by a teacher who was more familiar with the "institutional culture" than he was. In this example, the mere presence of management representatives – carrying with it the threat of appraisal – is sufficient to silence teachers' opinions. D6's (87-88) perception that it "felt uncool to talk about or challenge some ideals" suggests that through engaging in workplace practices and thereby monitoring the behaviour of others, he had come to share their caution about expressing opinions. The advice from the more experienced teacher "that it was best to be extremely careful about what I said" (88-89) confirms and clarifies his initial perception. The example lends support to the notion that teachers can come to self-regulate their compliance with commercial priorities through engagement in those practices which form, as D6 calls it, the "institutional culture", supporting Gramsci's (loc. cit.) notion of "consent" as a means of maintaining the control of the dominant group.

Later in his diary, D6 (149-166) provides further evidence of “consent”. In this example, he explains why he did not explain to a new teacher “the cultural agreements we all tacitly make with the company” (151). I interpret “cultural” here to refer to “the institutional culture” used in the previous example. While this example may suggest only the operation of “consent”, Gramsci (*loc. cit.*), as explained above, makes clear that a combination of “consent” and “coercion” is necessary to maintain the dominance of a group. Consistent with this, in other examples under this code, “coercion” can be inferred – as with D8’s sacking – from the authority of managers’ directives, bearing in mind that these carry with them the threat of appraisal and therefore redundancy. An example of these directives is provided by D4 (349-359), who describes how the head teacher instructed teachers not to “sympathise with students who complain about large classes and small rooms etc etc”.

As well as evidencing that directives incorporating “coercion” are used to silence teachers’ opinions, D4’s (355-357) observation that suggestions from staff “were met with such a poor response that most of us felt quite brow-beaten by the end” points to how teachers’ opinions are treated when they are voiced. The ten references under ‘Teachers’ opinions are ignored/reinterpreted’ reveal a pattern in which teachers’ opinions are either ignored or reinterpreted in terms of commercial priorities. Another example from D4 (192-225) combines both responses. She describes a staff meeting in which teachers are commenting on a new curriculum, about to be introduced by a director who is present at the meeting. As well as “lots of subtle criticism” being “basically ignored” (192-193), the director’s response to D4’s raising the “problem of long versus short-term students” exemplifies the reinterpretation of teachers’ concerns I experienced as a teacher. The “problem” of including both short- and long- term students in the same class, typically to maximise revenue by maintain high teacher-student ratios, is identified by the director not as a problem posed for teachers by commercial priorities; rather, these priorities, or at least

the management of them, are incorporated within the notion of teaching itself. This is, as the director puts it, "the nature of the beast" (198-200), which it is the teacher's "challenge... to balance and manage", implying, D4 explains, "that good teachers could and did, bad ones couldn't and didn't".

In struggles between managers and teachers over evaluation/appraisal, then, the diaries suggest that teachers' opinions are both suppressed, either by teachers themselves or by managers, or, when voiced, are devalued by being either ignored or reinterpreted in accordance with commercial priorities. These patterns both reinforce the status of managers and provide support for the 'devaluation' of teachers' capital, implemented by a combination of "consent" and "coercion" (Gramsci, loc. cit.), and operating through the "colonization" (Fairclough, op. cit., p. 207) of the discourse(s) associated with appraisal practices by the economic order of discourse. In this case, "colonization" closely resembles the form of "technologization" which Fairclough (1996, pp. 73-4) describes as a shift in the "policing" of discourse practices, in which professional practices which have hitherto be subject to appraisal by peers are "measured and evaluated according to externally generated criteria". Furthermore, there is evidence of the "strategically motivated simulation in discourse" (ibid., p. 73) in the pressure on teachers to keep students 'happy' as a means of securing their satisfaction as clients, a pressure which overrides teachers' understanding of 'quality' in teaching.

6.534 Teachers support students against managers

Under the code 'Teachers support students against managers', there is evidence from three diarists that, in order to add authority to their opinions, teachers may support students' evaluations/appraisals of teaching-related aspects of the college for which managers, and not teachers, can be held responsible. These include the quality of facilities and resources, and the number of students and the range of their proficiency levels in classes. The four

examples included under this code suggest that when students complain about these aspects of the college, teachers may collaborate with them because of shared interests and because – as evidenced above – students’ evaluations/appraisals carry more authority over managers than those of teachers.

The example from D4 (159-174) illustrates this collaboration over mutual interests, and suggests that students are aware of the financial authority which forms the basis of the collaboration. D4’s observation that “management would scream if it heard this” (167) also shows that these collaborations contravene the role of teachers preferred by managers, according to which teachers’ professional opinions are subordinated to the goal of creating ‘happy’ students by providing them with learning.

These collaborations between managers and students over appraisal, and between teachers and students over complaints, suggest that the commercialisation of teachers’ practices draws on and gives rise to alliances which themselves contribute to the reproduction of struggles between the three groups. The analysis also suggests that central to these struggles is the policing of a commercial definition of teaching ‘quality’ through the incorporation into appraisal practices of commercial priorities. Evidence for the *extension* of this pattern of colonisation to discursive practices for which teachers are held responsible is provided in the remaining sections of this chapter.

6.535 Easifying and resisting assessment

Assessment of students is an evaluation/appraisal practice which exemplifies the struggles between the managers, teachers and students. Just as appraisal defines and measures teachers’ competence, assessment does so for students’ proficiency. The two practices are linked, then, in the way they draw on and reproduce particular definitions of teaching and learning. These definitions are the focus of struggles in which assessment, like performance appraisal, is ‘devalued’. In this process, the capital which might accrue to

students as an asset of their habitus, in virtue of progress in language learning, is replaced by the 'satisfaction' they receive in virtue of their status as a client. This satisfaction takes the form of higher marks than a student's proficiency warrants.

The two codes which emerged in relation to assessment were 'Pressure to easily assessment' and the sub-code 'Students resist teachers' assessments'. The former was instantiated by 10 examples. These provide evidence both that teachers are under pressure to override their professional standards to ensure that students receive marks which will maintain their satisfaction as clients and that this devaluation of assessment operates both through "coercion" and "consent", in Gramsci's (loc. cit.) sense.

In an example which provides evidence of "consent", D3 (185-192) describes how some teachers raise students' marks in order to ensure that these reflect well on how they teach. The interpretation that teachers "consent" to inflate students' marks to establish their success in teaching is consistent with the notion that performance appraisal is influenced by the teacher's capacity to keep students 'happy'. In this light, the inflation of marks here can be understood as a means of enhancing job security, an example of teachers managing their fate within the struggle between commercial and pedagogic interests, and in doing so consenting to commercial priorities.

On the other hand, in an example of "coercion", D6 (61-74) describes how he was directed by a head teacher to revise his assessment of a student's proficiency level. The tension between managers' and teachers' interests is evident here in the struggle over whether the student's marks are to be raised. The teacher's resistance, seen in his response that he "had thought about it carefully" (65) fails to prevent the head teacher from requiring him to "erase my results and mark it for her attention" (66-67). D6's (71-74) explanation "that my professional opinion didn't sync with another issue that I should have been aware of" and that this was a "sales issue" illustrates how, as with the examples of reinterpretation, above, the teacher's opinion is here reinterpreted according to

commercial priorities, drawing on inexplicit criteria, against a background in which such reappraisals derive their force from teachers' fear of reducing their job security.

Further evidence of how assessment is a focus of struggles between teachers, managers and students emerged in the sub-code 'Students resist teachers' assessments'. In the four examples under this code, three diarists described how students pressed to remain in or be moved up to higher level classes despite their teachers' opinion that these classes were too high for their level of proficiency. These examples illustrate both the way this resistance devalues teachers' professional competence, and, simultaneously, compromises students' ability to learn. The example from D7 (51-76) illustrates both when he describes how he had advised a student not to move up to a higher class but found that the student had appealed to a manager, who had overridden D7's opinion. Not only, according to D7 (73-74), did the outcome "undercut my professional opinion" but the student, in new class, "didn't stop saying, 'I don't understand'". The fact that the experience left D7 confused over what standards to apply in allocating students to classes provides further evidence for the intra-personal struggle which arises from trying to reconcile tensions between teaching and commercial priorities.

Attendance monitoring is the other area in which teachers routinely evaluate/appraise students, and here too there is an example of "coercion", under the code 'Pressure to improve attendance'. Here, in the only example under this code, D7 (185-199) describes how he was pressured by managers to improve a student's attendance record. There can be considerable value for a student in having their attendance record improved because, if it falls below 90%⁶⁶, it contravenes the federal government student visa regulations, and denies the student a visa extension. As with D6's (61-74) example of "coercion" in assessment, and consistent with the characterisation of agents as absent

⁶⁶ This requirement has recently been changed to 80%.

participants, D7 suspects that the pressure was brought to bear on managers by the student via an agent.

The value for students in having assessment results raised is that it enables them to progress to a higher level class – an outcome which, while providing satisfaction at the impression of progress, places students in classes which are too demanding for their level of proficiency. The presence of inappropriately placed students then faces the class teacher with a choice between advising managers to overturn their own decision to promote the student, or risking complaints from students by either reducing the level of teaching to that of the weaker students but below those who are correctly placed, or teaching to the correct level for the class and so above the level of the weaker students. Struggles over assessment, then, shape and are shaped by the other struggles between teachers, managers and students. The implications of these struggles for other teaching-related practices are the focus of the next section.

6.54 The implications for other practices

6.541 Classroom teaching

Table 8: Classroom teaching

Themes	Codes	Occurrences/di arists	App.
Classroom teaching	Class composition:		
	sub-codes:		
	Students are wrongly placed	11·5	2.312
	Too many students in classes	5·3	2.3121
	Students enrol continuously	4·2	2.3122
	Students are hard to control	4·2	2.3123
	Managers control teaching materials	4·2	2.3124
	Pressure to standardise teaching	2·1	2.3125

6.5411 *The composition of classes*

According to the diarists the composition of classes was compromised in three ways: the placement of students in classes which were too high or low for their level of proficiency

in English; the allocation of too many students to classes; and the enrolment of students throughout the duration of courses.

Allocating students too high has already been explained as a consequence of easing assessment, but examples under the sub-code 'Students are wrongly placed' draw attention to the consequence that classes themselves may become overrated. In other words, if a class which is named 'Advanced' contains a majority of students whose proficiency level is below this level, then the class may lead two distinct lives. One maintains the description as 'Advanced', and includes the use of this description in promotional materials, communication with regulators, and in the marks given to students. The class's other life is that of teaching practice, in which the teacher is under pressure both to teach to the level of the class description and to teach the students at a level commensurate with their actual proficiency. Again, it is assessment which is the focus of struggle here, not regarding individual students but rather whole classes. D1 (20-44) identifies "a kind of conspiracy" in which, in assessing students in overrated classes, teachers "just accept" that the scores should fall within the proficiency level rated for the class, rather than reflecting the students' actual proficiency level (36-44). This is another example of teachers consenting to override their own professional standards in accordance with the commercial priority to ensure the 'happiness' of clients, and thereby provides further evidence for the operation of "consent" (Gramsci, loc. cit.) in maintaining the dominance of managers' interests. This point is encapsulated by D6 (132-146), whose description of a number of coded phrases that mean "Put this person up to keep them happy" and observation that "Of course only the senior teacher can say these things" (143) illustrates both the teachers' "consent" to raise students' marks and the manager's reason for doing so.

As well as the overrating of classes, there is also evidence under this code of managers allocating students too low for their proficiency levels. This 'underrating' is

significant because it appears to contradict the commercial pressure to maximise students' satisfaction by creating the impression of progress in learning. In cases where students were allocated to classes beneath their level of proficiency, however, there is evidence that the need to provide satisfaction was overridden by other commercial priorities. For example when D5 (2-30) reflects on how disparate levels of proficiency compromise her "professionalism", she describes how students were allocated to a class too low for their proficiency level (21-26). Her explanation that the "school obviously wants to save money" (23) is an example of how the teacher's perspective may differ from that of managers. In my experience as a director of studies, the situation she describes arises from the pressure on managers to maintain student-teacher ratios which enable the college to keep course fees at rates which are competitive in the education market. This is an example of how the pressure to remain competitive, with its focus on attracting future students, can work against the interests of both teachers and current students.

The struggle between satisfying current students and attracting future students is also seen in the next two codes. These focus on large class sizes, under the code 'Too many students in classes', and the enrolment of students into courses not only at the commencement of the course but continuously, under the code 'Students enrol continuously'. This 'continuous enrolment' is attractive to potential students – and therefore to agents – because it enables students to start attending a course at the most convenient time for them.

The effects of continuous enrolment and large class sizes on teachers is illustrated in an example from D4 (66-71), included under both codes, who explains that the "pressures of continuous enrolment and large class size mean I won't be able to devote sufficient attention to slower and weaker students". D4's experience here captures how inappropriately allocated students, class sizes, and continuous enrolments combine to compromise the teacher's ability to teach according to their understanding of professional

standards. Moreover, in observing that her objections “will be met by looks of disapproval from management. I will somehow be at fault for causing trouble, rocking the boat” (72-74), she links these effects on classroom teaching to the themes that teachers’ opinions are ignored/reinterpreted and that they are held accountable for resolving the conflict between commercial and teaching interests.

6.5412 Controlling students

Adding to the pressure on teachers to ensure that students remain ‘happy’ in these classes is the difficulty of controlling students who simultaneously have authority as clients of the college. Under the code ‘Students are hard to control’, D6 and D3 provide examples of this difficulty.

The example from D6 (236-246) draws attention to how assessment can become a focus of collaboration between students and managers against teachers’ attempts to maintain their professional standards, and in doing so again demonstrates the authority students are able to exert in virtue of their status as clients. Moreover, the fact that a reprimand to another teacher “for sending two students out for cheating” led D6 to feel “unable to do much more than raise an eyebrow” when he “found several students cheating in my class” (240-241) provides support for the operation of Gramsci’s (loc. cit.) “coercion”, in the form of the reprimand, in combination with its inducement on D6 to “consent” to regulate his own professional standards, and thereby address the managerial concern that “the loss of face clients experience is apparently bad for business” (243). As with the examples in the previous section, this dilemma facing D6 strongly resembles “contradictory interpellation” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 90) in the mutually exclusive choice facing the teacher between pleasing students, and thereby implementing commercial priorities, and asserting his own professional standards.

An example of how teachers manage this dilemma is provided by D3 (148-154), who comments on his “habit” of “trying to please students who are really negative in their attitude or behaviour” (148-149). In doing so, he acknowledges that he focuses on these students at the expense of those who “really want to work hard” (151). This “habit” is a behaviour management strategy which resonates with my own ELICOS experience, and provides support for Fairclough’s (op. cit., p. 73) proposal that such “strategically motivated simulation in discourse” is one manifestation of technologisation. In doing so, it illustrates how teachers’ loss of professional authority can leave them with little option in controlling students but to simulate “friendliness” (ibid., p. 74) at the expense of teaching standards.

This example, then, parallels those of the teachers, above, who raised students marks to appear to be ‘good’ teachers, and consented to moving students to higher classes, and to cheating, to keep students ‘happy’. Together with these examples, the emergence of a ‘habit of pleasing’ further supports Gramsci’s (loc. cit.) notion of “consent”, and Bourdieu’s (1991, pp. 50ff; Postone et al., op. cit., pp. 4ff) point that people can be complicit in the devaluation of their capital, and thereby increase the value of the capital held by the dominant class. In each case, the teachers’ disposition to please students at a cost to their own teaching standards is consistent with the devaluation of capital associated with teaching, noted above, and the production and reproduction of commercial priorities in teaching.

6.5413 Controlling materials and standardising teaching

As well as these commercial pressures on class composition and behaviour management, the diaries provide evidence of pressure to shape classroom teaching itself according to commercial priorities, instantiated under the codes ‘Managers control teaching materials’ and ‘Pressure to standardise teaching’

An example of the control of teaching materials by managers has already been cited above to illustrate the contradictory role of teacher. The example focused on a teacher whom managers had prevented from using a video about Pauline Hanson, a person whose views managers perceived should not be shown to students as this might compromise the marketing of the college – a concern paralleled at the time by the federal government over the marketing of Australia⁶⁷. As D6 (216-221) observes, in describing how the teacher responsible for selecting video materials was informed that she should not have selected the video, “Apparently the company sees this material as being out of kilter with the kind of image that [name of college] is trying to promote” (216-218).

In illustrating how marketing priorities are incorporated into the evaluation/appraisal of teaching materials, this example again suggests technologisation through the “policing” (Fairclough, *op. cit.*, p. 73) of discourse practices. This impression is strengthened by the fact that D6 (220-221) found it significant that the reprimand to the teacher referred to her “missionary aims”, a phrase which connotes an intention to subvert. There is no indication here that it is teaching which may be subverted; rather, an implication that the teacher’s performance has been appraised as inconsistent with commercial priorities.

While this example suggests control of teaching through the “policing” of discourse, an example from D4 (3-63) under the code ‘Pressure to standardise teaching’ suggest two further forms of technologisation: “pressure towards standardisation of discourse practices”, and “the design and projection of context-free discourse techniques” (Fairclough, *loc. cit.*). D4’s example describes the introduction by a director of new “course programs” (4). These documents include information about what teachers should teach and also act as checklists on which they are to record what they teach each day. D4

⁶⁷ The relationship between Pauline Hanson, the ELICOS sector and the construction of Australia’s international image is a focus of Chapter 8. The social institutional perspective.

argues that the documentation for these programs does not reflect an understanding of language teaching practice, describing it as “an ill-informed move which seems to have no guiding principles/methodology in mind” (12-13).

Rather, the introduction of the programs appears to serve commercial rather pedagogic purposes. Thus, in identifying the course program’s purpose as “‘streamlining and controlling’ the final product” (39-40), D4 draws attention to how checklists can be used to standardise and implement teaching defined according to commercial priorities. The “‘streamlining and controlling’” describes this aim, reflected in the design of the course program, in which teaching is transformed into “units” represented by items to be taught (23-25), and procedures for checking that these have been taught (35-36). This results in a version of teaching which can be combined in different ways to suit particular timetables and courses, and which can thereby be marketed as a range of stable, divisible products. Consistent with Fairclough’s (1996, p. 73ff) account of technologisation, then, teaching is here technologised by being “standardised” and made “context-free”, in the sense that such ‘units’ can be employed in different courses and with any students who purchase them. Providing support for this interpretation of the “course programs” is a requirement that teachers develop materials “in which an activity, its aims and procedures were to be described” (D4: 46), which D4 (44-49) suspects will “eventually be collated and printed in a booklet under the school’s name”. In my own ELICOS narratives this standardisation of teaching was referred to as a ‘house style’. In Fairclough’s (1992, p. 207, 1996, p. 73) terms, such managerial initiatives are consistent with the notion of “commodification”, seen here in the construction of teaching as a marketable product through technologisation.

As well as these effects on classroom teaching, there is also evidence that the influence of commercial priorities extends to professional development. These influences are the focus of the next section.

6.542 Professional development

Table 9: Professional development

Themes	Codes	Occurrences /diarists	App.
Professional development	PD is inadequate	6/4	2.331
	PD has commercial purposes	5/3	2.332

‘Professional development’ in ELICOS is required by NEAS as a condition of accreditation, and involves activities such as timetabled meetings with peers on teaching-related topics, and giving and receiving feedback through peer lesson observations. There is evidence in the diaries that the purpose of these two forms of professional development is subject to two forms of tension, both involving a struggle between teaching and commercial interests.

The first form involves teachers’ perceptions that professional development is inadequate, based on both a lack of development opportunities and the inappropriacy of those which are provided. The reasons given for the lack of opportunities include the employment of managers without sufficient teaching expertise to run professional development (D4: 127-156), and the fact that part-time teachers are often unable to attend professional development sessions (D6: 204-207). Both these explanations are consistent with the practice of employing teachers on short term contracts and the low status of teaching among managers, cited above. The issue of inappropriate professional development is raised by D6 (257-261), who observes that it does not address “education tailored and sanitised for changing groups”, the “best job description for the kind work [name of college] is undertaking these days”.

Here, he identifies the fact that, though commercial pressures transform teaching, thereby creating what the diaries reveal as conflicts in the teacher’s role, professional development typically does not acknowledge the implications of these tensions for teaching practice. This is a further example of the way in which commercial interests are

not made explicit to teachers by managers, and again suggests the explanation that this avoids jeopardising teachers' capacity to "consent", in Gramsci's (*loc. cit.*) sense.

The second form of tension is between professional development as a means of enhancing teachers' professional knowledge and skills and as an opportunity for performance appraisal. This tension has already been noted above in relation to the emergence of appraisal as a focus of struggle between the interests of managers and teachers. The example given there suggested that the presence of managers, or their 'agents', such as senior teachers, leads teachers to remain silent in development sessions for fear of appraisal. Here, another example, under the code 'PD serves commercial purposes', suggests that appraisal extends beyond professional development meetings to lesson observations conducted, ostensibly, for professional development purposes. In the example, D7 (289-328) recounts how a senior teacher observed him teaching, having given the impression that this observation would focus on professional development feedback. D7 explains, however, that he became aware during the observation that its purpose included appraisal. After consulting with other teachers, he came to believe that this "was a common practice of the senior teacher" (324). His (326-327) concern that the observation would "be kept confidential" and not be used "to affect the outcome of a possible application for permanency" provides a further illustration of how the fear of job insecurity is reinforced as an inducement to "consent" (Gramsci, *loc. cit.*) through the extension of appraisal to professional development.

The tension created for teachers by this extension arises because professional development typically involves disclosure by teachers of their professional concerns and weaknesses. The effectiveness of professional development from a teaching perspective therefore depends on trust between the participants that these disclosures will not be appraised for employment purposes. If this does occur, as in D7's case, then the

educational purpose of these activities is devalued, and ‘professional development’ transformed into an appraisal practice.

6.543 Beyond the college

Table 10: Beyond the college

Themes	Codes	Occurrences /diarists	App.
Beyond the college	Excursions must be fun	1/1	2.341
	Socialising is compromising	1/1	2.342

The two codes in Table 10 refer to practices which occur beyond the college: excursions and socialising with students. While there is only one example under each of these codes, they are included because they are consistent with the broader themes identified within the coding system, and illustrate how the commercial pressure to ensure that students remain ‘happy’ can compromise the professional identities of teachers beyond the college.

The example of excursions is provided by D7 (15-48), who recounts how he was instructed by managers to emphasise “FUN” (36) on the excursions he organised for his class. The focus of the course he was teaching was academic English, a focus which he perceived to conflict with an emphasis on “FUN”, with its implication that educational priorities were to be subordinated to students’ ‘happiness’. Indeed he had previously explained to his students that excursions would be limited to those which had a clear educational purpose. His reaction, then, to the instruction to focus on “FUN”, revealed in the perception that his “authority and been stripped away” (43-44), encapsulates the sense of devalued professional identity which the diaries evidence as the outcome of struggles between commercial and pedagogic interests.

The example from D3 (74-86) under the code ‘Socialising is compromising’ extends this perception of compromised identity beyond teaching-related practices to the private lives of teachers. As mentioned in my own narratives, teachers may be encouraged

to socialise with students, a practice which serves the commercial priority of creating and maintaining ‘happy’ students. However, this is a practice which can create a tension for teachers between behaving in a frontstage role as teachers or revealing their backstage identities, at the risk of compromising their professional – frontstage – identity. Instantiating this dilemma, D3 (74-75) asks “Speaking of love what are the boundaries with professionalism”, before he (76-86) goes on to recount how physical attraction between himself and students led to intrusions by students into his life outside the college, which resulted in his decision to ceasing socialising with them.

This extension of the contradictions in the role of teachers to their lives outside the college is consistent with Sarangi and Roberts (op. cit., pp. 4-5) observation that the notion of ‘institution’ is itself problematic because the boundaries of the institution may not be clear. The example from D3 indicates that these boundaries may not only be unclear but also permeable, creating both an analytical problematic and a cause of tension for participants.

6.6 SUMMARY OF THE PARTICIPANTS’ PERSPECTIVE

The three-way struggles revealed in the analysis of the diaries are both consistent with my own experience as an ELICOS teacher, and provide support for, and extend, the social-theoretical account of commercialisation introduced in Chapter 5. The analyst’s perspective. This account is both consistent with the diarists’ perceptions and points beyond them – through the work, cited above, of Sarangi and Roberts, Fairclough, Abercrombie, Gramsci, Bourdieu and Mouzelis – to an explanation of these three-way struggles in terms of the operations of macro actors within the broader context of social change associated with neoliberalism, globalisation, and consumer culture.

In terms of the distinction between ‘micro’, ‘meso’ and ‘macro’ actors explained in Chapter 4, the analysis provides evidence that teachers represent micro actors, with their

authority subordinated to that of the meso actors, managers and students. The influence of the ELICOS Association, the CELTA, and NEAS as macro actors has already been foreshadowed in the rationale for the study, and the influence of the latter two has been raised in the analysis of the diaries. Chapter 8, The social/institutional perspective, addresses the question of how these and, through reports in the EA News, a wider range of macro actors, shaped the ELICOS sector – and therefore teachers' practices - at the time the diaries were written.

Within this context, the brochures – the focus of the next chapter – are also shaped. The relationship between the brochures and the diaries again leads back to the rationale for the study, namely to the question of how relations between teachers, managers and students are represented in the brochures: and whether these representations provide evidence of an interdiscursive relationship between the brochures – as social resources – and the participants' perspective, and the wider context of the social/institutional perspective.