

Private one-to-one Language Education via Video/Audio Conferencing (LEVAC) in Russia

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it does not contain any unattributed material previously published or written by any other person. I also declare that the work in this thesis has not been previously submitted to any other institution for, or as a part of, a degree.

This study was granted approval by Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research) (reference: 5201100805) and conducted in accordance with the guidelines stipulated.

Olga Kozar,

April 2015

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This ‘thesis-by-publication’ is comprised of seven stand-alone scholarly publications. The thesis has been formatted in accordance to Macquarie University guidelines.

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Education today, formal and informal alike, is being transformed by the Internet and the possibilities that it brings. An important development in language teaching practice is the growth of private online tutoring via Skype, which involves at least tens of thousands of teachers and learners worldwide. This doctoral thesis is the first in-depth examination of private online language tutoring. It is focused on one country, Russia, but the findings are relevant to a broad range of stakeholders in the language-teaching industry worldwide.

The thesis comprises seven stand-alone, but interrelated studies, aligned toward the same goal: to shed light on the social, ideological, and pedagogic practices of private online language tutoring in Russia.

The data include:

- A collection of 29,571 classified advertisements of private tutors in Moscow;
- Written responses from 121 students to questions about their learning preferences in online environments;
- Two collections of 70 and 17 websites of online English-language teaching providers;
- A collection of 30 articles from online newspapers, magazines and blogs;
- A corpus of 30 audio recordings, comprising 1009 minutes of online English lessons, including logs of Skype text chat during the lessons, from which 6 lessons were selected for detailed analysis.

A range of methodological approaches were taken, including:

- Classification and qualitative analysis of the classified advertisements;
- Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the students' written responses;
- Classification, discourse analysis, and critical discourse analysis of the websites and articles;
- Discourse analysis and conversational analysis of the recordings of the online lessons.

Through the abovementioned seven studies this thesis answers the following questions:

- (i) Why is online private language tutoring growing in popularity, particularly in countries like Russia where English is a foreign language and where the country has recently experienced political, social and economic changes?
- (ii) Who is involved in private online language tutoring?
- (iii) What are the discourses of private online language tutoring?
- (iv) What do one-on-one online language lessons 'look like', and what pedagogical approaches are used in them?

Paper 1 is a background paper and functions to show that English lessons are currently the most frequently offered type of private tuition in Russia. Papers 2-4 consider the types of providers of private online language lessons, their discursive practices, and their self-presentation to potential students. Paper 5 investigates the demographic characteristics and expectations of customers of private online tutors, and Papers 6-7 focus on the discourse and pedagogy of lessons in this context.

This thesis finds that the current socio-economic situation in Russia has provided fertile soil for the growth of private online language schools. In this socioeconomic environment, the websites of private online language schools exhibit a strong neo-liberal ideology and position learners as, first and foremost, customers of paid services. The importance of the social context of online English-language education is also seen in the discourse patterns and potential genre of the lessons analysed in this thesis, which suggest that there are sufficient social and historical-institutional forces at play to result in the reproduction of similar social practices across different lessons and different student-teacher dyads. In addition to making findings about the social context and nature of private online language teaching, the thesis raises questions about the pedagogic effectiveness of the analysed lessons, and the training that should be provided to prospective and current online language teachers.

THESIS FOREWORD

To me, you are still nothing more than a little boy who is just like a hundred thousand other little boys. And I have no need of you. And you, on your part, have no need of me. To you, I am nothing more than a fox like a hundred thousand other foxes. But if you tame me, then we shall need each other. To me, you will be unique in all the world. To you, I shall be unique in all the world. . .

Little Prince, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry

It is not possible to embark on a doctoral investigation without that special connection to the topic of your interest that would sustain you for the duration of your candidature and keep you motivated and engaged. For me that unique connection started four years prior to my commencement of my PhD, when I had taught my first English lesson via a videochat ¹ tool, Skype. Over the following four years, I taught over 4000 lessons via Skype and trained dozens of teachers on the use of this medium for conducting English lessons drawing on my practical experience. With time I found myself taking teaching via Skype for granted and this doctoral investigation is motivated by my wish to analyse the practice, which I had been so immersed in, from a different perspective. Thus, I should be viewed the ‘insider researcher’ (Smyth and Holian 1999), who has practical experience with the context of their investigation and seeks to deepen their understanding of ‘what is going on’ in this context.

¹ The difference between ‘videochat’ and ‘videoconferencing’ is discussed in 1.6.2.

1. Chapter one: Introduction

1.1. Background

Fee-based, non-award, voluntary individual instruction (for the purposes of this thesis *private tutoring*) is a widespread social practice worldwide. It affects a large number of people, including students, teachers, and the society in general. In fact, it is so prominent that it has been viewed as ‘a third important education sector’ after public and private institutions (Dang & Rogers, 2008, p.161). In some countries the expenditure on private tutoring approaches or even exceeds the level of spending on formal educational systems (Dang & Rogers, 2008; Ireson & Rushforth, 2005).

Despite its popularity, the social and pedagogic practice of private tutoring is under-investigated and under-theorized, which poses a number of problems. First, the lack of research on private tutoring practices leaves practitioners, who wish to engage in private tutoring without guidance and support. Unlike teachers and teacher educators in other contexts who have a wealth of literature to draw on, language teachers who choose to give private lessons have little research that can inform their practices. Second, the paucity of research on private tutoring practices means that potentially valuable information, such as new pedagogic techniques remain unreported, unshared and underdeveloped. In a similar way, little research on private tutoring means that some potentially ineffective pedagogic practices remain unreported, unexamined and un-critiqued. Whether the practices are effective or not, studying and reporting them is important as it provides practitioners and the larger pedagogic community with valuable opportunities to improve pedagogical practices and it helps to understand this social context.

Another reason to study the practices of private tutors is to view these lessons as a unique site of the practices of ‘learner-centeredness’. It can be argued that due to its one-to-one

nature and the absence of formal curriculum, private tutoring provides unique conditions to customize lessons to the needs of individual learners and to create a much-advocated ‘learner-centred’ environment. The growing interest in the learner-centred approach is closely linked to viewing learning as a sociocultural dialogic process, rather than information processing or pattern recognition (Bonk & Cunningham, 1998; Nunan, 1993). It is possible that the investigation of private non-award one-to-one language lessons can provide new insights into learner-centred teaching, which could inform not only one-to-one contexts, but other language teaching contexts as well.

There is a further reason to study private tutoring in English language teaching. Currently, there are at least tens of thousands of teachers and students who are involved in private online language tutoring via videoconferencing or videochat (based on the researcher’s survey of current providers and their declared number of students). Considering that online tutoring has a number of logistical advantages over face-to-face tutoring, such as reduced cost of travel, independence from geographical location and a particular time zone, access to more teachers and learners, etc., one can expect private online tutoring to continue growing in the next decade, which means that hundreds of thousands or even millions of students and teachers worldwide could be learning via audio/videoconferencing tools in coming years. In this climate, it is imperative to conduct research on synchronous online tutoring. Not only will such studies add to prior literature on teaching languages online (see for example Develotte, 2009; Wang, 2004b; White, 2006), but they will also help to understand the role of private online language teaching within the larger ecosystem of language teaching.

One of the most popular subjects currently offered by private online tutors is English as Second or Other Language (ESOL). This popularity stems from at least two factors: first, video/audio conferencing tools are well-suited for teaching languages. Unlike subjects like

Chemistry or Maths that require writing formulas or conducting hands-on experiments, many language lessons tend to consist predominately of verbal exchanges (discussed in Paper Seven below), which are relatively easy to organize via video/audio conferencing tools. However, the biggest driving force behind the popularity of private online English tutoring is the huge demand for English language training worldwide. Fuelled by new globalized economies, e-lancing, e-commerce, increased travel and information exchange, English has become a requirement for personal and professional success, and as a result a lucrative commodity (J. S.-Y. Park, 2011; Reshetnikova, 2011; Rubdy & Tan, 2008). This thesis contributes to understanding the emerging, widespread practice of private online language tutoring via videoconferencing or videochat, and its place in the globalised industry of English-language education.

1.1. Focus of this thesis

When approaching a previously un-investigated area, such as private non-award online language tutoring, one faces a plethora of potential angles for investigation: one could analyse context and discourse of this social practice, conduct classroom observation studies, interview teachers and students, etc. All of these angles are valid and offer insights into the complex social practice of private online tutoring. However, it is not possible to study all the potential angles within the constraints of one doctoral investigation.

This thesis investigates private online language tutoring in Russia from three angles: social, discursal and pedagogical. This approach is rooted in the belief that one cannot critically evaluate pedagogy of lessons without gaining an insight into the social context in which this pedagogical practice is taking place. This is because, like any social practice, private online language teaching is shaped by social, economic and ideological characteristics of the context in which it is taking place. Thus, it seemed important to start this doctoral investigation from describing the context in which the lessons are unfolding

before analysing the pedagogy of the lessons. The social, discursal and pedagogical research perspectives are complementary and allow for a deeper analysis of the social practice of private online language tutoring in Russia. In addition to social, discursal and pedagogical perspectives, this thesis considers private online tutoring from a Faircloughian perspective of social structures, social practices and social events (see Fairclough, 2003). Social structures and social practices are conceptualized as abstract and durable elements of the social world that define possibilities for the production of particular social events. In other words, certain events, such as lessons, are possible because there are existing social practices and social structures that teachers and learners can draw on in co-constructing particular lessons. Fairclough (2003) explains: “One can think of a social structure (such as an economic structure, a social class or kinship system, or a language) as defining a potential, a set of possibilities. However, the relationship between what is structurally possible and what actually happens, between structures and events, is a very complex one” (p.23). Fairclough (2003) views social practices as “ways of controlling the selection of certain structural possibilities and the exclusion of others” (p.23). Gaining insights on each of these elements (structures; practices and events) is a good way to understand a new social phenomenon.

The multi-perspective view of the social context reveals the specific circumstances in Russia, and provides a good exemplar of the kind of work that could be done in other national contexts to contribute to understanding the social environment and processes within which various social/educational practices, which are at the same time ideological practices, emerge.

1.2. Research aims

As mentioned in 1.2., the overall aim of this thesis is to explore the social practice of private online language tutoring in one particular country, Russia. This is my country of

origin and I have a particular interest in the field of language education in Russia.

Specifically, this thesis strives to answer the following exploratory questions:

- (i) Who are the current providers of private online language education in Russia?
- (ii) What discursive practices are used by these providers in presenting themselves to potential learners? What can this tell us about the social roles of providers, teachers, and learners? How are the discursive practices related to broader social structures and the particular historical context of Russia?
- (iii) Who are the learners? What are their demographic characteristics, reported reasons for learning? What are learners' expectations of their future instructors? Are there any relationships between demographic characteristics, reasons for learning learners' expectations of their future instructors?
- (iv) How are spoken and written modalities used in LEVAC (Language Education via Video/Audio Conferencing) lessons, and what impact do they have on students' learning? How is the multimodal discourse of LEVAC lessons related to the broader social context?
- (v) Do conversational online lessons have an identifiable genre? What are the discursive features of these lessons? How are they related to teacher and learner roles in traditional education, the online context and to the broader social context in Russia/ELT industry?

1.3. Contribution to knowledge

This study makes a unique contribution to knowledge by investigating a new and previously unexamined and unreported language teaching context – private online teaching via video/audio conferencing. Furthermore, this doctoral project adds to the literature on private tutoring and on online language teaching. Some of the key contributions include: (i) providing a taxonomy of current providers of private online language education; (ii)

describing discursive practices used by these providers in presenting themselves to potential learners; (iii) providing information on the previously unexplored demographic of learners - customers of private online tutors and analysing the relationship between learners' demographic characteristics, reasons for learning and reported expectations of their future instructors; (iv) describing and analysing the interplay of spoken and written modalities on students' language production and (v) identifying and critiquing the genre of conversational online lessons. However, the key contribution of this thesis is providing a greater depth of understanding of LEVAC (Language Education via Video/Audio Conferencing) as a set of educational, social, and ideological practices. This is achieved by (1) providing a broad, multi-perspective description of various social and discursive practices in the context (e.g. private tutoring advertisements, language tutor services, ELT discourses, the web discourse of providers, learner feedback); (2) analysing and modelling the discourse of lessons; and (3) modelling the relations between individual lessons, the social and discursive practices of LEVAC, and the broader social context.

1.4. Thesis format: thesis by publication

Thesis by publication, the format whereby a doctoral investigation is comprised of several stand-alone, but interrelated studies, was deemed to be the most suitable format for this doctoral thesis for the following reasons. First, it allowed conducting *several* exploratory investigations from a number of complementary perspectives discussed in Section 1.2 above, which provides a good overview of private online language tutoring. For example, Papers 1-5 explore what Fairclough (2003) calls *social structures and practices*, while Papers 6-7 focus on *social events*.

Another advantage of 'thesis by publication' model is that it allows doctoral researchers to gain feedback on their work prior to the submission of this thesis. In the case of this thesis, all seven articles comprising the core of this thesis have undergone blind peer-review in

international scholarly journals. Five of the seven articles have been published and two more articles, which are still under review, have received detailed feedback from the anonymous reviewers. This formative feedback was highly valuable and has contributed to my development as a researcher.

1.5. Context of investigation

The first four papers of the thesis (Papers One, Two, Three and Four) place considerable focus on Russia. These papers consider how social and economic characteristics of Russia are reflected in the discursive practices of private online language tutors. Specifically, these papers show that private *online* tutoring has emerged from the already existing popularity of private *face-to-face* English tuition and from other social forces, such as the adoption of a free market ideology, globalization, increased travel and Internet penetration in Russia. The abovementioned forces resulted in an unprecedented interest among Russian people towards learning English and provided fertile soil for the growth of private online language tutoring. The analysis of the socio-political underpinning of the emergence of private online tutoring in Russia presented in the abovementioned papers, will be of interest for a wide range of researchers.

While there are several possible tools via which private online tutoring could be arranged, this doctoral thesis focuses on real-time synchronous lessons conducted via Skype. The reason for this choice is the dominance of Skype among VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocol) tools. In January 2013, Skype was the most commonly used tool with over 300 million users worldwide (Microsoft, 2013). This popularity is reflected in the names of many private online language teaching providers (e.g. English-and-skype; English-Skype-lessons, etc.). Papers Two, Three and Four provide evidence of the popularity of Skype in online language teaching.

One of the contributions of this thesis is providing a ‘bird’s-eye view’ of the type of providers, who offer private online language lessons to Russian learners of English. It is achieved via examining 70 websites of various providers and offering a taxonomy of these providers (Paper Two). The key finding of Paper Two is that *private online schools*, as opposed to individual teachers, aggregator websites or existing language schools, are currently the most popular type of provider of videoconferencing and videochat online English lessons in Russia. Drawing on this finding, this thesis focuses on social, discursive and pedagogical practices of *private online language schools* and not other types of providers.

1.6. Use of terms

There are several terms used in this thesis that require discussion.

1.6.1. Tutor

The use of the term ‘tutor’ needs discussion as it differs in different educational contexts. In some contexts, tutor refers to a teacher, who works with one student or a very small group of students. In other contexts, such as Australian tertiary educational system for example, a tutor refers to a teacher, who facilitates practical group lessons with 10-20 students. Some researchers use the term ‘tutor’ for online teaching, while referring to classroom teachers as ‘teachers’ (see Guichon & Hauck, 2011 for example). For the purposes of this thesis, a ‘tutor’ is a teacher who provides one-to-one or small group instruction outside formal educational institutions.

1.6.2. Videoconferencing and videochat

There are several key terms that have been used in the literature to refer to a possibility of video-connection over the Internet. These differences reflect the quick pace of technological development and conceptualization of this learning and teaching

environment. For example, some researchers, like Develotte, Guichon, & Vincent (2010) refer to Desktop Videoconferencing (DVC). Other researchers use terms like ‘videochat’ to refer to the synchronous video-enabled environment (Wang, 2004).

Historically, there have been differences between ‘videoconferencing’ and ‘video-chat’, however, these differences have been diminishing in the past several years. Up until recently, videoconferencing was used to refer to technology that supported multiple users and was typically a paid product employed in business and institutional contexts. Video-chat, on the other hand, tended to refer to free software that allowed text, voice and video conversations between two speakers. Good examples of ‘videochat’ technology are Skype, MSN, ICQ, etc. While these technologies could support multiple users, this option tended to require a paid subscription (e.g. Skype group video was a paid service until April 2014. It is now a free service). However, with the growth of technology, the boundary between videoconferencing and videochat has become increasingly blurred. It is possible that the distinction between ‘videoconferencing’ and ‘videochat’ will lose its relevancy in the near future. Since most relevant literature in the field of distance language learning refers to ‘videoconferencing’ rather than ‘videochat’, this is the term most frequently used in this thesis.

1.6.3. Language Education via Video/Audio Conferencing (LEVAC)

One of the challenges that I faced in this doctoral investigation is selecting an appropriate term to refer to the context of my investigation. The existing terms, such as CALL (computer-assisted language learning) or SCMC (synchronous computer-mediated communication) seemed too broad to accurately reflect the context of private online language tutoring. After some consideration, I decided to refer to my context as Language Education via Video/Audio Conferencing or LEVAC, as this term captures both the

synchronous nature of the lessons and the medium of delivery. In that, it combines the meaning of CALL and SCMC.

This thesis explores a unique context of private LEVAC in post-Soviet Russia. On the one hand, this context is quintessentially Russian, as the learners are geographically located there, Russian is the main language of administration and promotion of these educational services, and LEVAC in this context is influenced by specific historical and socio-economic factors linked to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the adoption of the market-oriented neoliberal economy. On the other hand, this context is multicultural and international, as some teachers, who deliver private English lessons to Russian learners of English are based outside of Russia and may have never had prior experience with Russian learners of English. Thus, this thesis explores a unique historically- and socially-situated context that combines local and international discourses.

Some of the earlier papers in this thesis do not use the term LEVAC. I kept the terminology in the papers as they were written and published for two reasons. First, the trajectory of the term use, as found in the presented papers, can be taken as a valuable record of the sharpening focus of the investigation. Second, all the papers, where the term LEVAC was not used are published in peer-reviewed international journals. Thus, keeping the text consistent with the existing publications might be more convenient for those readers who wish to draw on the articles presented in this thesis.

The papers in this thesis are presented in the order that they were written and accompanied by relevant list of references. The combined list of references is presented at the end of this thesis.

1.7. Methods and data used in this study

This thesis consists of seven stand-alone studies and each study has its own dataset and analytical tools. The overarching methodology of this thesis is sequential Qualitative-

Quantitative mixed method approach (Riazi & Candlin, 2014). This method allowed me to complement and expand the analysis and to consider the phenomenon under investigation from different perspectives. Some investigations drew primarily on qualitative methodology and employed such analytical tools as Critical Discourse Analysis; other investigations used a sequential mixed-method approach, such as thematic coding followed by the statistical analysis (Papers Five and Six). The choice of method used in each particular study was informed by research questions of the respective studies (see Table 1.1. for details).

Table 1.1: Methods

Paper	Focus	Methods	Reasons for selecting this method
1	Popular subjects for private face-to-face tutoring Background of sought-after private tutors	Concurrent Quantitative-Qualitative analysis.	Purpose: Complementarity Seeking elaboration and clarifications of results
2	Types of providers of private online language tutoring services	Sequential Quantitative-Qualitative analysis.	Purpose: Complementarity Seeking elaboration and clarifications of results
3	Construal of ‘language barrier’ in the popular media and by websites of private online language schools	Qualitative	Purpose: in-depth investigation of a phenomenon
4	Discursive practices and self-presentation of private online language tutoring websites	Qualitative	Purpose: in-depth investigation of a phenomenon
5	Customers of private online language tutoring websites and customers’ expectations of their future tutors	Quantitative	Purpose: Investigating potential correlations and relationships
6	Interplay of written and oral modalities	Sequential Qualitative – Quantitative analysis.	Purpose: extend the breadth of inquiry
7	Genre of ‘conversational’ English lessons	Qualitative	Purpose: in-depth investigation of a phenomenon

There is a gradual progression from descriptive to analytical approaches used in the seven studies. This reflects two processes: (i) the evolution of the investigation itself, which

started from gathering information about the context of private online language tutoring and progressed to the analysis of the pedagogic practices and (ii) my growth as a researcher. The deepening levels of analysis of the seven papers can serve as a good illustration of my journey as a doctoral candidate.

While being stand-alone studies, all seven articles, presented in this thesis are interrelated and aligned toward the same goal: to shed light on ideological, demographic and pedagogic practices of private online language tutoring in Russia. Table 1.2 provides the summary of the data used for this thesis.

Table 1.2 Data

Paper	Data	Comments
1	2 largest tutor-listing websites in Moscow, Russia <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Summary of all profiles on the websites - Ranking criteria on the websites - 32 profiles of top ranking tutors 	
2	70 websites that offer private online language tutoring to Russian learners of English <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Texts on the websites 	
3	15 websites of private online language tutoring schools 30 articles from a selection of Russian media <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Text on the websites and articles 	Subset from Paper two
4	17 websites of private online language tutoring schools	Subset from Paper two
5	121 application forms received by a private online language school	
6	Audio recordings and chat scripts of five teacher-student dyads	Four dyads were the same as in Paper Seven
7	Audio recordings of six teacher-student dyads	

As can be seen in Table 1.2, Papers 2, 3, 4 drew on the same dataset (a corpus of websites that offer private online language tutoring in Russia). Being an ‘overview’ paper that produced a taxonomy of new providers, Paper Two required a considerable number of websites and 100 websites were chosen with 30 websites eventually excluded from the analysis due to duplication or ineligibility concerns (see page 51 for details).

However, unlike Paper Two, which required a large sample of websites, Papers Three and Four aimed to produce in-depth qualitative findings and thus required smaller sample sizes. Initially, the analysis of both papers started with the same 17 websites that were randomly selected from the larger 70 websites dataset. As the analysis progressed, however, it became clear that two of the websites were not eligible for Paper Three, since these websites did not include the phrase ‘language barrier’ (the focus of Paper Three). Thus Paper Four includes the same 15 websites as Paper three, as well as two more websites that had been excluded from Paper Three.

Similarly, the datasets used in Papers Six and Seven partially overlap. While I initially planned to use *the same* seven dyads in Papers Six and Seven, technical limitations along with a narrowed focus of Paper Seven resulted in concomitant divergence between the datasets. Specifically, since Paper Six focused on the use of written chat, it was critical to use audio recordings and chat scripts. Unfortunately, due to technical issues, two teachers were unable to provide chat scripts of the lesson, which rendered two lessons ineligible for Paper Six. Moreover, as the analysis for Papers Three and Four were completed and the importance of ‘conversational’ lessons became apparent, I decided to narrow the focus of Paper Seven to only ‘conversational’ lessons. This narrowed focus rendered one recording of an IELTS-focused lesson ineligible for Paper Seven. As a result, even though the same seven recordings were initially analysed in detail, final versions of Papers Six and Seven had partially overlapping datasets.

PART ONE: UNDERSTANDING THE CONTEXT



"To know an object is to lead it through a context which the world provides"

William James (1909). *The Meaning of Truth*, p. 35.

This thesis starts with an investigation of a broad scene of private tutoring in Russia. Part One consists of one paper (Paper One) that analyses two popular websites with classifieds from private tutors. It is an important point of departure for this thesis since private *online* language tutoring is a newly emerged social practice and its investigation requires considering the context in which it is taking place. From a Faircloughian perspective, Paper One provides insight into the social structure of private tutoring in Russia.

It can be stated with a reasonable degree of certainty that private *online* tutoring in Russia has roots in or, at the very least, is related to private *face-to-face* tutoring in Russia. Thus, Paper One, through the investigation of two popular ‘tutor-aggregator’ websites, examines current trends in private face-to-face tutoring in Russia and demonstrates that giving private tuition is a popular activity among Russian teachers of English. This investigation serves as an important investigation of the broader discursive structure within which private online tutoring is emerging. In other words, Paper One allows mapping the findings of this thesis against the broader educational context.

2. Chapter two: Private Tutoring in Russia² (Paper One)

2.1. Abstract

Private tutoring is a common and worldwide phenomenon. However, there is a dearth of up-to-date research on private tutoring, compared to that on institutional one-to-one teaching, which could be explained by challenges associated with data collection. The paper proposes using publically available online advertisements of private tutors as a method of acquiring data on private tutoring practices. The paper describes a two-staged study which employed this technique to investigate private tutoring practices in Moscow city. The first stage of the study looks at the subjects which are commonly offered for tuition in Moscow city and the second part qualitatively analyses 32 profiles of top-ranking tutors in order to identify potential attributes of a ‘high ranking’ tutor. The particular focus is made on the demographics and self-presentation style of private tutors in Moscow. The findings show that while the majority of tutoring services in Moscow seem to target school students preparing for the Unified State Examination, the most frequently offered subject is English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), possibly due to a larger target clientele (both school students and adult learners). Other findings include a difference in self-presentation style between two groups of private tutors: those who offer school-curriculum subjects and those who tutor foreign languages.

2.2. Introduction

Private tutoring is both a common and worldwide phenomenon comparable in scale with institutional teaching (Dang & Rogers, 2008). As will be discussed later in this paper, there is no consensus on the social and economic implications of private tutoring practices for individuals and societies at large, therefore more research is needed to learn more about the

² This paper was originally published as: Kozar, O (2013), The face of private tutoring in Russia: evidence from online marketing by private tutors, *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 8(1), 74-86.

providers of this service (Silova & Bray, 2006; Southgate, 2009). The lack of research on pedagogy and background of private tutors could be explained partly by the challenges associated with data collection as private tutoring is unregulated free-lance activity. The paper proposes using publically available online classifieds of private tutors as a way of acquiring data on private tutoring practices.

In our technological age, many private tutors are establishing a presence by placing information about their services online. Along with placing advertisements on classifieds webpage, some tutors join ‘aggregator’ websites, designed specifically to assist private tutors in finding clients. These catalogue-style websites enable private individuals to create publically accessible accounts that include descriptions of a tutors’ background and the prices that they set for their tutoring services. Potential students are able to search the website for a suitable tutor using one or several filtering parameters, such as subject, geographical location, price, etc. The websites charge a fee for their services that is either deducted from the class fee or paid by a tutor and/or a student. This paper will use data from two such website for quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Of particular interest are private tutoring dynamics in Russia: not only is Russia the largest country in the world, but it has also been undergoing major transformation in economic and education sectors. The introduction of standardized examinations for students leaving high school is the most recent reform. The goal of this paper is to contribute to the body of research on international dynamics of private tutoring by identifying what are currently the most popular subjects offered for private tuition in Moscow and investigating demographics and self-presentation of private tutors in Moscow. The findings of this research will be of interest for educational researchers as well as policy makers.

This paper is organized as follows: the next section overviews prior research on private tutoring, its determinants, social and ethic issues associated with private tutoring practices

and limitations of prior studies. The following section considers private tutoring research in Russia and argues for the importance of conducting up-to-date studies. The paper continues by describing the methodology and the research design of this study and concludes by presenting and discussing its findings.

2.2.1. A broad overview of prior research on one-to-one tutoring

The focus and methodology of research on one-to-one tutoring have been determined, to a large degree, by whether such instruction takes place in institutional or private contexts. Tutoring within educational institutions such as schools and tertiary settings has mostly inspired observational studies that describe and analyse interactions during one-to-one sessions. The main goals of these studies are to describe the dynamics of different tutorials, and to identify strategies employed by tutors and tutees that either help or hinder the learning process (Nassaji, 2007; Thonus, 2001; Weigle & Nelson, 2004; Zdrojkowski, 2007). Research on tutoring outside educational institutions, on the other hand, predominately consists of survey and questionnaire studies asking school-aged children to report on their participation in private tutoring. The aim of the latter group of studies (here forth referred to as ‘demographic studies’) seems to be to identify the demographics of students who use the services of private tutors, in order to establish whether there is a relationship between certain variables, such as students’ age, household income and school grades, and a household’s participation in private tutoring.

2.2.2. Scope of private tutoring

Private tutoring is held to be a worldwide phenomenon, present in countries with different GPD levels. It appears to be especially prominent in Asian and some post-Soviet countries (see Dang & Rogers, 2008; Silova, 2010; Southgate, 2009, for discussion). However, the popularity of private tutoring spreads well beyond Eastern Europe and Asia. Southgate’s (2009) analysis of cross-national factors in ‘shadow education’ (a term commonly used to

refer to private tutoring of school-aged students) conducted a survey of 250 000 students from 36 countries including 21 European states and the UK, Australia, Canada, Brazil and Uruguay, and found that private tutoring exists in all the surveyed nations, with the degree of school students' participation ranging from 8% to 74%: Norway and Denmark exhibited the lowest participation rates and Greece and Turkey exhibited the highest. According to other estimates, however, the degree of participation might be even higher; Ireson and Rushforth (2005) contend that up to 90% of British school students turn to private tutoring at some point during their studies.

2.2.3. Determinants of private tutoring

An important step towards understanding any phenomenon, including private tutoring, is to identify contributing factors. Prior research has offered several explanations of a household's likelihood to hire a private tutor (Bray & Kwok, 2003; H.-A. Dang, 2007; de Castro & de Guzman, 2012; Ireson & Rushforth, 2004).

Possibly, the strongest predictor is the requirement placed on students by the educational system to take standardized examinations on completion of their secondary education. Several studies show that the closer high school students are to a standardized high-stakes assessment, the more likely they are to seek the services of private tutors (Buchmann, Condron, & Roscigno, 2010; H.-A. Dang, 2007; Elbadawy, Assaad, Ahlburg, & Levison, 2007; Ireson & Rushforth, 2004). These above studies observe that this trend is consistent across countries, regardless of their socio-economic situation, such as, for example, the USA, Vietnam, Egypt and the UK.

Another determinant of private tutoring practices may be household's income and its number of school-aged children: household income is positively correlated with private tutoring activities, while number of children is negatively correlated (Dang, 2007;

Southgate, 2009). In other words, the higher the income of a household and the fewer children a family has, the more likely a household is to hire a private tutor.

Other factors that may influence the participation in shadow education include a household's location (urban or rural) and the status of parental employment. Families living in urban areas and households with two working parents seem to employ private tutors more often than rural households or those with only a single gainfully employed parent (Tansel & Bircan, 2006).

On a larger scale, a country's economy has been linked to the prevalence of private tutoring. Countries with competitive market economies and those in transition have been said to have higher levels of private tutoring than planned economies (Silova & Bray, 2006).

2.2.4. Social and ethical issues associated with private tutoring

Demographic studies of private tutoring have raised the important debate about the effects of private tutoring on mass education and society in general. Some regard private tutoring as an unavoidable, but also positive, phenomenon occurring in market economies (Kang & Ryoo, 2008; Popa & Acedo, 2006). According to this view, households have the right to exercise their agency in regards to education, and participating in private instruction is one of the ways, along with attending private or selective schools, in which households can express their choice. Another argument in favour of private tutoring is that the availability of private tutor services provides families with a way to meet the remedial or enrichments needs of their children, which potentially increases the human capital of a nation (see Southgate, 2009, for discussion). On the other hand, there are concerns that 'shadow education' may undermine the goal of mass education, which is to provide an equal opportunity to all children, regardless of their socio-economic status (see Dang & Rogers,

2008, for discussion). Private tutoring could, therefore, be viewed as a contributor to educational stratification and a mechanism for maintaining inequality.

Other perceived threats posed by private tutoring include the masking of inadequacies in the government education system and the creation of conditions for corruption in educational institutions (Biswal, 1999). Anecdotal evidence suggests that a number of school teachers are engaging in fee-based tutoring of their own students, which inevitably leads to a conflict of interest (Dang & Rogers, 2008; Dawson, 2010).

2.2.5. Limitations of prior research

While prior studies discussed in the section above are undeniably important for initiating and developing a discussion about socio-economic effects of private tutoring, there are several limitations that warrant caution when generalizing from their findings.

Firstly, there is a shortage of research on private tutoring. Wisker et al (2008) argue that one-to-one work with students is “relatively under-theorised and under-resourced” (p. 5), and Grasha (2002) notes that the one-to-one educational context “has taken a backseat to the research on more traditional classroom and teacher-student interaction” (p. 145). The paucity of studies looking at individual instruction may be partially explained by the difficulties in accessing one-to-one “classrooms” to collect data. As Gaunt (2009) observes, “operating to a large extent behind closed doors, research access to the one-to-one teaching environment has been reported to be difficult” (p. 2). What is more, a lot of tutoring is happening outside formal institutions, which makes it even less accessible for educational researchers (Silova, 2010).

Secondly, most studies looking at the private tutoring phenomenon have been concerned with school-aged students, which might be a further confounding factor in understanding the phenomenon and generalizing from research findings. Defining private tutoring only as

fee-based support in school curriculum subjects excludes tutoring to adult learners and might lead to inaccurate representation of the private tutoring field. For the purposes of this paper, private tutoring is defined as fee-based instruction provided by private individuals outside educational institutions. This definition includes the instruction of school-aged students as well as of more mature learners.

Another limitation of prior studies is that most of the current demographic studies are based on survey data attained from tutees rather than from tutors. Silova and Bray (2006) argue that the main drivers of the private tutoring phenomena are the providers of the service, i.e. the tutors. They point out that “tutoring exists because the producers make it available and recommend students to take advantage of it” (p.80). Despite Silova and Bray’s call to pay more attention to the background and motivations private tutors, researchers have been focusing on the customers of these services.

Finally, due to the challenges in data collection discussed above, some studies rely on data collected more than a decade prior to the analysis. For example, Southgate (2009) based her work on the data from a 2003 survey, Dang (2007) used the data from surveys conducted in 1992-1993 and 1997-1998 and Elbadawy and collaborators (2007) analysed and presented data collected in 1998. Such a considerable gap between the collection and analysis of data calls into question the relevance of findings. Therefore, it can be concluded that there remains a need for more theoretical and empirical work on private tutoring in order to understand its impact in society and whether there is a need to develop guidelines for this practice.

2.2.6. Private tutoring in Russia

As was discussed earlier, private tutoring is a worldwide phenomenon; however, its dynamics are likely to vary in different countries depending on the economic, educational

and other contexts (Silova & Bray, 2006). It is, therefore, incumbent to conduct country-specific studies in order to account for national variations.

Studies on private tutoring practices in Russia are extremely limited. The literature review for this paper has identified only one study that reports Russia-specific data on private tutoring (Southgate, 2009). According to this survey (performed in 2003 among 15-year old school students), 38% of the respondents indicated employing the services of private tutors for both remedial and enrichment purposes, which placed Russia in the ‘medium’ range of countries using private tutoring.

As valuable as Southgate’s analysis is, the limitation of her study is being based on the responses of a very specific demographic (15-year old school students) and not accounting for other age groups that could be participating in private tutoring. Moreover, since the data collection for Southgate’s study, several important changes took place in Russia which could have altered the dynamics of shadow education.

Firstly, Russia has undergone a reformation of its university admission system. Prior to the reform, universities were administering their own exams, designed and implemented by each university independently. Since 2009, university admission in Russia has been based on the results of standardized national exams (known as Unified State Exams, or USE), which are now used nation-wide and are compulsory. This move has had drastic implications for the educational system and has already given rise to various services assisting in examination preparation (Prakhov & Yudkevich, 2012).

Secondly, the size of an average household of a school-aged student has decreased. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia has experienced a drastic decrease (35 per cent) in its fertility rate (Kohler & Kohler, 2002) and for the last two decades, the total fertility rate (average number of children that would be born to a woman over her lifetime) of Russian women has fluctuated from 1.9-1.2 (Kohler & Kohler, 2002; Surinov & Zbarskaya, 2010),

which suggests that a considerable number of school-aged children in Russia are now being raised in smaller households when compared to their counterparts in 2003. This demographic change might be also affecting the nation's participation in shadow education. Thus, it can be concluded that the research accounts about private tutoring in Russia are extremely scarce, lack currency and thus invite further studies.

2.3. Methodology and Research questions

2.3.1. Research questions

This article aims to identify what are currently the most popular subjects for private tutoring in Moscow. The paper also aspires to obtain information on the background of sought-after private tutors since private tutoring is unregulated practice without endorsed professional standards and little is known about the providers of private tutoring services. This data is necessary to inform the debate on the effect of private tutoring on society and provide relevant stakeholders, such as policy-makers or customers of private tutors, with information for effective decision-making.

2.3.2. Data source

Given considerable challenges in accessing data on private tutoring, new methods of data collection are needed to shed light on the “vast enterprise” of private individual teaching (Silova & Bray, 2006, p. 71). One such technique that could potentially provide current data on private tutoring practices is drawing on publically available information on tutor-listing websites. It needs to be noted that using tutor-listing websites as a data source for research purposes is not unproblematic, as relying on Internet profiles raises issues of data credibility, for instance, assuring that tutors' profiles represent accurate information and correspond to reality. Given the nature of data, it is critical not to assume that the information presented on the websites corresponds directly to real-life facts; instead, online

profiles need to be viewed as self-presentation of individuals offering private tutoring services and seeking clients via specialized websites.

Once researchers acknowledge concerns about data authenticity and take them into account when interpreting and reporting the results, then tutor-listing websites can serve as a valuable source of research data. The first advantage of this data is that drawing on the information provided by private tutors will allow widening data sources, as most of the published research to date has drawn on the survey replies of school-aged students. The second benefit is that this data collection will be unobtrusive and, therefore, methodologically advantageous. Using archival materials has been advocated over volunteer-based research for benefits as a more representative sample and the absence of response bias (Hatch, 2002; Kraut, Banaji, Bruckman, Cohen, & Couper, 2004).

Finally, this type of data would be inexpensive to collect and could make otherwise inaccessible information, available for analysis, for instance, researchers could access up-to-date information on countries like Russia, which can increase our understanding of the dynamics and the scope of private tutoring.

In summary, one of the contributions of this paper is to suggest that the use of Internet advertising as a data source for studying the phenomenon of private tutoring could offer an improvement upon prior research by extending the scope and the currency of data.

2.3.3. Research design

Firstly, the study takes as its focus the content of the tuition and tries to answer the following question:

What are currently the most common subjects offered for tutoring services in Moscow?

The data for the analysis was collected in December of 2011 and identified using what is currently the most popular web search engine in Russia – Yandex (LB.ua/Economics,

2011). The search for “репетиторы в Москве” (translation: “private tutors in Moscow”) was conducted in Russian. The results of the search suggested that there were several websites specializing in listing classifieds of private tutors. Two largest tutor-listing websites were selected for the analysis. The size of the websites was determined based on the respective number of tutors that each of the websites listed.

In order to answer the first research question (identifying the most commonly offered subjects for tuition) the researcher used the summary of all the profiles on the two websites as both websites listed offered subjects and the corresponding number of tutors for each subject. The identification of the most popular subjects was performed using websites’ internal statistics. Following that, descriptive statistics were generated using a statistical tool SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences).

Secondly, answering Silova & Bray’s (2006) call to study the providers of the tutoring services, the paper seeks to answer the following research question:

What are the attributes of the top-ranking tutors on the tutor-listing websites?

Identifying the criteria for tutor ranking on the websites was performed in two ways: firstly, the researcher analysed and compared the ranking criteria disclosed by each website on their ‘tutor information’ pages. The analysis was performed using open-coding qualitative data managing software (NVivo9). To further triangulate and extend the findings, the researcher conducted the demographic analysis of 32 profiles of the top ranking tutors. The profiles were selected from 8 most popular subjects and included the top 4 profiles for each category. The data about top-ranking private tutors was collected under 4 categories: tutor’s education, employment status, gender and age. The data was entered into and further analysed using an Excel spreadsheet.

The final focus of the analysis was looking at self-presentation of the top-ranking tutors. This latter focus is grounded in the idea that self-presentation is a crucial aspect of social behaviour and well-worthy of scientific investigation (Baumeister, 1982; Goffman, 1990). Tutors need to make a number of decisions regarding their self-disclosure and self-presentation. Even though the websites provide rough guidelines (e.g. “describe your education and working experience”), the decision on what information to include is ultimately up to the tutor. Tutors’ choice of disclosed details is unlikely to be accidental; private tutoring is a professional activity which involves a financial gain and it is, therefore, in the tutors’ interest to produce the best possible impression on potential customers and the advertisements can be expected to reflect this interest. According to Goffman (1990), people are extremely conscious of the “impressions they convey to others which it is in their interest to convey” (Goffman, 1990, p. 4). Therefore, the profiles of private tutors present us with an opportunity to analyse tutors’ choice of disclosure and highlighted details about themselves.

In order to analyse tutors’ self-presentation, the researcher performed an in-depth qualitative analysis of 12 profiles, which were coded in NVivo9 (a software programme for the management and analysis of qualitative data) for common themes using hermeneutic analysis techniques (Thomas, 2006). To establish the codes, an inductive approach was applied to develop categories based on profiles content; no pre-determined categories were used. Coding was refined as analysis progressed.

2.4. Findings

2.4.1. Number of tutors on the websites

The analysis of two popular websites that list classifieds of private tutors offering their services in Moscow City showed that private one-to-one instruction in Moscow seems to be both common and widespread. As can be seen from Table 2.1 below, tutor-listing

websites feature thousands of profiles of individuals registered as private tutors in Moscow city.

Table 2.1: Number of tutors on two large tutor-listing websites (Moscow)

Web site:	Number of tutors listed:
http://repetitors.info/	21497 tutors
http://repetitor-baza.ru/	8074 tutors

Even though one cannot state with confidence that the number of online profiles corresponds to the actual number of real-life individuals providing fee-based instruction, the findings from the tutor-listing websites are nevertheless significant as they point, at the very least, to the popularity of private tutoring services in Moscow. In addition, the actual number of tutors who engage in private instruction might be higher, as it is common for students to find tutors via personal referrals (Ireson & Rushforth, 2005); besides, tutors could be promoting their services through other media (billboards, noticeboards etc.).

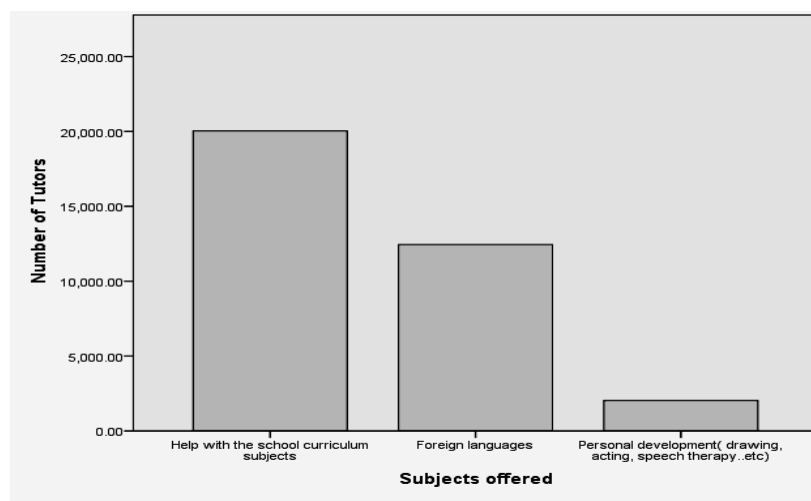
2.4.2. Most popular subjects offered for private tuition

In terms of the subjects offered for private tuition on the websites, three main categories emerged in the process of analysing the websites:

- (1) Tuition in curriculum subjects aimed at school-aged children
- (2) Tuition in a foreign language aimed at both school-aged children and adult learners
- (3) Tuition in non-curriculum subjects aimed at both school-aged children and adult learners (e.g. acting, drawing, music, psychology, programming, speech therapy).

The first two categories accounted for the majority of the tutorials offered (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Subjects offered for private tutoring



In terms of individual subjects, the most popular type of lesson offered for private tuition was ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages), followed by tutorials in mathematics and the Russian language (see Table 2.2. below).

Table 2.2: The top 3 subjects offered on tutor-listing websites in Moscow

Website 1	Number of tutors listed (out of 21497)	Website 2	Number of tutors listed (out of 8074)
English (language)	7705	English (language)	1811
Maths	6474	Maths	1310
Russian (language)	2909	Russian (language)	558

In summary, while it does not seem feasible to accurately gauge the number of tutors in Moscow City, the content analysis of the classifieds offering private tutoring services suggests that there might be tens of thousands of people involved in private tutoring practices, which warrants further investigation.

2.4.3. What makes a tutor 'top-ranking'?

A study of the phenomenon of private tutoring would not be complete without information about the providers of the tutoring services. Of particular interest are the individuals who receive a high ranking on the tutor-listing websites, as they potentially represent the most popular and sought-after tutors. It is therefore important to identify both the ranking criteria used by the websites and the self-presentation trends among top-ranking tutors as these can reveal underlying assumptions about desired qualities of private tutors in Russia. In order to address these questions, the author conducted a qualitative and demographic analysis of 32 top-ranking profiles on two tutor-listing websites. The criteria used by the websites and the results of the qualitative analysis of individual profiles are presented below.

2.4.4. Website ranking systems

Website /www.repetitors.info/ (referred to as “Website A”) ranks tutors based on the websites’ internal tests and the tutors’ willingness to have a personal interview for verification purposes. The lowest ‘certification’ (the term used by the website) is awarded to tutors who have completed a ‘pedagogic test’ (a multiple-choice online test aimed to test tutors’ methodological and pedagogic knowledge). In order to get the certification of the next level, after the completion of the ‘pedagogic test, tutors are required to take an online ‘subject knowledge test’ designed to assess tutors’ knowledge in tutored subjects. The highest certification is awarded to those tutors who have successfully completed the first two requirements and have attended a personal interview with the website administration

in order to present the original copies of their degrees, certification and work references for the verification purposes.

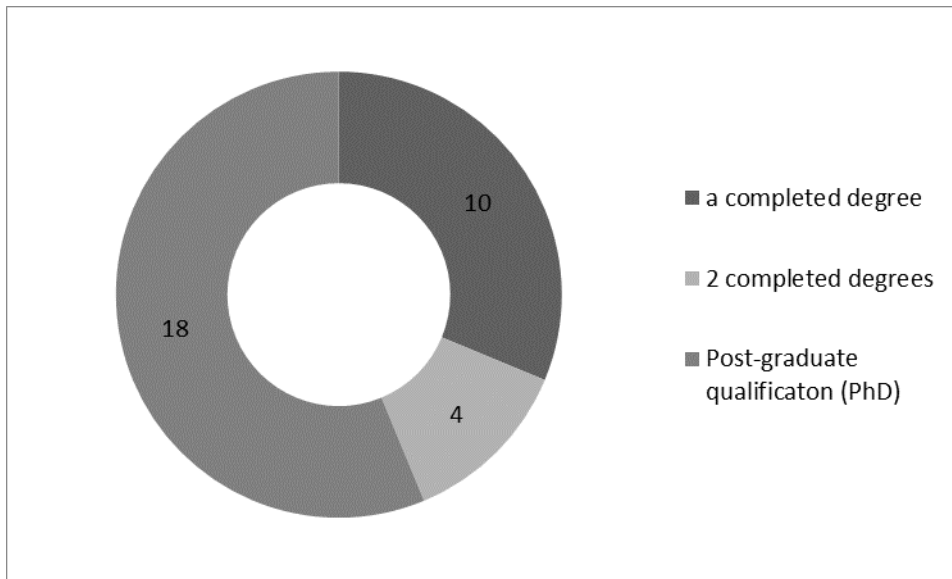
Unlike Website A, Website /repetitor-baza.ru/ (hereafter referred to as 'Website B') bases its ranking system on (1) tutors' education (degree in progress, completed degree, post-graduate qualifications), (2) perceived relevance of tutors' education (the degree of relatedness to the subject tutored) and (3) prior teaching experience. Website B assigns tutors a score on each of the three scales, which are combined to represent a total score used by Website B's internal ranking system. Unlike Website A's approach, no verification procedure or tests are required by Website B's administration.

The ranking systems on both websites also appear to be influenced by students' comments. On both websites the students are invited to leave feedback on the classes that they have had with a particular tutor. The more positive feedback a tutor receives from different websites users, the higher this tutor seems to be ranked on the websites. It remains unclear if tutors can influence their ranking by arranging by paying the websites directly to place their profiles higher.

In order to triangulate and extend the findings about the background of top-ranking private teachers who choose to place their profiles on the tutor-listing websites, the researcher further performed a demographic analysis of 32 profiles aggregated from the top three results in what emerged as eight most popular subjects on both websites: ESOL, Russian language, Literature studies, Maths, Physics, Geography, History, IT.

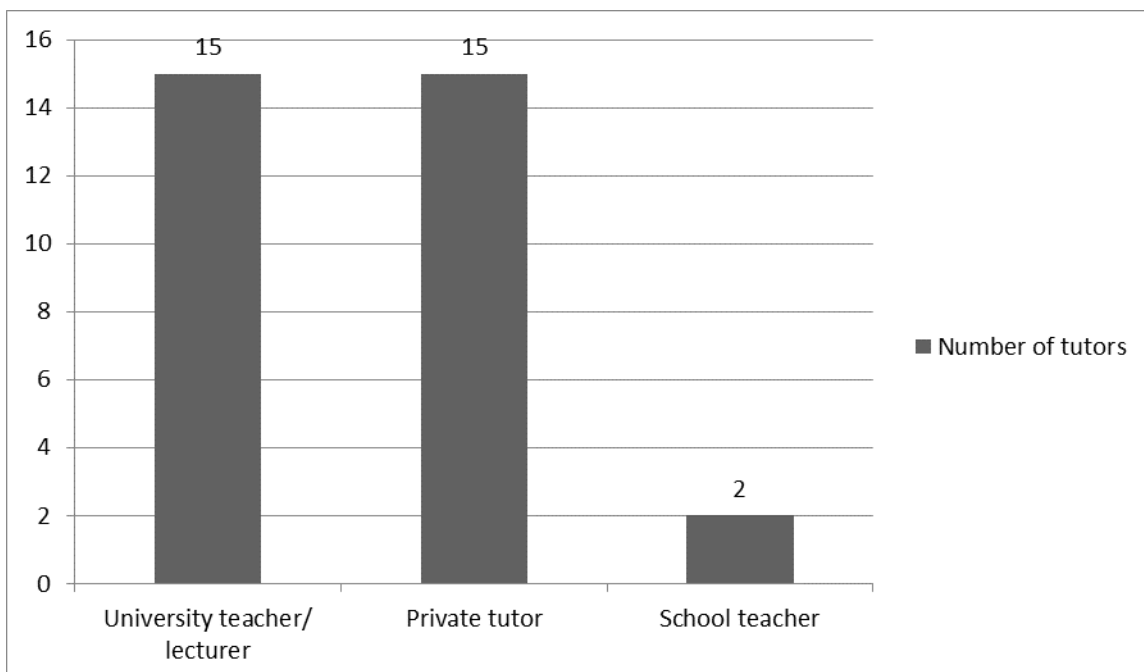
The results showed that just over half (18 out of 32) of the top-ranking tutors hold a PhD degree in their related subjects, four hold two bachelor degrees and 10 tutors hold a single bachelor degree (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Educational background of private tutors



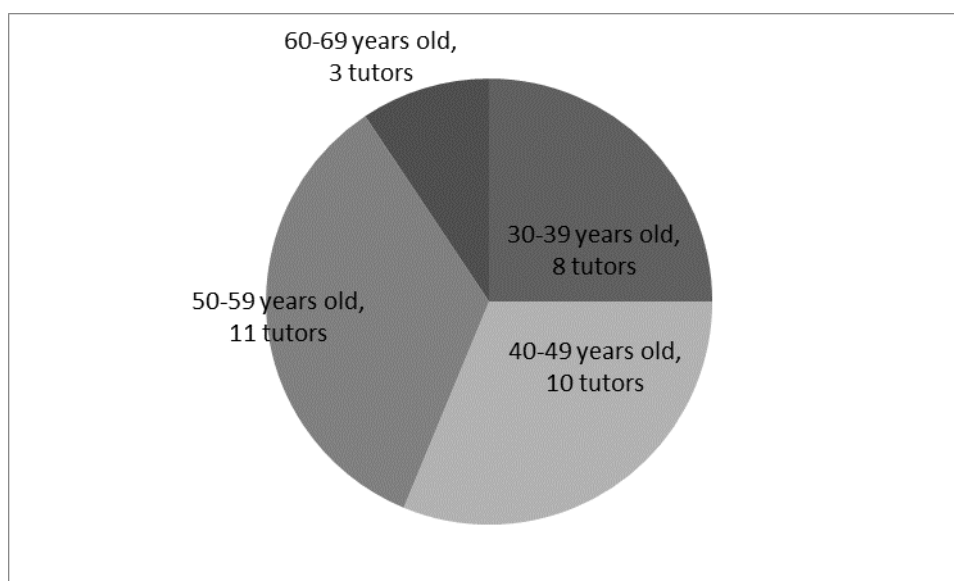
In terms of employment status, there were equal numbers of tutors who describe themselves as private tutors and of those teaching at universities. Two tutors out of the 32 identified themselves as school teachers (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: Self-reported employment status of private tutors



Out of 32 top-ranking tutors, 20 were females and the majority were aged between 40-60 years old (see Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4: Age-groups of private tutors



2.4.5. *Thematic analysis of individual profiles*

From the 32 profiles, 12 were randomly selected and subjected to an in-depth qualitative analysis, performed inductively by coding profiles for themes in NVivo9.

The analysis revealed that the tutors of Russian, Mathematics, Literature studies, Physics, History, IT and Geography (here forth referred to as Group 1) and ESOL tutors (here forth referred to as Group 2) differed in two ways: (1) in targeted student demographics and (2) in self-presentation style.

Group 1 tutors mostly targeted school students and had a strong emphasis on preparation for high-stakes exams. The majority of the profiles cited test scores of tutors' previous students and explicitly assured parents that the tutors were capable of helping tutees to achieve a desired test score on USE.

In contrast, Group 2 in the analysed sample targeted a wider range of students (from pre-school students to adult learners) and referred to a variety of goals (passing exams and job interviews, being able to communicate while travelling, personal development). Similar to the profiles of Group 1 tutors, Group 2 tutors cited achievements of their previous students,

for example, gaining employment with international companies, being accepted into international universities and obtaining various international certifications.

In terms of the communication and self-representation style, Group 2 tutors appear to employ a greater number of rapport-building linguistic devices, such as using positive emotional language and acknowledging potential difficulties that the students might have than Group 1 tutors employed. As a result, Group 2 profiles appear more interpersonal and warm than those of Group 1, whose pages are dominated by such themes as obtaining measurable results and overcoming academic challenges.

2.5. Conclusions and discussion

2.5.1. Subjects offered for private tuition

The content analysis of the tutor-listing websites revealed that ESOL, Mathematics and the Russian Language are the most commonly offered types of lessons. Drawing on the principle of supply and demand (Fisher, 2007), this finding seems to indicate these subjects are the most sought-after among individual learners in Russia, which could be explained in several different ways: firstly, individual learners could be intrinsically motivated to learn the subjects above and could be looking for the instructional support not otherwise available to them. This reason seems unlikely, especially if we consider that Mathematics and Russian language are among the priority subjects taught in Russian schools. A more convincing reason therefore seems to be that this high demand on private instruction in these subjects is driven by other factors, such as students' and their parents' desires to achieve higher results on the USE, which determine students' chances to gain a place in tertiary educational institutions. This explanation would correlate with the results of other studies looking at the drivers for private tutoring (Ireson & Rushforth, 2005; Safarzyńska, 2011).

Indeed, Russian Educational Ministry documents state that the Russian language and Mathematics are two compulsory subjects for the students finishing Russian Middle and High schools. Given that the results of the USE determine which university students will be accepted in for further studies, it becomes clear why students and parents are willing to invest extra time and money into exam preparation in these compulsory subjects.

However, training for exams alone does not explain the popularity of ESOL tuition as, unlike Maths and Russian, English is not a compulsory subject and is required by a smaller number of tertiary institutions. It is curious, therefore, that ESOL lessons are the most commonly offered subject for individual learners. This qualitative analysis reveals that unlike other subjects that tend to focus on remedial instruction for school-aged children, ESOL advertisements tend to target adult learners, especially those working in business and service-providing sectors. This trend could be explained by the dramatic transformation in the economic and social systems in the former Soviet Bloc. New workplace discourses and requirements for doing business in the global economy are placing additional demands on the current generation of workers (Aslund, 2002; Bandelj, 2011). An ability to demonstrate fluency in a foreign language (mainly English) has become an important job requirement in former Soviet countries, and has created a demand and supply of language-teaching services for adult professionals (Eddy, 2007). This resulted in a growing demand on English-learning services.

2.5.2. Demographics of private tutors in Moscow

Although the limited scope of this paper and self-reported data does not allow definite conclusions to be drawn, the results of the demographic analysis seem to suggest that there could be a considerable number of qualified academic and professional teaching staff in Moscow City choosing to supplement their income by providing private tuition. This trend might be indicative of financial and remuneration challenges faced by the Russian

education sector that have been previously discussed by other researchers (e.g. Kniazev, 2002; Smolentseva, 2003). Additionally, considering that a considerable number of top-ranking tutors (15 out of 32) reported operating only as private tutors without any institutional affiliation suggests that private tutoring in Moscow might be perceived as providing sufficient income or more desirable work conditions than the affiliation with educational institutions.

2.5.3. Tutors self-representation

It is noteworthy that in the analysed dataset the tutors did not seem to invite future students to actively participate in the decision-making process regarding the content or the style of their future lessons; instead the tutors indicated that they were prepared to make individual adjustments to the pace of instruction and the sequence of pre-determined curriculum and expected students' compliance. In other words, tutors seemed to have a clear vision of the content they needed to transmit to their learners and the method that they found effective. This style is consistent with the findings of previous research on Russian pedagogic style which was described as traditional and teacher-led (Guseva & Sosnowski, 1997; Hufton & Elliott, 2000) with students expecting teachers to provide a fixed framework for their studies (Kirpotin, 1999).

2.5.4. Limitations

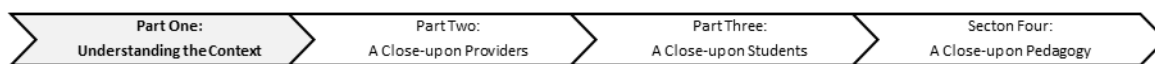
It is important to note some limitations of this study. First of all, the analysis was done by an individual researcher and hence it is subject to an individual bias which is hard to avoid in the interpretative qualitative paradigm (King & Horrocks, 2010).

Another limitation was a relatively low dataset (32 profiles for the demographic analysis and 12 profiles for the qualitative analysis) which limits the generalizability of the findings.

2.5.5. Contribution of this research

This study aims to provide up-to-date information on the commonly offered subjects for private tuition as well as the perceived attributes of ‘top-ranking’ private tutors in Moscow based on the advertisements of private tutors. The findings might be used for country-specific investigations as well as for cross-country educational research. Another contribution of this paper is employing a new data-collection technique: accessing data on private tutors using online advertisements placed by private tutors. The paper also addressed the gap identified by Silova and Bray (2006), who call on extending current research and study private tutors rather than tutees. Finally, this research contributes to the global conversation on private tutoring. In an age in which education is often seen as a ticket to a better future, and with private tutoring being widespread, it is important to consider dynamics of private tutoring in different countries.

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PART ONE AFTERWORD

Paper One plays an important role in this thesis as it reveals several important aspects about the social structure of private tutoring in Russia.

First, Paper One provides evidence that English is currently the most frequently offered subject for privation tuition in Russia, which is consistent with prior literature suggesting the ‘unprecedented urge’ to learn English in post-Soviet Russia (Ter-Minasova, 2005). This urge is especially strong among adult learners, who increasingly find themselves in a new socio-economic context where English skills are important pre-requisites for professional and personal success. One of the popular ways for learners to improve their language skills is to seek private language instruction outside of formal educational instruction, and finding personalized and individualized instruction is one common approach taken by learners.

The findings of Paper One raise questions whether the ‘shadow education’ model of private tutoring that views private tutoring as closely tied to formal school curriculum, fits current social practices of post-Soviet Russia. It appears that when it comes to language education, private tuition is often used by adult learners who do not seek formal certification. Instead, they hire private tutors to presumably create an enjoyable and learner-centred experience and personalize lessons for learners’ needs.

Another important conclusion that can be drawn from Paper One is that there is a considerable shift of public perception of private tutoring in Russia. From almost a ‘clandestine’ activity that used to be frowned upon during the Soviet Union, private tutoring has transformed into an openly practiced activity that involves highly qualified

and experienced teachers. It is important that in addition to the descriptions of lessons and teachers' backgrounds, tutors' advertisements included photos and sometimes videos of teachers (see Appendix B). These personal details show that teachers in Russia are no longer 'hiding' their private tutor identities and are openly advertising their services. Furthermore, as shown in Paper One, some teachers describe their occupational status as 'private tutor only' and support themselves financially only with private lessons. This finding is a good example of the socio-economic changes that happened in Russian society following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Even though it is possible that private tutoring may have been almost as widespread in Soviet Russia as it is in post-Soviet Russia, prior to the emergence of online advertisements boards, there was little tangible record of the scale of private tutoring. The importance of the new source of data, such as online advertisements of private tutors, is shedding light on the social practice that used to take place behind closed doors. It is now possible to have quantitative evidence of the types of subjects that get offered as well as the way that teachers present themselves to potential students, and the researchers around the world have started recognizing this potential. For example, after the publication of Paper One in the journal of *Research in Comparative and International Education*, another study that used online advertisements of private tutors in Slovenia was published in a book on private tutoring (Faganel & Trnavčević, 2013). This suggests a growing recognition that online advertisements of private tutors offer valuable data to conceptualize a previously under-theorized social activity.

The third importance of Paper One for this thesis is showing behaviours of private tutors that can be compared to behaviours of other service providers in neo-liberal economy. For example, in their advertisements, private tutors clearly outlined the pricing and terms and conditions of their work. The advertisements also included features like a fixed sub-charge

for lessons at a student's location, charging different prices for classes with primary, middle and high school students, etc. These features act as further evidence that private tutoring has clearly defined rules of interactions and is indeed a common social practice in post-Soviet Russia. It is noteworthy that private tutors also do not 'shy away' from marketing their services, which is evidenced by tens of thousands of teachers placing advertisements about their tutoring services in one city alone (Moscow).

The fourth important finding of Paper One is that websites attempt to seemingly legitimize the social practice of private tutoring via the use of ranking, certifications and 'tallying up' various factors, such as tutors' prior teaching experience, educational background. At the same time, there seems to be no shared understanding of who should be viewed as a top-ranking tutor. It is not accidental that the ranking systems, used by two 'case study' websites in Paper One, are different. These variations point to the subjectivity of ranking systems and under-conceptualized role of private tutors in the overall educational system. It is also interesting that in this 'tallying up' of teachers' qualities, the websites do not differentiate between classroom teaching and one-to-one teaching experience— in fact, any teaching experience, including in the classroom group setting, is viewed as beneficial for private tutoring.

In sum, Paper One shows that private tutors in post-Soviet Russia present themselves as 'result-providing' freelance-educators to potential students. From a Faircloughian perspective, this presentation positions students as customers of private tutors and attests to the growing commercialization of education in Russia.

PART TWO: A CLOSE-UP ON PROVIDERS



Having examined an important aspect of the broad context from which private online language tutoring has emerged in Russia, this thesis proceeds to take a close look at *providers* and *customers* of this educational service. Specifically, Part Two, which consists of Papers Two, Three, and Four, investigates current providers of private *online* language tutoring services and the ideologies that these providers draw on when representing themselves to the potential students, while Part Three (Paper Five) reports on students and their expectations of their future tutors. Thus, Part Two should be viewed as ‘a close-up on providers’, while Part Three can be viewed as ‘a close-up on customers’. Both parts provide insights into specific social practices associated with private online tutoring in Russia, such as websites’ representations to potential customers or learners’ expectations of their future instructors.

The main goals of Part Two (a close-up on providers) are to identify who offers private online language tutoring services, and to explore the discourses and ideologies that these providers draw on. This is done via the investigation of 70 websites of online tutoring providers. This is the largest dataset in this thesis, from which subsets of websites were subsequently drawn for Papers Three and Four.

Paper Two provides a taxonomy of current providers and shows that there are four types of providers of private online language services. As discussed in Chapter One, Papers Three and Four use subsets of the 70 websites and Paper Four includes the same websites as Paper Three. The reason for a slight divergence in Paper Three and Four datasets lies in the fact that two websites did not include references to ‘language barrier’ and hence were not eligible for inclusion to Paper Three. Both Paper Three and Four cast a critical eye on the

self-presentation of private online language tutors to their potential students and show English-teaching is presented as a purchasable commodity and learners are positioned as, first and foremost, customers of educational services. Apart from giving an insight into ideologies of private online language teaching providers, Papers Three and Four reflect larger trends in language-teaching in Russia and, thus, will be of interest for a wide range of readers. In sum, the three papers presented in Part Two (Papers Three, Four and Five) are important for understanding the social and discursive foundations of private online language tutoring in Russia.

3. Chapter Three: A New Kid on the Block ³ (Paper Two)

3.1. Private online ESOL instruction in Russia

Like many other industries, private tutoring is now being transformed by the growth of communication technologies. An increasing number of educational entrepreneurs in different countries are incorporating Internet tools in their professional practice. Ventura and Jang (2010), for instance, describe the activities of companies that employ private tutors in India to deliver individual instruction online, mostly in Maths and Science, to school students in North America. There are also numerous reports of private after-school teaching services in Asia, commonly referred to as ‘cram schools’, offering paid subscriptions to online collections of recorded tutorials – a phenomenon that the New York Times (2.06.2009) called “the perfect convergence of South Koreans’ dual obsessions with educational credentials and the Internet” (p. B4).

While the popularity of online tutoring in countries with widespread Internet usage, such as the US, is predictable, especially if we consider that over 50% of US population were regularly accessing the Internet in 2002, the practices of private online tutoring in countries like Russia have not been described and conceptualized.

This article presents the evidence that private online tutoring does take place in Russia and that a considerable number of private language teachers who conduct English lessons with learners in Russia, are doing so via free synchronous online tools.

³ This paper was originally published as Kozar, O (2012), Use of synchronous online tools in private English language teaching in Russia, *Distance Education*, 33(3), p 415-420

3.2. The use of synchronous technologies in language teaching in Russia

Employing synchronous tools for delivering private ESOL lessons is to be expected--: after all, the use of this technology has been advocated for several decades and is being implemented increasingly more often in various educational contexts and disciplines worldwide (see research on ICT in education).

In the field of Second Language Acquisition, synchronous audio and video tools have been reported to improve Second Language (L2) fluency, accuracy as well as complexity (e.g. Acar, 2007; Develotte, Guichon, & Vincent, 2010). A number of Open University (UK) researchers in particular have made a significant contribution to describing and analysing language teaching practices using desktop Internet conferencing, and have developed a taxonomy of skills that online language teachers ought to possess in order to successfully teach group lessons (see Shelley, White, Baumann, & Murphy, 2006).

At the same time, several reasons are reported in the literature as to why real-time online technologies are not being implemented more often in mainstream education in Russia. These reasons include poor sound quality, challenges in scheduling meetings, and low-level commitment or reluctance of teachers to use synchronous online tools. Karpenko (2008), for example, notes that even though Russia acutely needs synchronous technology to meet the needs of its widely-spread population, inadequate technological provisions in educational institutions and insufficient training in the use of ICT result in slow development of distance teaching and learning (p. 46).

These barriers, however, might not apply to private teaching contexts, as the behaviour and the motivation of teachers in institutional and private settings could differ. The data in this article shows that private language teachers in Russia seem to be actively adopting synchronous tools, possibly because these technologies offer new employment opportunities and are available free of charge.

3.3. Free tools contribute to the growth of private online tutoring

Private online tutoring might owe a part of its popularity to freeware synchronous technologies, such as Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) tools. This technology has been trialled in educational settings and has been found effective in achieving desired learning outcomes. Some researchers even recommend that educators should avoid paying licence fees for proprietary packages as many features of freeware VoIP tools appear sufficient for instructional purposes (Baggaley, Klaas, Wark, & Depow, 2005). Given that the number of people using free VoIP programs such as, for instance, Skype™ or Google Talk™, is growing exponentially, these tools can be expected to continue being adopted for educational purposes, both in institutional and private contexts.

3.4. A snapshot of private online language tutoring in Russia

Below is a review of 70 websites that offer one-on-one language instruction via freeware synchronous VoIP tools outside formal educational institutions in Russia, which, for the purpose of this paper, are language-teaching services provided by individuals (or groups of individuals) who are not affiliated with governmentally-regulated educational institutions.

The goal of this inquiry is to provide a classification of the current supply of video/ audio English as Second or Other Language (ESOL) conferencing lessons in Russia.

In order to achieve this goal, a content analysis of 100 websites advertising synchronous online private language teaching services to Russian learners was conducted. The data for this inquiry were all visible pages on the identified websites. The data collection was undertaken in October-November 2011 and the search was conducted in 2 languages (English and Russian) to ensure a better representation of language teaching practitioners and allow for a wider sampling.

To qualify for the analysis and to be included in the final data set, the web sites had to meet three criteria: (1) offering English video or audio lessons via freeware online tools (2) not belonging to formal educational institutions and (3) advertising to Russian learners.

The first stage of electronic search returned thousands of hits and over 100 websites were randomly selected for a more detailed analysis. Johnson & Christensen (2010) explain that based on the theory of probability, random sampling is able to produce a sample, “representative of the population it came from” (2010, p. 217). A closer examination of the websites revealed that around 30 websites were not directly related to providers of language-teaching services (e.g. general discussions on various forums or advertising live videoconferencing language classes) and they were excluded from the dataset. As a result, the total number of the reviewed websites was modified to 70.

The content of the websites was coded for two categories: (1) *provider characteristics* and (2) *lesson characteristics*. The following Part presents a brief summary of the results.

3.5. Taxonomy of private online TESOL providers

According to Bailey (1994) there is a major difference between typologies and taxonomies: the former are rooted in theoretical considerations while the latter are empirically derived. The classification in this paper is based on empirical evidence and, therefore, should be viewed as a taxonomy.

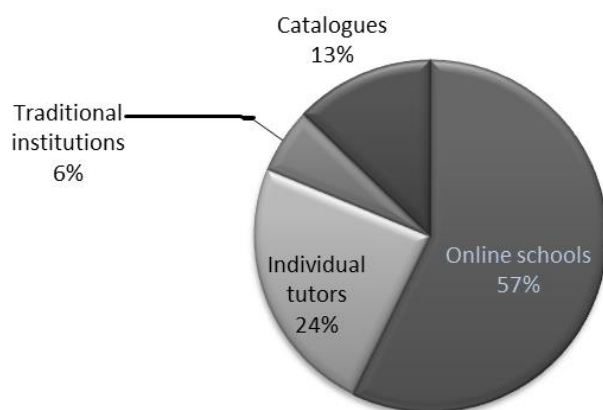
Based on the providers’ self-descriptions, the websites were grouped into four categories:

1. Private online language schools
2. Individual online tutors
3. Online catalogues of teachers
4. Traditional institutions that have added online lessons to their range of services

Figure 3.1 provides the visual representation of this taxonomy.

Figure 3.1: Taxonomy of live online language-teaching providers

Taxonomy of live online language-teaching providers



Below are the definitions for each category.

Private online language schools are the websites listing 2 and more educators and using collective pronouns ‘we’ , ‘us’ and other distinctive organizational vocabulary (‘our team’; ‘our expert team’; ‘specialists’) to describe their services. This was the largest category with 39 out of 70 websites. Most of the websites in this category featured profiles of their teachers which included information on teachers’ educational qualifications and prior teaching experience.

The websites of *individual online tutors* explicitly stated that they were teaching on a private tutor basis or used the pronoun “I” to describe their services on the website. They accounted for 24 % of all the reviewed websites. The websites in this category ranged greatly in their self-disclosure style. On one end of the spectrum were teachers who provided detailed personal and professional information (including video greetings from the teachers), while on the other end teachers chose to have avatars instead of photographs. In several instances individual teachers used aliases (such as Miss English or English Professor) without disclosing their names. The scope of this article doesn’t allow for an explanation of the reasons for such differences in self-representation, however the virtual nature of the medium and privacy concerns might account for some of them.

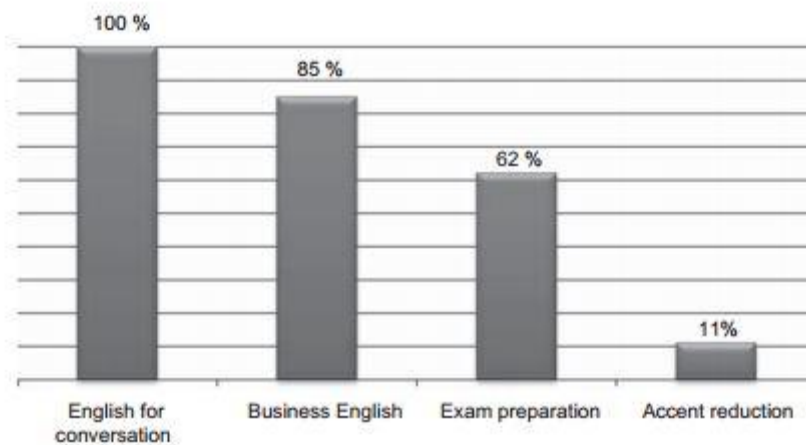
Online catalogues of teachers are the websites offering teachers an opportunity to create individual accounts and set their own conditions, such as lessons focus, price, and availability, etc. About 14 % of the reviewed websites belonged to this sub-group. Most online catalogues of teachers included teachers' identifying details (full name and location) as well as information regarding teachers' educational qualifications and prior teaching experience.

Traditional institutions that have added online lessons to their range of services are previously established onsite language-learning institutions (such as Kaplan) which added live videoconferencing lessons to the range their existing services. This was the least common group with only 6 out of 70 websites. Also, these websites provided the least detailed descriptions of their online teachers.

3.6. Types of ESOL lessons

About 74% of the analysed websites provided a description of their lessons. All of the websites featured spoken English or English for conversations. The second most popular kind of lessons was Business English or English for Work (85%), followed by English for Exams (such as IELTS and TOEFL) which was offered by 62% of the sites. A small number of sites (about 11%) had Accent Training or Pronunciation lessons as one of their classes.

Figure 3.2: Most popular types of lessons



To sum up, this brief survey shows that a considerable number of private ESOL schools and tutors that teach Russian students seem to be adopting online synchronous tools for delivering lessons. An interesting finding was that only 6% of these providers represented previously established private language institutions while the remaining 94% appeared to be recently formed online schools, private individuals and online catalogues. These results suggest that private individuals might be currently more active, compared to previously established language-teaching providers, in adopting synchronous online tools for English language teaching. Even though explaining the reasons for this trend is beyond the scope of this paper, it may be that a low presence of established language schools in the analysed sample could reflect insufficient interest of established schools to enter the online teaching market.

In terms of the content of the lessons, the most popular type of class in the analysed sample was Speaking Practice followed by English for Work. Such a focus could reflect a high demand for improving conversational skills among Russian students and it might also be driven by the affordances of Voice over IP technologies itself. To elaborate: there seems to be an ‘unprecedented urge’ for communicative English learning in post-Soviet Russia (Ter-Minasova, 2005, p. 451), as for decades, language teaching in Soviet Union was

based on the grammar-translation method, which Ter-Minasova (2005) calls an ‘anti-pragmatic’ approach, characterised by a “thorough study of grammar and vocabulary regardless of the practical needs of students” (p. 447) . This teaching method resulted in a considerable gap between grammatical knowledge and communicative abilities of Russian learners. It could also be argued that VoIP tools have created affordances for practicing speaking since these tools were initially designed for voice communication in personal and business context and a great number of people would initially experience this technology while communicating with colleagues or friends/ relatives.

3.7. Implications for ESOL instruction in Russia

There are two reasons why private online ESOL tutoring appears to have good prospects for becoming widespread in Russia: firstly, there is an already established demand on private tutoring. According to Southgate (2009) Russia ranks highly on the use of the shadow education (a common term for private tutoring). Secondly, Russia is very spread-out geographically, which partly accounts for a gap between educational opportunities available in large cities and the rest of the country. Free communication software products might be offering a new way for Russian people to access educational opportunities and training not available otherwise, such as studying with teachers from other cities or other countries.

Finally, as the Internet use and synchronous online instruction become more widespread in Russia, more traditional schools might start incorporating real-time online tools in their teaching practice. For instance, schools could be arranging English practice with speakers worldwide, which would be beneficial for language learners as it will create a context of authentic communication.

On a larger scale, with the growth of technology, the use of synchronous online ESOL instruction could expand worldwide. In some countries and contexts, live online tutoring

via freeware products might be used by schools or students desirous of language instruction but lacking specialist staff. A different category of users could be school children studying through virtual ‘cram schools’ in the evenings or at the weekends in order to improve their grades or further educational prospects. Yet a different category might be adult learners who need English language for their work or personal reasons and might not have time to attend regular lessons.

Whatever the context, educational researchers need to be able to provide practitioners with guidance on how to conduct lessons effectively in this new environment, and this involves conducting more research on one-on-one teaching in general and online tutoring in particular. Both of these areas appear to be under represented in professional and academic literature and invite further investigations.

4. Chapter Four: ‘Language barrier’ in Private Online Tutoring – From an Innocuous Concept to a Neoliberal Marketing Tool⁴ (Paper Three)

4.1. Abstract

“Language Barrier” is a common buzzword in Russian English teaching discourse, which has not been critically investigated yet. This study contemplates a recently emerging phenomenon of private online language tutoring in Russia through the investigation of this popular ‘buzzword’. The paper draws on Critical Discourse Analysis to explore narratives about the language barrier, and shows that this concept is construed as a negative phenomenon which happens to language learners as a result of ‘incorrect’ methodology allegedly employed by public schools in a selection of Russian media as well as in websites about private online tutors. The findings suggest that the concept of ‘language barrier’ seems to have been appropriated by ‘for-profit’ English-teaching providers in Russia to justify their existence and attract more customers.

4.2. Background

Two decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the post-socialist education space is changing at a fast pace, influenced by post-soviet transition and globalization processes. Not only is education in post-socialist countries being affected by marketization, privatization and the introduction of standardized testing reforms (Niyozov & Dastambuev, 2012; Silova & Eklof, 2012), but it is also being influenced by the universal forces of globalization and the increasing use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), which is taking place all around the world, regardless of a country’s background (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). Each of these forces is powerful in its own right

⁴ This paper has been originally published as Kozar, O (2014), ‘Language barrier’ in private online tutoring - From an innocuous concept to a neoliberal marketing tool, *European Education*, 46 (2), 74-96.

and brings multiple implications for teaching and learning processes; when combined, however, these forces result in a truly intense transformation of the educational field in post-Soviet countries.

Several authors have provided a good overview of major changes, which have taken place as a result of neo-liberalization and globalization of a post-socialist education space (Elliott & Tudge, 2007; Silova & Brehm, 2013; Silova & Eklof, 2012). These works are important as they sketch the field of post-socialist education and provide the framework for further studies. These studies also recognize that various processes taking place in post-socialist education manifest themselves *differently* in various countries and result in “new (and often unexpected) arrangements” in educational space (Silova & Eklof, 2012, p. 380). It is therefore incumbent upon researchers to investigate current practices in *particular* countries, as this micro-perspective can provide empirical data for a further conceptualization and development of the existing theory of post-socialist education space.

This paper is an attempt to adopt such a micro perspective and to contemplate a recently emerging phenomenon of private online language tutoring in Russia, the largest post-soviet country, through the investigation of one popular buzzword associated with this social practice. The study explores the use and the discursive formation of the concept “language barrier” in current English-teaching discourse in Russia with a particular focus on private online language tutoring, and shows how this seemingly innocuous phrase has been adopted by commercial English-teaching providers, including private online tutors, to justify and promote “for-profit” English-teaching services. It is suggested that private online language tutoring in Russia is a prime example of the neoliberalization and globalization of post-socialist education, as it combines the market-oriented discourse of private tutoring lessons with the rhetoric of off-shoring and global competition. The analysis reveals that the discursive construction of the phrase “language barrier” draws on

the narrative of inadequate and low-quality government-provided education and, thus, attests and possibly adds to the deteriorating status of the teaching profession in Russia.

4.2.1. The transformation of the English-teaching sector in Russia

English as a foreign language is a vivid example of the transformations that happened in the educational domain following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Almost overnight the perceived importance and the demand for this subject soared, making the ability to communicate in English a sought-after and prestigious skill (Ter-Minasova, 2005; Ustinova, 2005). The reasons for this transformation are rooted in the fact that the fall of the Iron Curtain created the conditions for international travel and business collaboration – the activities that tend to require at least a basic knowledge of English. Indeed, in 2012 alone, the Russian Bureau of Statistics reported 168 million overseas trips made by Russian citizens. This is an impressive number considering that overseas travel during the Soviet times was highly limited and required a special permit. Moreover, the rapid neo-liberalization of the economic domain and the increasing number of “joint ventures” and international companies resulted in English becoming a common pre-requisite for many job openings and an important marker of a “professionally successful” individual in modern Russia (Kozar, 2014). Finally, the forces of globalization and the rapid penetration of the Internet among Russian people acts as yet another catalyst for the popularity of English, since a substantial amount of content on the Internet is available only in the English language. Overall, the processes and trends described above have resulted in the “unprecedented and ever-increasing urge” of Russian people to engage in English learning (Ter-Minasova, 2005, p. 451). What is more, during Soviet Union times, the most common teaching approach for language-teaching was *grammar-translation*, presumably because English was viewed as a system of grammatical rules rather than as a tool for

communication (Lovtsevich, 2005; Ter-Minasova, 2005). Ter-Minasova (2005) provides the following account of English-teaching practices during Soviet times:

The English language was taught as a dead languagebecause the world of its users did not exist...For decades, ..., generations of teachers , who never set their eyes -or ears!-on a native speaker of a foreign language, taught generations of students, without any proper equipment, without authentic English Language Learning and Teaching (ELLT) materials. (p. 446-447).

When there is demand, supply tends to follow, especially if business does not require considerable financial investment. Unlike retail or manufacturing businesses, which entail major investments prior to making any profit, English-teaching is a relatively low-entry enterprise, which makes it attractive for entrepreneurs and other stakeholders. Indeed, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, thousands of private language schools opened all over Russia, transforming English-teaching into a profitable and competitive business (Reshetnikova, 2011). Many of the language schools appear to have fully embraced market rules and conduct aggressive marketing campaigns, utilizing billboards, leaflets, media space, etc. Apart from language schools, a great number of individual teachers started offering their services directly to learners in the form of private tutoring classes. Private tutors (or *repetitory* as they are known in Russia) tend to offer one-to-one or small group lessons and negotiate the terms and conditions directly with the learners. The practice of private tutoring is not limited to self-employed teachers. For many government-employed teachers working in the mainstream education sector, private tutoring lessons are an important means to complement their low salaries, enabling them to provide for their families (Silova, 2009; Silova & Brehm, 2013; Silova, Būdiene, & Bray, 2006). Not all subjects, however, enjoy the same popularity. Currently English is the most commonly offered type of private tutoring in Moscow (Russia's largest city), followed by math and

Russian language (Kozar, 2013), which attests to the special role of English in the private tutoring market in Moscow.

4.2.2. *Private tutoring in post-Soviet countries*

Prior studies show that an unprecedented rise of private tutoring of school subjects is a common feature of education space in post-soviet countries (Silova, 2009; Silova & Bray, 2006; Silova & Eklof, 2012). There are several phenomena that underpin the upswing of this practice. First, most post-soviet countries witnessed a considerable decline in the remuneration (relative to the cost of living) of teachers in the government education sector. Their salaries often were (and sometimes still are) below the national wage average (Steiner-Khamsi, Harris-Van Keuren, Silova, & Chachkhiani, 2009), which resulted in many teachers being forced to engage in other types of activities to complement their income (UNICEF, 2001). Apart from the financial benefits of engaging in private tutoring, many teachers have reported finding this practice *emotionally rewarding* as it allows them to exercise professional autonomy and use a wider range of teaching methods and materials, which they were not able to do in the mainstream schools due to curriculum or other constraints (Popa, 2006; Silova & Brehm, 2013).

Apart from teacher-driven reasons (financial and emotional), parents and students have been contributing to the popularization of this social practice. Arguably the biggest reason behind parents' keenness to hire private tutors for their children is the widespread perception that government-provided education is deteriorating and is insufficient and/or of low quality (Eklof, Holmes, & Kaplan, 2005; Silova & Eklof, 2012). This image is closely linked to the reduction in government subsidies and expenditures (which negatively affected school's infrastructure), the introduction of new curricula, standardized testing and (sometimes) multiple-shift schooling. Against this backdrop, parents and students often

view government education as failing and consider private tutoring as a means to obtain services perceived as unavailable in mainstream education.

Another factor in parents and students' desire to engage in private tutoring may be the rapid spread of competitive market-oriented ideology, which posits that in order to succeed in the neoliberal economy an individual needs to exhibit characteristics superior to other neoliberal subjects, which warrants continuous investment in self-improvement (Park, 2010). This ideology seems to contribute to the spread of the "enrichment" tutoring (as opposed to "remedial" which goal is to address the inadequacies of the existing system). Enrichment tutoring serves to ensure that learners, who receive tuition, remain on top of their respective group of peers and therefore stands a better chance to succeed in a competitive selection process, such as university entrance or a job interview.

4.2.3. Private online language tutoring: A "child" of marketization and globalization

In the context of private tutoring being a popular and significant social practice in Russia, it was only a matter of time that alternative types of tutorial delivery would become available. Some companies and individuals experimented with using phones for conducting English lessons (see English-by-phone.ru for example); however, this method of delivery requires financial investment (paying for phone calls) and is limited in collaborative opportunities, such as the ability to edit documents in real time or share files. Thus, enterprising individuals quickly adopted free real-time online audio/video options like Skype when they became available for tutorial delivery.

The emergence of computer-mediated tutoring is understandable and is grounded in marketization and globalization processes happening across various social domains. First, the use of audio/videoconferencing tools is increasingly common in other areas of professional activities, such as business meetings and various consultations. There are also reports of audio/videoconferencing being used in healthcare (Hu, 1999; Noel, 2004), legal

services (Johnson & Wiggins, 2006), HR (Townsend, 2001), etc. Furthermore, computer-mediated communication (CMC) tools (both synchronous, such as audio/videoconferencing and asynchronous, such as email) are at the core of telework and e-lancing practices (freelancing via online tools). These are viewed as closely related to globalization and casualization of the workforce (Schaffers, Kristensen, Slagter, & Löh, 2007).

The primary competitive advantage of “telework” lies in the reduced costs associated with travel and work infrastructure. When performing work remotely via CMC tools, many professionals are able to do so from their home, which saves time and expenses associated with commuting. Moreover, when working from home, many individuals use their existing infrastructure, such as their furniture, computer, Internet connection and electricity, which also reduces business-operating costs. Looking at the English-teaching context, it can be argued that the largest expense is usually associated with renting/maintaining a classroom and travelling to the place of the lesson. Therefore, foregoing these expenditure items can significantly reduce the cost of providing lessons and make online lessons more convenient and/or cost-effective compared to their face-to-face counterparts. Indeed, there are reports of English tutors providing services to learners via Skype as early as 2005-2006. However, the main boom in English tutoring by Skype seemed to happen around 2011-2012, when Internet penetration in Russia reached 50% of the population (Fond Obshestvennogo Mneniya [Public Opinion Fund], 2012). Prior research on the providers of private online English tutoring services shows that there are dozens (if not hundreds) of websites offering private online English lessons via Skype to learners in Russia, and that most of the online language tutoring is offered by private online tutoring schools and individual teachers (Kozar, 2012a).

Ideologically, private online tutoring appears to be deeply rooted in neoliberal and market-oriented rhetoric. A recent study that investigated the language of 17 websites offering private online English lessons showed that there is a close alignment in the discursive practices of these websites within the neoliberal ideology (Kozar, 2014). This is manifested in presenting language-learning as a purchasable activity through frequent references to effectiveness and affordability of lessons as well as multiple features of the promotional discourse (Kozar, 2014).

Private online language tutoring emerges as not only the ultimate example of neoliberal practices, being driven by financial competition and the “price war,” but also as a truly *disruptive* phenomenon, which challenges the current arrangements and power distribution in private tutoring practice in Russia. Specifically, private online tutoring allows teachers from all over Russia to enter a nation-wide marketplace and to compete for students in a new, previously unavailable fashion. As illustrated in a TV program which described the activities of private online language tutors (TVChannel1, 2012), many learners from expensive cities like Moscow and St. Petersburg hire private online tutors from other areas of Russia in the bid to obtain a perceived value-for-money. This is a disruptive trend as it allows students to find better deals than they would have otherwise in their place of residence, and allows tutors who live in less economically developed areas to compete for better-paying students from Moscow and St. Petersburg. In that, private online tutoring is reshaping the current landscape of private tutoring services in Russia, which may have important implications for private tutoring practices in the future.

An important insight revealed by prior research on private online language tutoring is the *demographic characteristics* of customers of private online tutors. Kozar (2012b) reports that the median age of learners was 27 years old in her case study of an online English-tutoring school based in Russia, and that these learners studied predominately for work-

related and examination-related reasons. This is a significant finding as it shows that private tutoring practices in Russia spread beyond “shadow education,” wherein students and their care-givers seek paid services of private tutors to improve students’ results in mainstream educational systems (see for example Baker, Akiba, LeTendre, & Wiseman, 2001; Bray, 2010; Silova & Bray, 2006; Southgate, 2009). Learners in their 20s and 30s, who report having engaged in private tutoring in order to improve their careers or to pass high-stakes international examinations such as IELTS or TOEFL are clearly a different group from learners in primary/secondary and high schools. The finding that adult learners employ services of private tutors is consistent with another report on the target demographics of private language tutors in Russia, which shows that unlike tutors of math, Russian and other school-curriculum who tended to target only school-aged students and their parents, *English tutors* were advertising their services to both school-aged and adult learners (Kozar, 2013).

Undoubtedly, private online tutoring in Russia has emerged as a result of the neoliberal, market-oriented transformations, which have been taking place in post-soviet countries in the last two decades. These practices are also underpinned by the global trends of telework, e-lancing (freelancing via Internet) and the general casualization of workforce. The implications of private online tutoring may be considerable, as it is capable of disrupting the current private tutoring arrangements by providing private tutors access to the nation-wide marketplace and allows them to compete for students that they would not otherwise have had access to.

4.2.4. *Language barrier*

The transformation of the English language from being *just one of the subjects* that Russian students learn at schools and universities to a prestigious and profitable industry has been marked not only by a shift in learners’ attitude towards learning English and the emergence

of multiple private teaching providers, but also by the popularization and spread of certain concepts related to language-learning. Almost overnight, language teaching discourse in Russia was populated with multiple buzzwords and concepts that accompanied this drastic shift. These buzzwords and the concepts associated with them are significant as they are informed by current language teaching ideologies and can reveal considerable insights into the discursive formations of the field. It is one such concept, specifically the phrase “language barrier,” that is being investigated by this study.

In contemporary Russian English-teaching discourse, the use of the phrase “language barrier” is truly frequent. References to “crashing” and “breaking down” the language barrier can be found in various media dedicated to language learning, such as newspapers, magazines, English-learning portals and promotional materials produced by commercial English schools. Despite its popularity, the ideological construal of the concept of a language barrier in Russian and its discursive implications have not been critically investigated. This lack of research is regrettable, as it leaves unexamined a central concept associated with an important social practice in Russia. Aiming to fill in this gap, this study seeks to investigate how the concept of a language barrier is construed on the websites of private online language tutors as well as in a selection of Russian media. This paper will argue that the phrase “language barrier” appears to be employed on Russian websites for promoting the services of commercial English-teaching providers and undermining the image of government-provided English education.

4.3. Theoretical framework and methodology

This study situates itself within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1992; Rogers, 2004; Van Dijk, 1998; Wodak & Fairclough, 1997) – a theoretical approach which studies “how social and political inequalities are manifested in and reproduce through discourse” (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 137). CDA aims to uncover ideology

encoded in texts and in constructing a particular type of reality. Specifically, CDA posits that some discourses tend to privilege certain voices and interpretations, which results in certain beliefs being more readily available and more prominent than others (Cohen, 2010; Mautner, 2005; Rogers, 2004). The key concept that drives this inquiry is “discursive formation,” introduced by Foucault (Foucault, 1969). Simply put, discursive formation refers to a particular way in which a phenomenon is constructed in a specific context. Discursive formations are characterised by regularity, order and strategic choices, which serve a specific social purpose. Discursive formations are both the product and the vehicle of various ideologies and are powerful tools in shaping social realities. Gaining an insight into relevant discursive formations is an important step towards understanding various social phenomena.

CDA is particularly interested in discursive formations produced by mass media due to their ability to reflect and promote “hegemonic discourses prevalent in various domains of social life” (Jaworski, Ylänne-McEwen, Thurlow, & Lawson, 2003, p. 137). There is a solid methodological base for using CDA in exploring mass media, and there are numerous studies that have successfully employed this approach for investigating ideologies encoded in mass media around the world (see Cohen, 2010; Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993; Weingart, Engels, & Pansegrau, 2000). Therefore, CDA seems to be the most suitable approach for investigating what appears to be a prominent concept in the current language-teaching discourse in Russia. Using CDA may (i) provide important insights into current language-teaching ideology, (ii) reveal whose voices are privileged in discussions about language learning in a selection of Russian media and (iii) show how the process of learning a language is construed.

CDA is congruent with different analytical tools (Fairclough, 1992; Wodak & Fairclough, 1997), including Thematic Analysis, which has been viewed as “a foundational method for

qualitative analysis” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 78) and has been lauded for being compatible with various epistemological paradigms. This present study employs Thematic Analysis (Boyatzis, 1998) to explore how the concept of “language barrier” is portrayed in a selection of Russian media. Due to this “theoretical freedom” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 78), Thematic Analysis has proved to be useful for analysing rich and complex data.

Investigating the emotive impact of texts is an important step towards unpacking the mechanisms used by text producers to persuade their audience, given that emotive language and metaphors are powerful means of constructing realities and influencing individual and collective minds (Cameron, 2003; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Semino, 2008). They not only transmit but also create ideologies via subtle but pervasive means. Therefore the second goal of this study is to analyze metaphoric and emotionally charged language in order to bring to light attitudes encoded in the texts.

Drawing on the analytical approaches described above, this study aims to answer the following question: How is the language barrier construed by the websites of private online tutors and some popular Internet media, and what are the implications of this construal? The insights from this study might be useful to a wide audience interested in the discourses of language education in post-soviet countries; however caution is necessary when generalizing the findings of this paper to other contexts due to the exploratory nature of this study.

4.4. Data Selection and Analysis

The data collection was undertaken in April 2013. The data consisted of (i) a small corpus of websites of private online tutoring schools (15 websites) and (ii) 30 articles from a selection of Russian media (blogs, newspapers and magazines).

Both datasets were compiled using Yandex, which at the time of the investigation was the most popular Russian-language search engine (LinkedIn, 2013). In order to be included in

the first dataset (websites of private online language tutoring services), the websites had to represent “online schools;” that is, websites which mention “two or more educators and use the collective pronouns ‘we’ and ‘us,’ and other distinctive organizational vocabulary (‘our team’; ‘our expert team’; ‘specialists’) to describe their services” (Kozar, 2012, pp. 417-418). This requirement was deemed important since it is the private online schools that have been found to be the most widespread type of online teaching provider in Russia (Kozar, 2012). The search was conducted using the following terms: “уроки английского по скайпу” or “uroki angliiskogo po skaipu” (translated as “lessons via Skype” in English).

In order to be included in the second dataset (articles in a selection of Russian media written on the topic of language barrier), the articles had to (i) be written on the subject of language barrier, (ii) include the term ‘language barrier’ in their title and (iii) be published on websites other than language schools. The articles were compiled using a search for “языковой барьер” or “yazykovoj bar’er” (translated as “language barrier” in English).

The inclusion in the both datasets was done on a “top results” basis, meaning that the websites and articles were drawn from the most popular results returned after the search.

When identified, all of the texts on all pages of relevant websites and the articles were saved using NCapture facility in NVivo10 and were coded for recurrent themes and attitudinal references. The analysis was conducted on the original Russian text by the researcher (a native Russian speaker). The translations from Russian into English for the purposes of data presentation for this article were done by the same researcher. The thematic coding scheme was developed inductively based on the data itself (Seale, 2004). Following the thematic coding, the author performed textual analysis, focusing on metaphors and emotive language.

Before presenting the findings of this study, it seems important to acknowledge the existing limitations of the data. The articles written on the topic of language barrier were drawn only from online resources. The physical constraints (being located outside of Russia) did not allow the researcher to include a wider range of media, such as traditional newspapers and magazines. However, given the growing popularity of the Internet in Russia and the increasing reliance of Russian people on the information accessed on the Internet (Fond Obshestvennogo Mneniya [Public Opinion Fund], 2012), online sources such as newspapers, magazines and Internet portals were deemed as sufficient for this exploratory study.

4.5. Results

The following Part presents the analysis of the discursive formation of “language barrier” in two datasets: a corpus of 15 private online tutoring websites and a corpus of 30 texts, written about “language barrier” in a selection of Russian online media. The analysis shows that the private tutoring websites appear to use the term “language barrier” interchangeably with “language learning” and frequently position “overcoming the language barrier” as the key goal of instruction. The analysis of 30 articles written about “language barrier” further reveals a complex and emotion-laden construction of this concept in current English-teaching discourse in Russia.

4.5.1. The term “language barrier” on the websites of private online tutoring schools

The analysis showed that the term “language barrier” was frequent on the websites of private online language tutoring schools. This phrase was found on all 15 websites and was used 106 times in total, predominately in relation to the schools’ methodology, descriptions of lessons, teachers’ profiles and students’ testimonials. In other words, it was used extensively in different Parts of the website and was salient in communication with prospective students.

A key finding of this study is that “overcoming language barrier” was often presented as a *central goal* of the instruction on private online English tutoring websites. As can be seen from the extracts below (which are representative of the analyzed corpus), the concept of language barrier is given considerable importance via foregrounding it in the description of the learning objectives and teaching practices.

Extract 4.1

Главной целью обучения является	The main goal of instruction is overcoming
преодоление языкового барьера...Для	the language barrier.... In order to smash
разнесения в пух и прах языкового	the language barrier into small pieces and
барьера и овладения английским	acquire the language fully, one needs to
полностью, необходимо говорить,	speak, speak and speak.
говорить и говорить.	

Source: Study-by-Skype.ru

Extract 4.2

Благодаря использованию современных	Thanks to the use of modern Internet-
интернет-технологий, английский по	technologies, English via Skype will help
скипе поможет сокрушить языковой	crush the language barrier in a comfortable
барьер в комфортной обстановке.	environment.

Source: Skype-language.ru

The phrase “language barrier” on the analyzed websites appears to be used almost interchangeably with “language learning” or “mastering the language” and seemed particularly linked to the goal of “speaking fluently.” Moreover, yet more evidence of the

importance of this concept in the current English-teaching discourse in Russia is that many websites employed the term “language barrier” in their slogans (e.g. “Crash Language Barrier today!”/“The Easiest Way to Smash the Language Barrier!”).

The analysis also revealed that the concept “language barrier” seems to be taken for granted in the investigated texts. There were many instances of the confident stance towards “language barrier” manifested by the use of absolute statements (e.g. “*Everybody who has ever tried learning a foreign language faces the problem of language barrier*” or “*Have you ever heard about language barrier? Absolutely!*”), which point to the conclusion that “language barrier” might have the common-sense status in Russian society and that its existence is not being questioned.

An interesting finding was that, apart from the word combination “overcome language barrier/(преодолеть языковой барьер)”, which seems to have become a collocation in the Russian language and was frequently found in references to the language barrier, the websites tended to accompany the phrase “language barrier” with strong (even aggressive) action verbs, such as “crush,” “blow.” or “smash.” These linguistic selections attest to the rhetorical force that the writers presumably wished to convey when talking about overcoming “language barrier”.

Another salient trend, which emerged as a result of the analysis, is the frequent reference to the language barrier in student’s testimonials. About 35% of all instances of the phrase “language barrier” on the analyzed websites were found in students’ recommendations for other students on the testimonial pages. One should highlight that the testimonials were often embedded on various pages and were therefore prominent on the websites. The nature of the data does not allow verification of the testimonial’s authors and, therefore, does not exclude the possibility that they might have been written by other stakeholders such as the websites themselves. Regardless of their origin, the presence of what looks like

students' testimonials is significant as it contributes to the construction of the overall discursive image of the websites. Below are some representative examples from students' testimonials.

Extract 4.3

Занимаюсь около 4-х месяцев, за этот период полностью исчез пресловутый «языковой барьер», а также боязнь телефонных коммуникаций на английском языке.	I've been studying for about 4 months. During this period the notorious "language barrier" completely disappeared along with the fear of speaking English on the phone.
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Source: EnglishDom.ru

Extract 4.4

До этого я отзанималась полтора года на курсах, подучила грамматику, но заговорить так и не смогла, совсем.	Before that I had studied for a year and a half on courses, learnt grammar, but couldn't start speaking.
Юле удалось все-таки «снять» языковой барьер	Yuliya managed to "remove" ("relieve") the language barrier after all.

Source: Elf-English.ru

The linguistic choices made in students' testimonials suggests that "language barrier" may be construed as (i) a highly negative phenomenon and (ii) difficult to overcome without expert help. The use of the verb "снять" (translated as "remove, take off, relieve" in English) is significant as it attributes the heralded outcome to the teacher's work and, while doing so, places the student in a (relatively passive) position of the receiver of services, or

in a position of a “helpless sufferer” from the language barrier. Moreover, the close proximity of the intensifying particle “after all” (*-таки* in Russian) implies extensive previous efforts, which had been futile. Overall, students’ voices, as they are found on the analyzed websites, suggest that the language barrier is construed by learners as a negative phenomenon, which requires expert intervention.

The third common location of the phrase “language barrier” was on pages with teachers’ profiles (pages with short presentations of teachers, including information about teachers’ background, teaching experience and personal hobbies). A noteworthy trend, observed on the websites, was that *Russian* teachers’ profiles were more likely to include the phrase “language barrier” (in either English or Russian), than the profiles of teachers from countries other than Russia (UK, USA, Canada, Australia, etc.). Extract 4.5 is a representative example from Russian teachers’ profiles.

Extract 4.5

В работе использует коммуникативную методику, что позволяет эффективно развивать четыре вида речевой деятельности, а главное, дает возможность любому человеку преодолеть языковой барьер и заговорить на иностранном языке в рекордно короткое время.

In her work she uses communicative methodology, which allows her to effectively develop four types of language skills and, most importantly, allows any person to overcome ‘language barrier’ and to start speaking in a foreign language in a record-breaking short time.

Source: english-and-skype.ru

Extract 4.5 applauds communicative methodology for its ability to go beyond ‘developing four types of language skills’ (presumably reading, writing, speaking and listening) and allowing students to overcome ‘language barrier’. In other words, it implies that attending to the “four skills” is not sufficient, and that communicative methodology has additional benefits which enable students to “start speaking in a foreign language.” Such construal raises some questions, as speaking is, presumably, one of the “four skills” which is presented as insufficient in Extract 4.5. There are, however, no elaborations on how communicative methodology differs from other methods of teaching speaking, and why it is believed to be the most appropriate methodology. What is consistent across all 15 websites is the construal of communicative method of teaching as highly positive and praised.

Based on the frequent references to the language barrier on all 15 analyzed websites of private online English tutoring and on explicit statements that “overcoming language barrier” is the prime goal of lessons, it can be concluded that the concept is given considerable prominence and weight in discursive practices of the analyzed websites. The use of strong action verbs such as “smash,” “blow,” or “crush” accompanied by the negative evaluations of the language barrier construe the image of an “enemy” that needs to be combated.

4.5.2. Construal of the concept “language barrier” in a selection of Russian media

Following the analysis of 15 websites of private online language tutoring schools in Russia, the researcher conducted an analysis of 30 articles obtained from a selection of Russian Internet-based media, such as English-learning portals (e.g. poliglotty.net), blogs covering a variety of topics (e.g. relax.ru), websites for job-seekers (e.g. rabota.ru), etc. This broad scope of sources ensured that a wide range of voices were documented and analyzed. What is more, thanks to the article’s explicit focus on the concept of “language

barrier” (all the articles were written on the topic of a language barrier and featured the term “language barrier” in their title), this sub-dataset allowed an in-depth analysis of the construal of the concept “language barrier” in current English-teaching discourse in Russia.

4.5.3. The construal of Actors and Participants

The analysis of the texts identified several human actors and inanimate participants in the articles about language barrier. These actors and participants included (1) language barrier, (2) learners of foreign languages, (3) school and university teachers, and (4) private language schools. What is interesting and should be viewed as a contribution of this paper is that the attitudinal construal of these actors seems consistent across all 30 articles. The detailed discussion of the attitudinal references and evaluations for the abovementioned actors and participants is presented below.

4.5.4. The construal of language barrier

Similar with the websites analyzed in the previous Part, the articles exhibited a clearly negative portrayal of the phenomenon of a language barrier. References to language barrier in the analyzed texts were strongly associated with negatively connotated adjectives (e.g., *notorious* language barrier; *anxiety-inducing* language barrier, *unavoidable* language barrier). Such descriptions convey an image of the language barrier being not only unpleasant but also inevitable, and show consistency with the discursive construction of language barrier on the websites of private online language tutors.

What is more, the descriptions of the language barrier in the analyzed articles were commonly associated with the use of the medical metaphor. The texts employed such terms as “symptoms” of a language barrier, “syndrome,” and “condition” when describing the effect of a language barrier on language learners. Some articles also used verbs that tend to be associated with medical treatment such as “alleviate,” “treat,” and “relieve” in

their discussion of the language barrier. The presence of medical metaphors is significant as it confirms the highly negative framing of the concept of a language barrier in modern-day Russia. The employment of metaphors in general and of medical metaphors in particular have been recognized to extend beyond using rhetorical devices for enhancement purposes (De Leonardis, 2008; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Instead, being “a matter of cognition and conceptual structure rather than a matter of mere language” (Rohrer, 2007, p. 32), metaphors have been viewed as powerful tools, which actively influence human thinking and shape our perception of reality.

The negative connotation of the term “language barrier” is further developed by citing examples of personal and professional failures that happened to language learners due to the presence of a language barrier. In an article on the website www.e-personal.ru, for example, the author recounts a story of a person named Nikita who failed to receive a job promotion because of the language barrier. Other articles include examples of social embarrassment and lost opportunities, such as learners’ inability to maintain a basic conversation in English with English-speaking visitors, and not being invited to social functions because of their perceived inability to speak English. By suggesting that this language barrier is capable of inflicting personal and professional failures on learners and by evoking the medical metaphor, the authors portray learners as being victims of a language barrier. The construction of “victimhood” is intensified by the expressions of negative emotions allegedly experienced by those who experience this language barrier, such as “feeling extreme discomfort,” wanting to “disappear in the thin air”, “feeling tense,” or “feeling silly.” It can, therefore, be stated with confidence that in the analyzed articles, the phenomenon of a language barrier is presented as not only a hindrance but as being actively detrimental to learners.

4.5.5. *Construal of learners*

As has been mentioned in the earlier Parts, learners are central characters in the narratives about the language barrier in the analyzed texts. The analysis of the attitudinal references, which were used in the texts in relation to learners, reveals that their portrayal is a complex one. On the one hand, the learners are shown as helpless victims of the language barrier (see examples about personal and professional “failures” presented earlier) and command readers’ sympathy. At the same time, there are instances, which include the negative portrayal of learners as old-fashioned and inefficient. The example below is an instance of such construal.

Extract 4.6

Прилежный школяр, овладевший	<u>Diligent</u> school boy, having <u>mastered</u>
правилами грамматики, заучивший сотни	grammatical rules and <u>having learnt</u>
иностранных слов, не может	hundreds of new words, just can't start
«заговорить» /	speaking.

Source: rabota.ru.

The negative connotation in this example is achieved via the use of a noun “*школяр/shkolyar*,” perceived in Russian as an old-fashioned lexical item, which tends to be used about someone who learnt Latin and did a lot of drills. In other words, “*shkolyar*” may be interpreted as a compliant person but lacking in character – one who follows the rules but does not show any initiative. Such a construal is in stark contrast with the ideals, advocated by neoliberal competitive societies, where individuals are expected to be proactive and efficient. It is feasible that through portraying a learner as exerting effort but

not achieving results, the text might be covertly ridiculing the learner for employing inefficient learning methods and failing to embrace modern neoliberal ideology.

The theme of the futility of the prior studies is a common one in the analyzed texts. Over a half of the articles (21 out of 30 articles) refer to extensive prior experience, such as school and university studies, which have not produced the desired result. In doing so, the articles tend to highlight the years of learning which have allegedly been ineffective in helping learners to achieve the desired outcome, i.e. being able to converse in English. This is consistent with the construal of the language learning process, observed on the websites of private online language tutors.

Extract 4.7

<i>«Учу английский несколько лет, все понимаю, читаю и перевожу свободно, а вот за границу попал и ни слова не могу сказать. Даже таксисту адрес назвать. Ступор какой-то наступает!». Не правда ли, знакомые переживания?</i>	“I’ve been learning English for several years. I understand everything, easily translate but once I found myself abroad, I can’t say a single word. Even can’t say the address to a taxi driver. Got a mental block!” Sounds familiar, doesn’t it?
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Source: poliglotty.net

Extract 4.8

<i>Практически все мы в школах (а кто-то начинал и с детского сада) и институтах изучали иностранный язык, иногда, кстати, даже не один. Кто-то успешно, кто-то не очень, но, тем не</i>	Almost all of us in schools (and some of us started in childcare) and tertiary institutions studied a foreign language (and sometimes even more than one). Some of us were successful in it, some less so, but still, we
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<i>менее, мы отдали этому занятию</i>	dedicated a certain amount of time and
<i>определенное количество сил и времени.</i>	energy to it. We learned words, retold texts,
<i>Мы учили слова, пересказывали тексты,</i>	made up dialogues, wrote texts, passed
<i>сочиняли диалоги, писали тесты,</i>	exams and in theory, upon finishing these
<i>сдавали экзамены и в принципе, по</i>	activities, we were supposed to be able to
<i>завершении этих занятий</i>	use this knowledge. However, for some
<i>предполагалось, что мы будем способны</i>	reason it so happens that few of us can
<i>пользоваться этими знаниями. Но</i>	communicate with a foreigner even about
<i>почему-то так происходит, что мало</i>	everyday topics.
<i>кто из нас может пообщаться с</i>	
<i>иностранцем хотя бы на повседневные</i>	
<i>темы.</i>	

Source: edu.jobsmarket.ru

One can notice certain similarities in rhetorical devices used in the examples above and those associated with the discourse of advertising of weight-loss products, as both discourses highlight the futility of prior effort and the difficulty of obtaining the desired outcome (Heyes, 2006; McSeveny, 2009). Moreover, both discourses seem to manufacture the feeling of desperation and helplessness in readers, and suggest that external “expert help” or “miracle cure” is required to finally solve the previously “unsolvable” problem. It is also noteworthy how the writer of Extract 4.7 juxtaposes the “ability to translate easily” and “understanding everything” with the inability to “even say an address to the taxi driver.” In that, the ability to speak is compartmentalized from other language skills and presented as being hard to achieve even if other skills are present.

4.5.6. *Construal of mainstream educational institutions*

An important finding of this study is that some of articles analyzed explicitly placed the responsibility for learners' failure to achieve the desired result (which has already been discussed in detail earlier) on their prior learning experience. Nineteen out of thirty articles overtly state that public schools and universities should be held accountable for creating the language barrier in students and claim that teachers in these institutions often use the “wrong” educational methods, which causes this. Two extracts below serve as a good illustration of this trend.

Extract 4.9

<i>Страх сделать ошибку обычно</i>	The fear to make a mistake tends to result
<i>развивается из-за неправильного</i>	from the incorrect teaching approach or
<i>обучения или неправильно созданных</i>	wrong conditions of English language
<i>условий обучения английскому языку.</i>	teaching. As often as not, it is the fault of
<i>Зачастую это вина тех</i>	those teachers who used to teach this
<i>преподавателей, с которыми студент</i>	student. It is possible that they constantly
<i>когда-то занимался: возможно,</i>	corrected students' mistakes, without giving
<i>преподаватели постоянно исправляли</i>	them a chance to express themselves, which
<i>ошибки студента, не давая ему</i>	is wrong.
<i>выразить свою точку зрения, что</i>	
<i>неправильно</i>	

Source: iqschool.ru

Extract 4.10

<i>Одна из основных причин языкового барьера коренится в неприятных воспоминаниях о первом опыте изучения иностранного. Обычно, это школьный опыт. Согласитесь, стоять у доски и под смех товарищей и саркастические замечания педагога пытаться выдать что-то вроде «London is a capital city of the Great Britain», не слишком радостно.</i>	One of the main reasons of language barrier is rooted in negative memories of the first experience of learning a foreign language. Usually, it is school experience. You'll probably agree that standing up in front of the class and accompanied by other students' laughter and teachers' sarcastic comments, squeezing out something like "London is a capital city of the Great Britain" is not very pleasant.
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Source: chemodan.com.

Examples above demonstrate explicit disapproval of the methods allegedly popular in Russian secondary schools, and place the blame on previous teachers of learners "suffering from the language barrier" for creating an unfavourable learning environment. One of the articles even states, *"Those who have been broken by school and university need to go to English courses on the weekdays and go to pubs on the weekends."* The semantic choice "broken" is a highly expressive one, and encodes both the image of victimhood (discussed earlier in this paper) and the explicit placement of blame on secondary school.

4.5.7. "Solution" to "language barrier"

After discussing personal and professional problems, caused by the presence of the language barrier and revealing the alleged reasons for its existence, many articles offered

“solutions” to overcoming what they had previously framed as a serious problem and hindrance. The example above “*those who have been broken by school and university **need to go to English courses on the weekdays and go to pubs on the weekends***” (bold added by the author) succinctly summarizes what many articles suggested to be the solution to the language barrier. 25 out of 30 articles explicitly endorsed the effectiveness of studying in commercial language schools for overcoming the negative effects of the language barrier. What is more, some of the websites (e.g. *edu.jobsmarket.ru*) included the link to the website of a private English-teaching school, which could allegedly assist in overcoming the language barrier. Marketing and promotion of the private language schools was also done by other means. For example, the article on *e-personal.ru* presented interviews with several representatives from different commercial language schools and provided the names of these schools. In these interviews the school representatives overtly promoted the services of their respective schools by highlighting the “effective” teaching methods that the teachers in their schools used. This placement of overt and covert advertisements of the private language schools in the articles of the “general” blogs and websites (such as job-seekers websites) suggests that (at least) some of the articles had been written in conjunction with private language schools and were designed to pursue the interests of private language schools.

Overall, the analysis of both datasets (websites of private online tutors and articles, written about a language barrier in a variety of Russian media) showed consistent narratives and attitudinal references made by texts towards (i) the concept of “language barrier”, (ii) prior studies in government institutions and (iii) commercial English-teaching schools. Two of the former were portrayed as negative, while the latter was presented as positive. There was also a consistent portrayal of “overcoming the language barrier” as the ultimate goal of instruction, which serves as empirical evidence for the popularity of this concept in current English-teaching discourse in Russia.

4.6. Discussion

The key question that emerged from this study was why language learning and improvement of speaking skills is frequently framed by the analyzed texts as “overcoming the language barrier” rather than a number of other possibilities such as, for example, learning new vocabulary, improving pronunciation, pragmatic knowledge, fluency, etc. Any of these possibilities would be supported by the existing research on teaching speaking and would be rooted in methodological and pedagogical literature. And yet, instead of drawing on the current scientific understanding, the analyzed websites chose to unite under the banner of an abstract (and potentially fictional) concept of the “language barrier,” and declared “crashing through the language barrier” as the main goal of instruction.

There seem to be several possible explanations for this trend, such as the attempt of new teaching providers to justify their existence, as well as the spread of competitive market-oriented ideologies, which highlight the importance of constant self-improvement for a perceived success in market-oriented societies. Indeed, the transformation of English teaching from *just one of the subjects* into a profitable industry was foregrounded by a change of public perception towards English-learning. It is well-known that a popular way in capitalist societies to achieve a shift in public perception is to adopt such marketing techniques, as (i) re-branding the product or service and (ii) highlighting some problem that customers face and subsequently offering the solution to this problem. Based on this analysis, the concept of a language barrier seems to perform *all of the above* functions in the current English-teaching discourse in Russia. Specifically, portraying a language barrier as a serious enemy of Russian learners of English is instrumental in formulating a “new agenda” in language teaching and in doing so, creating a new discursive formation of language learning. This formation seems to be closely aligned with the commercial interests of the newly emerged teaching providers. What is more, by attributing the

existence of the language barrier to the “wrong” pedagogical practices of public schools, the identified discursive formation presents government-provided education as unacceptable and even detrimental. Therefore, promising to liberate students from the negative effect of a language barrier allows “for-profit” English-teaching providers to simultaneously justify their existence and to present themselves in a favourable light to potential consumers. Such self-presentation is not surprising: as mentioned earlier, creating and promulgating narratives about “problems” and then offering “solutions” to these problems is a well-established technique, used in advertising many products and services in capitalist societies.

At the same time, the concept “language barrier” might have gained popularity among Russian learners of English due to a potentially mitigating role that this concept plays in the adoption of neoliberal ideology, which promotes the spirit of accountability and competition. The tenet of market-based meritocratic beliefs is that accomplishments of an individual ought to be attributed to their personal merits. By the same token, however, this belief system implies that individuals ought to be held accountable for the lack of success. This negative self-attribution is problematic as it can create anxiety and loss of self-esteem among people (see De Botton, 2008; McNamee, 2009). Therefore, a possibility to “place blame” for learners’ inability to achieve a desired level of fluency on external rather than internal factors is likely to be attractive to many learners as it softens the unforgiving nature of the meritocratic ideology.

More crucially yet, while off-setting an unforgiving effect of meritocratic ideology, the identified narratives about “language barrier” still serve an important goal in market-oriented societies to promote the idea of competition and the necessity to invest in self-improvement. Indeed, the tendency of neoliberal societies to encourage continuous self-improvement and fighting with internal and external barriers has been discussed in the

literature before (see for example Rimke, 2000; Salecl, 2003; Young, 1994). Indeed, if a person is socialized to strive for self-improvement, this investment can increase the efficiency of individual members of society and thus lead to economic and social improvements in society.

To sum up, appropriating the broad concept of a language barrier, which both empathises with the learners and positions them as victims, allows newly emerged educational entrepreneurs (sometimes referred to as edupreneurs, see Leisey & Lavaroni, 2000) to re-brand language learning and present a new version of language learning, which not only allows justification of their existence and the promotion of their services to Russian learners of English, but also undermines the governmental educational system. The choice of the narrative about “a barrier” which holds learners back seems consistent with the neoliberal, meritocracy ideology which is being rapidly spread in Russia.

In conclusion, while the motto “break the language barrier” is not exclusive to language teaching in Russia and has been used by other commercial language institutions around the world (e.g. Bertitz language school), the discursive formation of “language barrier” in Russia seems rather unique, as it includes narratives about the origin of the language barrier. Further evidence of a language barrier being characteristic of the English-teaching discourse in Russia is the finding that the profiles of *Russian* teachers were considerably more likely to include the phrase “language barrier” than the profiles of their native speaking counterparts (for the purposes of this article defined as teachers from the English-speaking countries). It might be that English teachers residing in Russia are more exposed to the ideology described above and are therefore more likely to reproduce the narrative about a language barrier in their communication with students. Further research is needed to investigate this trend in more detail.

5. Chapter Five: Discursive Practices of Private Online Tutoring

Websites ⁵ (Paper Four)

5.1. Abstract:

A recent development in English teaching in Russia is the emergence of private *online* language-tutoring schools, which offer one-to-one lessons by means of audio/videoconferencing. It remains unclear (i) how these new providers of educational services are presenting themselves to the potential learners, (ii) what ideology they tend to draw on and (iii) whether there is sufficient similarity to conceptualize these websites as exemplars of the same genre. This paper employs the tools of Critical Discourse Analysis, Genre Theory and Appraisal within Systemic Functional Linguistics to study the language of 17 websites of private online language schools. The study aims to investigate whether the websites exhibit similar discourse and ideology and whether they might belong to the same ‘genre prototype’ (Paltridge, 1995). The analysis reveals a considerable thematic, structural and rhetorical similarity between the websites and a high presence of neoliberal ideology.

5.2. Introduction

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent transition to a market-oriented socio-economic system resulted in drastic changes across most of the Russian society. Language education is a prime example of this deep transformation, triggered by the fall of Communism and the adoption of neo-liberal ideology. As Russia was embracing the promise of neoliberalism that a free, competitive market is able to positively influence economic and social developments of the country (Centeno & Cohen, 2012; Harvey, 2005; Tickell & Peck, 2003), language teaching was rapidly transforming from the

⁵ This paper was originally published as Kozar, O (2014), Discursive practices of private online tutoring websites in Russia, *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 36 (4), p 1-15

governmentally-provided, not-for-profit sector into a commercial business with thousands of private schools competing for students.

There are several reasons why English learning has become very popular among Russian people after the collapse of the Soviet Union. First, similar to other countries, which have adopted neo-liberal political and economic orientation (see for example Tietze, 2004) knowing English has become an important characteristic of a successful individual and an explicit requirement for many professional positions in Russia (Eddy, 2007; Ter-Minasova, 2005; Ustinova, 2005). Even a cursory look at current Russian job listings shows that English skills are now a prerequisite in many industries and that job applicants are expected to possess at least a basic functional level of English. Second, Russian people started travelling abroad –a practice not available to the majority of Soviet people. According to Russian Bureau of Statistics, in 2012 Russian citizens travelled abroad 168 million times – a truly record number compared to few and strictly-regulated overseas visits during the Soviet times. Finally, the growth of the communication technologies and the increasing participation of Russian people in global Internet communities contributed to the growing popularity of English in Russia (Eddy, 2007).

However, the growing importance of English in the professional and personal domains alone does not account for the “unprecedented and ever-increasing urge” of Russian people to learn English (Ter-Minasova, 2005, p. 451). Another reason why English-learning became endemic in modern-day Russia is rooted in a relatively low communicative competence, achieved by many Russian learners of English after studying in secondary and tertiary institutions (Reshetnikova, 2011; Ustinova, 2005). It has been noted that for decades, due to the political and economic seclusion of Russia from the outside world, English was perceived as a system of grammatical rules, rather than a means of communication and was taught predominantly via grammar-translation exercises with

an emphasis on accuracy, rather than communicative skills (Lovtsevich, 2005; Ter-Minasova, 2005). Ter-Minasova (2005) gives a poignant recount of English-teaching practices during Soviet times:

“The English language was taught as a dead languagebecause the world of its users did not exist...For decades, ..., generations of teachers , who never set their eyes -or ears!-on a native speaker of a foreign language, taught generations of students, without any proper equipment, without authentic English Language Learning and Teaching (ELLT) materials” (p. 446-447).

As a result, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and a rapid marketization of many industries, a great number of Russian people, who had previously learnt English and were supposed to possess at least a basic level of English, found it challenging to actually use English for professional and personal communication and, therefore, felt the need to engage in language learning again.

5.3. New orientation of English teaching in Russia

The desire of Russian learners to improve their English skills has not gone unnoticed by investors and entrepreneurs. Thousands of private English- teaching schools have been opened in Russia since the collapse of the Soviet Union, making English-teaching in Russia a profitable and competitive market (Reshetnikova, 2011). Apart from private language schools, an army of individual tutors, *repetitory*, offer one-to-one or small group lessons to learners seeking help with the English language (Kozar, 2013).

One of the recent developments on the English-teaching market is the emergence of private *online* language teaching via audio/videoconferencing tools (e.g. Skype). Private online lessons can be sought directly from private online tutors or could be arranged via online tutoring services, of which there are dozens (Kozar, 2012b). The emergence of private online tutoring is not surprising –this practice is a manifestation of ‘e-lancing’ (freelancing

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service provided remotely via Information and Communication Technologies) – a trend that has been on the rise for at least 2 decades (Malone & Laubacher, 1998; Pyöriä, 2011) and often viewed as an “intrinsic component” of postmodern and neoliberal economies (Jackson & Wielen, 1998, p. 59). If the popularity of e-lancing and e-tutoring continues, hiring a private tutor online could become as popular as hiring a private tutor in the face-to-face context. However, it is unclear (i) how these new providers of educational services are presenting themselves to the potential learners, (ii) what ideology they tend to draw on and (iii) whether there is sufficient similarity to conceptualize these websites as the exemplars of the same genre. It is therefore important to study discursive practices of private online tutoring in order to understand this new phenomenon.

Of particular importance are the websites of private online tutoring schools, which are currently the most popular segment in the private online English services (Kozar, 2012b). Unlike ‘on-site’ English schools which employ banners, leaflets, TV, radio, newspaper and magazines advertisements, private *online* schools represent themselves almost exclusively via websites and tend to market their services via paid ‘key words’ campaigns on search engines and via placing links on other websites. Moreover, the websites of online schools can be viewed as important artefacts, capable of revealing a great deal about current English-teaching ideology in Russia. Therefore, the goal of this paper is to provide an analysis of the discourse used in selected websites (n=17) offering private online English language tuition to Russian learners of English. Specifically, this study examines the linguistic means through which potential meaning and impressions are constructed by private online tutoring schools in Russia on their websites.

This paper situates itself within the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992; Van Dijk, 1995; Wodak & Fairclough, 1997) and uses the methods of Thematic Analysis (Boyatzis, 1998), Genre Analysis (V. K. Bhatia, 1993; Paltridge, 1995;

J. Swales, 1990) and the tools of the Appraisal System within Systemic Functional Linguistics (J. Martin, 1992, 2000; J. Martin & White, 2005) to describe the language used by websites of private online language school. CDA was chosen as the theoretical framework through which to investigate the discursive practices of private online schools because it “offers a powerful arsenal of analytic tools that can be deployed in the close reading of editorials, op-ed columns, advertisements, and other public texts” (Huckin, 1997, p. 3), and it has been used in prior studies examining web-based sources (see for example H. Brown, Woods, Hirst, & Heck, 2006; Forbes & Weiner, 2008).

The focus on genre rests in the notion that websites are web-mediated documents and belong to a new type of genre system- web genres, sometimes referred to as digital or cyber genres (Rehm et al., 2008; Santini, Mehler, & Sharoff, 2011; Symonenko, 2007). Identifying the genre of texts produced by private online schools could allow “integrating the results of the separate linguistic analysis...into a whole”, which comes from genre’s capacity to encode conventions that transcend individual texts (van Leeuwen, 1993, p. 193). Studying the websites thematically, through the lens of genre theory and via the tools of Appraisal Theory allowed for a robust scholarly investigation. This study therefore (1) describes the genre of private online tutoring websites, by considering websites’ content, communicative purpose and rhetorical strategies (V. K. Bhatia, 1993; Paltridge, 1995; J. Swales, 1990); and (2) investigates the discursive practices employed by the website writers.

Determining the impact of private online tutoring on Russian society is beyond the scope of this paper; instead, this study provides some discourse-based findings which can inform future researchers as well as current stake-holders and policy-makers on the practices and ideologies of private online tutoring schools in Russia.

5.4. Websites of educational institutions

There are several studies that use discourse analysis for examining websites of various educational institutions. Forbes & Weiner (2008) look at websites of three Scottish Independent schools, Opoku, Abratt, & Pitt (2006) study the brand-construction of eleven South African Business Schools offering MBA programs, while Saichaie (2011) investigates website self-representation of twelve US tertiary institutions. It can be concluded from these studies that websites are used by educational institutions as a strategic tool for positioning and differentiating themselves on the educational market, building legitimacy and attracting students. These goals are achieved through highlighting the achievements and accomplishments of educational institutions and their alumni, presenting images of socially privileged and endorsed populations, such as white middle and upper class males, who the potential students might wish to identify with, and using relational language to create rapport with the websites' readers. Even though websites vary greatly in the particular discourses appropriated and promoted by the educational institutions, all of them draw on 'promotional discourse' to attract potential students.

5.5. Methodology

The data for this study are a corpus of websites of different private online tutoring schools operating in Russia in February-March 2013. The websites were identified using Yandex – the most popular search engine in Russia (LinkedIn, 2013). In order to be included, the websites had to belong to the 'online schools category', that is the websites that feature "two or more educators and used collective pronouns "we" and "us," and other distinctive organizational vocabulary ("our team"; "our expert team"; "specialists") to describe their services" (Kozar, 2012b, pp. 417-418). All the websites among the top 50 search results were screened and, if relevant, included in the analysis. After the necessary exclusions of irrelevant websites, such as social networking or forum posts, the total number of websites included in the corpus was 17. All the websites were written in Russian and the analysis

was conducted on the original Russian texts. The examples presented in this paper were subsequently translated into English by the author (a native Russian speaker).

Once identified, all pages on the relevant websites were saved using NCapture facility in NVivo10, and analysed qualitatively as well as quantitatively using Excel spreadsheets.

This study employed three types of analysis: (1) thematic analysis of all pages (n= 262) on the websites, performed to compare the websites across all the content; (2) thematic and (3) lexico-grammatical analysis of websites homepages (n=17), performed to compare the semantic and rhetorical strategies employed by the websites. As the linguistic analysis of all 262 pages in the corpus was deemed impractical given the time constraints of this study, the author performed the in-depth linguistic analysis of 17 homepages of the identified websites. The homepages were selected for the in-depth analysis due to their recognized importance for the websites, specifically due to the fact that homepages are the most frequently viewed pages on websites (T. Ryan, Field, & Olfman, 2002; Tan & Wei, 2007). The thematic analysis was performed inductively with coding emerging from the data (Seale, 2004) , while the linguistic analysis relied on the Appraisal tools of Systemic Functional Linguistics (J. Martin & White, 2005).

As a result, the coding of homepages was done for the following categories:

- a) Common themes (inductive analysis)
- b) Types of sentences (declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamatory)
- c) Rhetorical devices (use of pronouns, nominalization, colloquialisms, hedging, ellipses, jokes...etc)
- d) Appraisal elements (appreciation, judgement, mono/heterogloss, graduation)

The analysis of all 262 pages on the 17 websites' pages resulted in 262 codes, and the thematic and linguistic analysis, conducted on 17 homepages resulted in 1480 codes. The results of the analysis are discussed below.

5.6. Findings

The following part discusses the results of the webpage analysis of the websites, as well as the findings of the in-depth linguistic analysis of websites homepages.

5.6.1. All pages on websites

The analysis of 262 pages on 17 websites, which offer private English lessons to Russian learners via audio/videoconferencing (e.g. Skype), showed a considerable similarity between the websites. All 17 websites included pages on four broad categories:

- (1) Product pages, describing the types of lessons that can be taken with the schools;
- (2) Marketing pages, including testimonial, special offers...etc.;
- (3) Payment pages allowing readers to sign up and pay for the lessons or contact the school administration
- (4) Brand construction pages, featuring 'about the school' pages, mission statement pages, etc.

The summary of the elements and their frequency is presented in Table 5.1 below).

Table 5.1: Summary of pages on analysed websites

Websites elements	Frequency	Description
Essential page types	100% of the websites (all 17 websites)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Product pages: Information about lessons/ teachers profiles - Signing up pages: Application form, contact page
Highly frequent elements	Over 80% (over 14 websites)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Marketing pages: Testimonials of the existing students - Answers to logistical questions (technology and payments)
Frequent elements	47%-80% (8-14 websites)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School brand construction pages: About the school page; method - Further marketing pages: Discounts and special offers, blog - Rules page: Legal contract
Optional elements	23%-47% (4-8 websites)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Further brand construction pages: Advantages of the school, Mission statement

As can be seen from Table 5.1, the type content was consistent across the 17 websites. The elements found on all 17 websites included: pages describing the types of offered lessons (product pages), profiles and information about schools' teachers (product pages), lesson pricing and 'signing up tools', such as an application form or a contact form (signing up pages). For self-promotion and marketing, 14 out of 17 websites featured testimonial pages where previous and existing students shared their experience. Over 9 websites had pages introducing the school and discussing teaching methods employed in the school ('brand construction' pages) as well as various 'marketing' pages, such as special offers, discounts and gift vouchers. For building a positive image, 8 out of 17 websites described the advantage of their respective schools over other schools, while 7 out of 17 websites had a 'mission statement' page – both of which can be viewed as a further 'brand construction' of the schools.

The finding that all of the websites had a 'signing up tool' such as a payment page, invites the conclusion that the websites are appellative in nature (i.e. encourage the addressee to act in a particular way, see Noth, 1987).

An interesting finding of the study was that the 'teachers' pages tended to be the longest and the most detailed pages on the analysed websites. The teachers' page often included: photographs, information on each teacher's education and prior teaching experience, accompanied by an audio or video-greeting recorded by teachers, as well as personal information, such as hobbies and interests. In general, the 'teachers' page was several times longer than other pages and included the most multimodal content.

5.6.2. Websites homepage

The following Part presents the results of the thematic and linguistic analysis of the 17 homepages. The homepages ranged from 48-434 words, with the majority of the front pages having 200-300 words.

Popular themes

Several themes emerged as prominent after the in-depth inductive analysis of 17 homepages. Table 5.2.2 provides the summary of the themes organized under four broad categories. The numbers in brackets provide the frequency of the theme in the analysed corpus.

Table 5.2: Thematic summary of homepages

Result of online lessons	Process of online lessons	Cost-effectiveness of online lessons	Other themes
Effectiveness (17) Positive outcomes (16) Professional teachers(17) Customization of lessons (9)	Comfort (17) Flexibility (16) Saving time (10) Excitement (6)	Affordability (15) Opportunity to cancel at no cost(6)	Comparing online learning with face-to-face context (4) Justification of the mode (Skype) (4) Necessity of learning English (5) Possibility to study at any age (3)

As can be observed from Table 5.2.2, several themes were particularly frequent on the homepages of the websites. These themes included: comfort, professionalism of teachers, effectiveness of lessons, flexibility of arranging lessons, positive outcomes and affordability of lessons. It can thus be concluded that the websites aspire to portray themselves to the potential students as attending to three areas: achieving results,

convenience and cost-effectiveness. Some websites emphasize their distinctive benefits over face-to-face learning context by highlighting the disadvantages associated with learning face-to-face, such as the necessity to commute to lessons or higher financial costs of face-to-face lessons. The frequent references to effectiveness and positive outcomes of lessons are designed to convince the potential students to sign up for lessons. References to saving time, the opportunity to cancel at no cost and advantages of learning via Skype act as further marketing means. Overall, the homepages of the websites draw heavily on promotional and advertising discourse by reminding the readers of the necessity to learn English and urging readers to select their on-line schools over other forms of language-learning.

Lexicogrammatical choices

The in-depth analysis of the lexico-grammatical choices showed that the homepages of private online English schools had a high number of interpersonal linguistic devices.

First, the websites frequently employed direct address in the form of pronouns ‘you’ and ‘your’ when communicating with the reader. The total number of instances of direct address in the corpus was 145 with the total number of sentences 309, which suggests that the direct address was used on average in every second sentence. Below are some examples of direct addresses (all the translations from Russian were done by the author/ authors’ highlighting in bold/ three original Russian excerpts are presented in both Russian and English for illustration).

(1) Have **you** decided to learn English? But **you** don’t have time to Elf-english.ru
attend classes? We’d like to offer **you** an excellent solution --
lessons online via skype.

(2) Do **you** want to improve your English? But **you**, are most likely, unwilling to ‘surrender’ to regular courses? Because it is expensive. Very expensive. Inefficient. Right-school.ru

(3) **You** won’t waste your time commuting to the lessons. At a designated time the teacher will call **you** and will conduct an interesting lesson via Skype. Internet access, headphones and a microphone- is all that **you**’ll need for a lesson. SkyEnglish.ru

Second, many websites commonly deployed an informal conversational style, such as in the examples below:

(4) Please say this phrase out loud “Hello, My name is (your name) and I want to learn English by Skype”. **Bravo! You see, you can already speak English!** EnglishGrad.ru

(5) After studying with us, you’ll be able to express your thoughts **SO** easily and correctly, that **even stuck-up Brits** will admire you. EnglishGrad.ru

(6) The practice has already shown that learning English via Skype is **way** more effective than using traditional methods. Englishdom.com

The dataset included 83 instances coded as ‘conversational’. This use of an informal register (M. Halliday, 1994) may be strategic as it contributes to reducing interpersonal distance between the writer and the reader. The use of conversational style is a common strategy employed in advertising and promotional discourse, as it invokes personal reactions from the readers or invites addressees to identify with the text (Fuertes-Olivera,

Velasco-Sacristán, Arribas-Baño, & Samaniego-Fernández, 2001; Stern, 1994). This function also performs a social-aligning role and can create an impression that the writers are familiar with the readers or that there might be an existing relationship between them. Such strategies can help writers to achieve their overarching aim –to convince the readers to purchase products or services (Harris, Sturm, Klassen, & Bechtold, 1986).

Mood

The analysis of the mood choices in the corpus revealed that apart from the declarative clauses (n=255), the websites also employed interrogative (n=35), imperative (n=19) and exclamatory (n=40) clauses. Nearly 20 per cent of the clauses therefore were questions or commands and non-declarative.

The function of most interrogative clauses was to appeal to and even to flatter the reader by asking them to identify with a socially desirable image, such as ‘a modern person who is keeping up with the progress’, like in the examples below:

(10) Are you active, modern and keeping up with progress? Skype-
language.com

(11) Do you want to study in from the comfort of your home? At a Skype-study.ru
convenient time from work? While you are away on a business trip
or on your trip abroad?

The image construed by the clauses above is an attractive one –after all, it tends to be socially –sanctioned and desirable to be ‘modern’, ‘keep up with progress’ and seek convenience.

Some interrogative clauses were presented as pre-empting potential questions that readers might have.

(12) **Why** from all the wide range of choices in learning English via EnglishDen.ru
skype should you select 'EnglishDen'?

(13) **Why** so cheap? English-by-
skype.ru

(14) **What** can you start with? Via-skype.ru

Upon a closer observation, however, it becomes clear that these clauses are used by the websites as a pretext to present desirable information or highlight particular aspects to the readers.

The majority of imperative clauses on the analysed websites urged the reader to take action and purchase lessons at these schools, like in the examples below:

(15) **Sign up** for the trial class and **find out** why the most critical Humanenglish.com
clients choose us!

(16) **Order** a free test lesson and **experience** the specifics and the Via-Skype.ru
advantages of learning online!

Often the imperative clauses were realized via the exclamatory mood, thus intensifying the rhetorical effect of the commands.

Some imperative clauses functioned as slogans or drew parallels between learners' previous experiences and the offered paid services.

(17) **Выучи** английский язык в новом веке по-новому! Englden.ru

Learn English in the new century in a new way!

(18) **Remember** your school or university. What percentage of teachers were real professionals, able to deliver the material well? Right-school.ru

Overall, the websites employed a variety of mood choices, including interrogative, imperative and exclamatory to achieve their strategic goals.

Appraisal Analysis

Appraisal theory provides the framework for analysing linguistic resources used by writers to encode their feelings, judgements and stances towards the content of the texts (J. Martin & White, 2005). The following Part discusses the appraisal devices used by the websites of private online schools in Russia in communicating with their readers.

Positive attitude

The appraisal analysis revealed that the websites used a great number of positive appreciation and judgement and frequently heightened their claims with high force graduation devices (see examples below).

(19) You can let your teacher know what you'd like to spend more time on- speaking practice, listening, pronunciation or writing. The teacher will **definitely** (high intensity graduation) **take your suggestions into account** (invoked positive judgement of the teacher). Elf-English.ru

(20) **All** (high intensity graduation) our clients are regular clients (invoked positive appreciation of the online school). EnglishDen.ru

(21) **Every** (high intensity graduation) **course designed by us** is **unique!** (inscribed positive appreciation of the school's courses).

(22) **Our experienced teachers** (inscribed positive judgement of HumanEnglish.com the teachers) from the USA and Great Britain will teach you to **feel confident** (inscribed positive affect) in **any** (high intensity graduation) situation.

The in-depth appraisal analysis revealed that the websites were highly positive when they talked about their respective online schools, their teachers, the processes and the outcome of the lessons.

(23) English via Skype is a **new** (positive appreciation of English via English-and-Skype), **unbelievably convenient** (positive appreciation of English via Skype.ru Skype), and **effective** (inscribed positive appreciation of English via Skype), method of learning the English language.

(24) Learn English via skype with **the best teachers** (positive SkyEng.ru judgement of teachers), who have undergone a **careful selection** (inscribed positive appreciation of schools' selection process and invoked positive judgement of teachers, who managed to pass through the selection process).

Negative attitude

All the instances (n=20) of negative attitude expressed on the websites were pertinent to people who do not learn foreign languages or to the competing onsite and online companies. The examples below illustrate these instances.

(25) If a **person doesn't develop** (invoked negative judgement of those who do not learn English), they stop being interesting for anybody. EnglishGrad.ru

(26) **A person who does not possess sufficient English skills** (negative judgement of those who do not possess sufficient English skills) **is limited in their communication possibilities** (inscribed negative judgement of those who do not possess sufficient English skills). Melene.ru

(27) Do you want to improve your English? But you, are most likely, **unwilling** (inscribed negative affect) to **'surrender' to regular courses** (inscribed negative judgement of regular courses)? Because it is **expensive** (negative appreciation of regular courses). **Very expensive** (negative appreciation of regular courses). And **inefficient** (negative appreciation of regular courses). **Absolutely** (graduation of the earlier tokens). A group of 14 people who **waste your time and money** (negative judgement of the students In the group classes) and all **compete for the attention of the teacher** (invoked negative appreciation of 'regular courses'). A Russian teacher with a **questionable qualification** (inscribed negative judgement of 'a Russian teacher' at regular courses). Right-school.ru

(28) We are different from the **websites** that **simply offer** to have speaking practice with native speakers (negative appreciation of competing websites) in exchange for payment. It is an **unprofessional approach** (negative appreciation of competing websites' approach), because after 2-3 lessons **after the initial excitement** (positive affect) of meeting each other and telling each other what you do and where you live, your interlocutor **would not know what to do with you** (negative Ilya Frank school

judgement of 'your interlocutor').

Monogloss/heterogloss

As can be seen from numerous examples above (e.g. examples 3, 9, 15,16, 20-24), the writers of the websites adopted a confident, non-negotiable stance towards “the value positions being referenced in the text and with respect to those they address” (J. Martin & White, 2005, p. 92). Using Bakhtin’s terms, few contradictory opinions or points of view were referenced in the analysed texts making these texts highly monoglossic in nature (Bakhtin, 1981). A salient illustration of this monoglossic position is Example 21 (*Every course designed by us is unique*), wherein a proposition of the uniqueness of each course, designed at this school, is made in a ‘fact-like’ manner without a possibility of alternative interpretations being encoded in the proposition.

There are few instances of heteroglossic statements in the analysed data. Some of them include linguistic hedges in declarative clauses , specifically: (1) “*Skype-Language school is able to arrange an efficient process*”/ (2) “*Studying this way, it is possible to obtain knowledge, which will allow...*”/ (3) “*But you are, most likely, unwilling to..*”, the purpose of which appears to be to soften the strength of the argument, rather than acknowledge the existence of alternative truths. The author of the following statement, for example: “*Do you want to improve your English? But you are, most likely, unwilling to ‘surrender’ to regular courses?*” could have instead used “you might be unwilling”, which would acknowledge a possibility of the reader not feeling ‘unwilling’. The author’s linguistic choice, however, creates a more confident stance towards the proposition and can therefore be viewed as strategic. What is more, the majority of heteroglossic devices used in the texts appear to be of contractive, rather than of expanding nature as in the following sentence: “*There is no need (contracting heterogloss/deny, negation) to go anywhere*”. Even though negation functions as “a resource for introducing the alternative position” (J.

Martin & White, 2005, p. 118), it tends to highlight the propositions put forward by the negations and limit alternative possibilities. This rhetorical effect of contracting can indeed be observed in the sentence above, which stresses the convenience of ‘not having to go anywhere’ and portrays learning via skype as the best alternative to other methods of instruction. Overall, it can be concluded that the choices made by the writers of the websites act as restricting rather than acknowledging possibilities different from those proposed in the analysed texts.

5.7. Discussion

The results of this study suggest that there is sufficient similarity between the websites’ content, communicative purpose and rhetorical strategies to warrant viewing the websites of private online language schools in Russia as the same ‘genre prototype’ (Paltridge, 1995).

The primary communicative purpose of the websites seems to be marketing and selling one-to-one English lessons conducted via audio/video conferencing tools, like Skype. The marketing discourse chiefly highlights professional and personal qualities of the websites’ instructors, via claims of effectiveness of this mode of delivery and via a limited or negative portrayal of other alternatives.

Centre stage is given to the teachers of online schools – on some websites, the length of the ‘teachers’ pages was ten times longer than the average length of other pages. It is because a considerable space is dedicated to personal profiles of teachers accompanied by photographs, personal stories and audio-recordings. The implication is that providing information about the tutors (age, photographs and personal interests) might create an opportunity for students to engage with their future teachers prior to meeting them. This foregrounding of teachers combined with relatively short descriptions of lessons might even create an impression that private online schools ‘sell’ teachers, rather than lessons. It

could be partially true considering that it appears that many online schools in the analysed corpus do not have a fixed curriculum and act as intermediaries between teachers and students.

Another observation in relation to ‘selling’ teachers is that the majority of the websites which had ‘native speakers’ and ‘Russian teachers’ (10 out of 13) had different prices for these categories of teachers. Purchasing lessons with a ‘native-speaking’ teacher tended to be on average 30% more expensive than purchasing lessons with a Russian teacher, regardless of the teachers’ qualifications. Such a policy is a real-life example that, despite numerous calls from researchers (see for example Canagarajah, 1999; Davies, 2008; Piller, 2002) and language teaching organizations (TESOL, 1992, 2006), to put a stop to differentiating between native and non-native speakers and discriminatory hiring practices (Clark & Paran, 2007; Mahboob, 2003), the ‘native speaker fallacy’, proclaiming that ‘the ideal teacher is a native speaker’ (Phillipson, 1992, p. 185) appears to be very much alive in private online tutoring discourse. By charging different prices for native and non-native teachers, online schools, in effect, promote the ideology that native speaking teachers are superior to their Russian counterparts, which can be expected to have a negative effect on Russian teachers’ professional identity and their status in society.

An interesting feature of the analysed websites was the perceived boldness and the strength of websites’ claims, as evidenced by monoglossic, high intensity statements. Many websites seemed to bypass the ‘hidden persuaders’ popular in western advertising discourse (Packard, 1980). Instead, the Russian websites relied on a combination of commands, positive appreciations and judgements, high intensity graduation, and a strong monoglossic style to urge the readers to buy the lessons. In this, the websites of private online schools seem to differ from the websites of formal educational institutions discussed earlier in this paper, as the latter tend to employ more subtle persuasive techniques and

communicate more covertly. Perhaps, this ‘bold’ rhetorical style reflects the desire of private online schools to attract customers’ attention and to establish the ‘product’ on the market- the process which has been conceptualized as ‘Stage one’ of advertising history and has been well-described for popular consumer products in North American and European market in the early 20th century (Myers, 1994). Another explanation for the ‘bold’ rhetorical style may be rooted in Russia’s history. In some ways, the rhetorical style of the websites resembles that of the Soviet propaganda, which tended to use grandiose and emotionally-charged language to address the audience (Thom, 1989). It might be that the language of the websites, in fact, draws on the rhetorical tools familiar to Russian people from Soviet times. More research is needed to investigate this hypothesis.

Another issue that demands discussion is the pedagogical claims made by the websites. The majority of websites in the analysed corpus described their teaching method as ‘communicative approach’ with a particular focus on ‘fluency and accuracy’. One of the websites stated on its homepage: “Our formula is simple and effective: you speak + we correct = your fluency and accuracy improves”. No other effort, such as doing homework, and/or analysing mistakes, are mentioned. It needs to be noted that the websites of private online schools are not unique in this practice –the tendency of commercial schools to portray a simplistic view of communicative language learning has been noted before (e.g.Savignon, 1990). However, the analysed websites seem to be particularly strong in their claims and market their lessons as an ‘all-you-need-to-do-is-enrol’ *fait accompli*. A key criticism of such a portrayal of the language-learning process is that it fails to acknowledge students’ responsibility for the learning outcome. Therefore, if learners get influenced and embrace the ‘all-you-need-to-do-is-enrol’ belief, they might invest insufficient time and effort in language learning and as a result might fail to achieve the desired level of English. At the same time, teachers might experience pressure to assume a greater responsibility for the learning outcome and teach learners in such a way that

learners acquire the language without much effort outside the classroom. Thus, promoting language learning as a financial transaction may have negative effect both on the learning outcomes and on the teachers' well-being. Moreover, as neoliberal rhetoric from private educational services becomes embedded in society and learners' consciousness, it may exert discursive pressure on primary, secondary and tertiary institutions to embrace commodification of education. This adoption of market-oriented principles by mainstream institutions has been viewed as highly controversial, as it may undermine the principles of social justice and equality in accessing educational opportunities (Ball, 2006; Levin, 2005; Singleton-Jackson, Jackson, & Reinhardt, 2010).

5.8. Conclusion

Considering that during the Soviet times private teaching and entrepreneurship was frowned upon and could even be prosecuted, the very presence and the richness of information about private tutoring available in modern-day Russia (see also Kozar, 2013) attest to the deep changes that have happened in Russian society in the last two decades. This paper set out to investigate the discourses portrayed by a selection of websites of private online language tutoring schools in Russia and argues that there is sufficient similarity between these websites to view them as exemplars of the same discourse and belonging to the same genre. As shown in the analysis, the websites clearly adopt market-oriented approach of language learning and position learners as customers of educational services, whose main responsibility is to purchase a package of lessons. The presence of market-ideology in private online tutoring discourse becomes particularly evident after the linguistic and the discourse analysis, which reveals the specific ways in which the websites, offering private language tutoring to language learners in Russia construct the image of language lessons as a purchasable service.

This article constitutes only an initial step towards understanding the discourses of private online language teaching in Russia. There are many aspects of this phenomenon that remain unexamined, such as the relationship between the online and face-to-face tutoring in Russia and the role that the emergence and the growth of private online tutoring might have on its face-to-face counterpart. Thus, further research on the discourses surrounding online private tutoring in Russia and other countries is recommended to provide additional insights into the self-presentation of private tutors and online schools, and the impact of private online tutoring on societies.

PART TWO AFTERWORD



Part Two (Papers Two, Three and Four) answer the questions of who currently offers private online language lessons to Russian learners of English, and what ideologies these providers seem to draw on. These investigations are important for understanding the social structures and social practices of private online tutoring in Russia.

Paper Three and Paper Four reveal particular ways in which the most common type of provider (private online schools) present themselves to potential students. It is noteworthy that the websites foreground the emotional and socially engaging nature of lessons. As detailed in Paper Four, the websites present their classes as enjoyable, exciting and interesting – the descriptions aimed to appeal to learners’ emotions and present language learning as an activity that can be taken up for leisure. There are also many references to ‘customization’ and ‘focusing on the learner’, which can be interpreted as promises of ‘learner-centeredness’ of classes with private online tutors.

From a Faircloughian perspective, the investigation of the discursive construal of the concept ‘the language barrier’ along with role that the narrative about ‘the language barrier’ plays in the larger discursive structure of language education in Russia is a fascinating snapshot of the ‘inculcation’ of the neoliberal market-oriented discourse with the discourse of language learning (Fairclough, 2003). It is significant that private online schools juxtapose themselves with traditional language education and present themselves as ‘agents of change’, who can break through students’ language barrier. This simplistic representation of language learning, discussed in Papers Three and Four, downplays students’ effort and appeals to the ‘customer’. In other words, by presenting language learning as ‘all-you-need-to-do-is-to-enrol’ activity, which, apart from pragmatic results,

can bring enjoyment and satisfaction, learners are encouraged to ‘take on’ language learning as a hobby or a potentially useful way to pass time. As noted by Fairclough (2003), “commercial texts contribute to shaping people’s identities as ‘consumers’” (p.8), and websites in Papers Two, Three and Four draw on market-oriented discourses to construct and position students as ‘consumers’.

As will be shown in Part Three, learners seem to have embraced this market-oriented ideology and tend to expect ‘result-providing’ language teachers, who will be accountable for the services that they provide.

In sum, the key significance of Part Two of this thesis is that even though private online language tutoring is a new social phenomenon, which did not exist a decade ago, there are already conventions emerging as to what a website of a provider of online tutoring should include and how the providers should present themselves to their potential students. These representations are rooted in market-oriented advertising discourse and present language learning as purchasable and enjoyable commodity.

PART THREE: A CLOSE-UP ON STUDENTS



The previous parts (Part One and Part Two) investigated current social, economic, and ideological aspects of the context in which LEVAC occurs in Russia, and the orientations of LEVAC providers. The findings of Paper One, Two and Three provide a broader picture of how language education is construed and discursively constructed in Russia, and what features of language teaching are valued and foregrounded to potential customers in online schools' self-representation to potential customers.

The following part (Part Three) examines *students* of private online language tutors – those language learners who hire private online language tutors. Specifically, Part Three seeks to answer the following questions: who are the learners hiring private online language tutors; what are their self-reported reasons for learning and what do they expect from their private online language tutors? These questions are important since they help to understand private online language tutoring from the learners' perspective.

There is some asymmetry in the length of Part Two (three papers on providers) and Part Three (one paper on learners). This asymmetry in length is due to a disparity in access to data on the respective stakeholders. While information about the providers of private online tutoring services is publically available via online schools' websites, information about the *customers* of private online language tutors is not easily accessible.

It is precisely for this reason that Paper Five constitutes a particularly valuable contribution to the literature, as, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, this is the first scholarly investigation to have reported on a previously unexamined population: English learners, who hire private online language tutors.

6. Chapter Six: Customers (Paper Five) ⁶

6.1. Abstract

There is a growing phenomenon of private online language tutoring worldwide, wherein learners hire language teachers via the Internet for one-to-one lessons. Research has yet to examine private online language learners and their characteristics. This exploratory study explored whether there is a statistically significant relationship between these learners' demographic characteristics, stated learning goals, prior learning experience and learners' expectations of their future tutors. In the study, statistical methods were used to analyze 121 application forms from one private online tutoring company in Russia. Findings reveal that the majority of learners are adult learners, and hire private online tutors for work-related and examination-related reasons. A significant correlation was found between learners' stated goals and their expectations of their future teachers. Learners who were studying for an exam tended to use such adjectives as 'strict' and 'demanding' when describing their 'ideal' teachers, while learners studying for work-related purposes reported desiring a 'result-providing' instructor. These findings were discussed in light of the self-determination theory and relevant studies on language learning motivation.

6.2. Introduction

Learning and teaching outside mainstream educational institutions has become more widespread and varied in recent decades, thanks to various online resources brought by the digital revolution. An increasing number of language learners worldwide, both 'digital natives' and those who started using technology later in life are now relying on Internet-based materials and services to help them achieve their learning goals. This paper is the

⁶ This paper has been published as Kozar, O & Sweller, N.,(2014), An Exploratory Study of Demographics, Goals and Expectations of Private Online Language Learners from Russia, *System*, 45 , p 39-51.

The respective contributions of authors are as follows: the contribution of Olga Kozar was the design of the study, data collection, data analysis, literature review, theoretical framework, interpretation of findings, and writing of the paper. The contribution of Naomi Sweller to this paper was providing statistical support and writing the parts that describe the statistical results.

first attempt to explore a new and a growing population – those students who choose to hire private language tutors and have lessons via popular audio/video chat tools (e.g., Skype). There are theoretical and practical reasons to study these students as it will (i) contribute to our understanding of a new social practice in the field of language learning and (ii) inform a wider educational community about a shifting demographic of current language learners, who are complementing or substituting their studies in mainstream educational institutions with private online tutorials. This study is particularly timely, considering that there are compelling reasons to expect private online tutoring to become widespread in the coming decade. Ventura & Jang (2010) conceptualized ‘e-tutoring’ from the globalization and offshoring lens and argued that there are sufficient economic grounds to predict a rapid growth of private tutoring via the Internet. Empirical data supports this prediction: a report by Global Industry Analysts (2012) indicated a sizeable rise in the online tutoring market and a recent study on private online language teaching in Russia suggests that there are hundreds of online tutoring websites offering language teaching services to Russian learners of English via tools like Skype (Kozar, 2012b).

Against this backdrop of the rapidly increasing industry of private online tutoring worldwide, this exploratory study seeks to (i) study a broad range of characteristics, such as age, gender, stated learning goals, expectations and prior learning experience of Russian learners of English who hire private online tutors via one private online company and (ii) to explore the potential relationships between the abovementioned factors using a sample of students from one private online tutoring company.

6.2.1. English teaching in Russia

English language teaching in Russia has undergone a major transformation in the last 20 years (Ter-Minasova, 2005; Ustinova, 2005). The two decades which followed the collapse of the Soviet Union and the adoption of neo-liberal market ideology saw an unprecedented

interest in learning English. Fuelled by the demands of the new economy and a new globalized lifestyle, knowing English has become a highly desired and sought-after skill in professional and personal domains in Russia. These societal changes have coincided with the growth of information technology and rapid globalization, which also acted as a catalyst for learning English. This increased interest towards learning English has led to the growth of the private English-teaching industry in Russia, which is currently comprised of thousands of private language schools (Reshetnikova, 2011) and a great number of private language teachers, offering language teaching services to students of different ages (Kozar, 2013). An important recent development in the Russian language-teaching market is the emergence of private *online* language tutoring services (Kozar, 2012b). Such services tend to market themselves as capable of improving students' fluency via one-to-one speaking lessons with native speakers of English from different parts of the world. However, there is a paucity of research on this context and neither the learning goals, nor the expectations of learners hiring private one-to-one tutors online or the relationship between these factors have been investigated by prior research. Therefore, this study seeks to explore the following questions:

- 1) What are the demographic characteristics and prior learning experience of Russian learners of English who choose to hire private online language tutors?
- 2) Is there a relationship between students' demographic characteristics, prior learning experience and their expectations of their future instructors?

While there is evidence that there are considerable similarities between discursive practices of private online language schools in Russia (Kozar, 2014a) findings from this study should not be generalized to other private online learners from Russia. Instead, this study aims to provide baseline data on a previously unexamined population and to motivate future research.

The paper is structured as follows: Part 3 describes the use of synchronous online tools in language teaching. Part 4 reviews the literature on demographic characteristics of private and online learners, students' perceptions of effective teachers, and expectations of future instruction, and Part 5 provides the theoretical background for the subsequent presentation and discussion of the findings, which are provided in Parts 6-8.

6.2.2. Language learning via synchronous online tools

The emergence of private 'Skype' language teaching is not surprising. The use of synchronous computer-mediated communication in language teaching has become widely accepted in the last decade (see Regine Hampel & Hauck, 2004; Regine Hampel & Stickler, 2012; G. Johnson, 2006; Sykes, 2005). Numerous studies have investigated the potential of audio/videoconferencing tools for improving various aspects of the language learning process (for example Acar, 2007; Develotte, Guichon, & Vincent, 2010; Freiermuth & Jarrell, 2006; Xiao & Yang, 2005). There seems to be a consensus in the literature that real-time synchronous online tools (such as text chat and audio/video conferencing) are capable of providing language learners with rich interaction opportunities necessary for language learning and development. This view is grounded in socio-constructivist learning theory, which posits that knowledge and learning are socially constructed and therefore require social interactions, negotiation of meaning and dialogues with peers and more capable others (Palincsar, 1998; Vygotsky, 1978).

6.3. Prior research on demographic characteristics of private and online learners

In the absence of any research investigating demographic characteristics of customers of private online tutors, we review studies on the demographic characteristics of customers of face-to-face tutors, as well as studies investigating the demographic characteristics of online learner populations in mainstream education. The findings of these studies are used

as a reference point for analyzing our data on the demographic characteristics of private online English learners from Russia.

6.3.1. Customers of private face-to-face tutors

The social practice of private tutoring is considerably less researched than teaching in mainstream educational contexts due to the unregulated and free-lance nature of private tutoring. One-to-one tutoring also tends to operate “behind closed doors”, which limits research access to this learning environment (Gaunt, 2009, p. 2). As a result, little has been documented specifically in regards to demographic characteristics of learners engaged in private face-to-face tutoring. However, existing literature appears to point to some trends associated with customers of private face-to-face tutors worldwide.

First, a common conceptualization of private tutoring as ‘shadow education’ suggests that a considerable portion of private face-to-face tutees worldwide are school-aged children and teenagers, who use private tutoring as a tool to improve their performance in mainstream education systems (Baker, Akiba, LeTendre, & Wiseman, 2001; Mark Bray, 2010; Ireson & Rushforth, 2005; Southgate, 2009). Some studies also report that hiring a private tutor is strongly associated with students finishing school and taking high stakes standardized examinations (Mark Bray & Kwok, 2003; Buchmann, Condron, & Roscigno, 2010). This trend is particularly evident in countries where the results of school examinations are used by tertiary institutions to assess the suitability of applicants.

Second, there might be a link between gender and students’ likelihood of participating in private tutoring. Kim & Lee (2002) report that more Korean females than males were participating in private tutoring; this gender bias, however, was not confirmed by other studies investigating customers of private online tutors in other countries (Dang, 2007; Elbadawy, Assaad, Ahlburg, & Levison, 2007).

Third, the demographic characteristics of face-to-face tutees may be linked with a country's socio-economic status. It has been proposed that countries with competitive market economies as well as those countries that have recently transitioned from a communist economy to a neoliberal one may have a higher rate of private tutoring than other countries (Silova & Bray, 2006). As for Russia, a recent study on advertisements placed by private face-to-face tutors in Moscow City suggests that (i) English appears to be the most frequently offered subject for private tuition in Moscow, and (ii) private English lessons are advertised to learners of different ages, including school-aged children and adults (Kozar, 2013). To the best of our knowledge, no prior studies have examined customers of private tutors in Russia and the present study aims to fill in this gap by reporting on the characteristics and expectations of Russian learners of English who hire private tutors online.

6.3.2. Demographic characteristics of online learners

Online learners are defined here as those learners who access instruction and conduct learning activities via the Internet. Prior studies examining the demographic characteristics of online learners were conducted mostly in tertiary contexts and identified several trends in the types of learners who are likely to choose an online form of delivery over traditional face-to-face learning. Cronin (1998) notes that online learners tend to be older than traditional students, predominately female and have family and financial obligations. More recent studies support these findings – for instance, a large-scale project surveying 99,040 students from 108 institutions in North America report that the majority of online students in 2008-2011 were females who were employed full-time and owned their own home (Noel-Levitz, 2011). Studies from other countries seem to report similar findings (Conrad, 2002; Diaz, 2002; Lawson, Comber, Gage, & Cullum-Hanshaw, 2010; Palloff & Pratt, 2003; Tyler-Smith, 2006). However, based on some reports from the UK, there could be a

shift in the age of a ‘typical’ online learner; according to Open University (UK) administration, there has been an unprecedented 36% increase in the number of 18-24 year old students enrolling an online degree (OU, 2009). This ‘surge’ in young students, which has been linked to financial and lifestyle reasons, challenges the traditional view of distance students as predominately adult learners (Bowcott, 2011). As per January 2014, the Open University (UK) website reports that 27% of their new undergraduates are younger than 25 years old (OU, 2014). This is a sizeable percentage and suggests that distance students should not be conceptualized as mature adults.

However, caution is necessary when generalizing from the findings of the studies above to other contexts, as most of these studies (except for OU administration reports) relied on survey data attained from volunteers, which might have produced a certain response bias and resulted in a limited representation of online learners (Kraut, Banaji, Bruckman, Cohen, & Couper, 2004). Moreover, the majority of empirical data on distance learners comes from European or North American contexts. Currently there are no detailed investigations of distance learners in Russia, which means a comparison of the findings of this study examining Russian customers of private online tutors with findings regarding the ‘typical’ online learner in Russian mainstream educational institutions is not possible.

6.3.3. Students’ expectations and perceptions of effective teachers

Students’ expectations of their future instructors deserve close investigation, since expectations play an important role in many human activities (Hawkins, 2010; Mondloch, Cole, & Frank, 2001; Taris, Feij, & Capel, 2006). Tannen (1993) describes expectations as “being at the root of a wave of theories and studies”, such as schema theory in psychology, script theory in sociology and frame theory in linguistics (p. 15) and various intellectual traditions have generated different perspectives on this phenomenon. Despite the seeming importance of expectations for the process and the outcome of language learning, there is a

paucity of research investigating expectations held by learners *prior to* meeting their future instructors in private online language tutoring. Those few studies that did consider learners' expectations of their instructors were conducted in institutional group settings (schools and tertiary institutions) and suggest that learners from different cultural backgrounds value and expect different qualities from their foreign language teachers (Banno, 2003; Hadley & Hadley, 1996; Ryan, 1998). An important question related to students' expectations of their future lessons is what kinds of teachers are perceived as effective by students, as teachers are central to the content and the style of lessons.

The most significant trend in students' perception of 'good' teachers identified by our literature review is that students learning in groups (e.g., lessons in secondary schools) and those learning in one-to-one contexts (e.g., remedial tutorials in university) seem to value different qualities in their teachers.

Many studies used the model of interpersonal tendencies, organized around the two principal axes of *Influence* (defined as teachers' perceived capacity to affect students' behaviours and attitudes) and *Proximity* (defined as teachers' perceived emotional closeness with students). It needs to be noted that the terminology used for this two-dimensional model has varied over the last 5 decades. Some popular terms for the abovementioned two dimensions included: Status and Solidarity (R. Brown, 1965); Directivity and Warmth (Dunkin & Biddle, 1974); Assertiveness and Cooperation (Robertson, 2002) ; Control and Responsiveness (Creech & Hallam, 2010); Dominance and Friendliness (Locke & Sadler, 2007) and Agency and Communion (Meehl, Cicchetti, & Grove, 1991).

A number of these studies found that 'good' teachers in school contexts have been described by students as high on Influence (e.g. assertive, directive teacher) and high on Proximity (e.g. friendly, responsive teacher) (see Wubbels & Brekelmans, 2005 for a

review of 25 years of research on teacher-student relationship in class). At the same time, tutors in ‘successful’ one-to-one tutorials have been reported to employ a great number of rapport-building techniques, such as conversational turn structure, tutor mitigation of directives, affiliative overlaps, etc. (Thonus, 2008; Weigle & Nelson, 2004), which suggests that the perceived effectiveness of teachers in a one-to-one context is less predicated on teachers’ observable assertiveness and their ability to give directions. In other words, it may be that teachers in group classes need to exhibit more control and give more directions to be perceived as ‘good’ than do teachers in one-to-one contexts. At the same time, the lack of prior studies investigating one-to-one tutorials does not allow us to draw conclusions as to whether this potential difference (as perceived by learners) might be due to the age difference of research participants (school children as opposed to tertiary students) or may be linked to other factors, such as group versus one-to-one interactional dynamics.

It is important to point out that all of the reviewed studies, including those on one-to-one teaching, were conducted in the *institutional* context (secondary schools, tertiary sector, music schools, etc.), wherein students obtain formal certifications, do not pay teachers directly and cannot simply disengage from the instruction without any consequences. It seems likely that the context of private tutoring with its direct financial transactions and the absence of formal certifications can considerably influence learners’ expectations of their future instructors.

In sum, the existing literature does not seem to provide sufficient grounds to make predictions as to what type of learners might be seeking private online language tutoring services and what expectations such learners might have of their future instructors. On the one hand, these learners might be school-aged children, whose parents are hiring language tutors to assist learners with their performance in formal educational institutions. At the

same time, customers of private online tutors could be adult learners with multiple commitments, who are attracted to online learning for its time and place independence. There are even fewer grounds for making predictions in regards to *expectations* of people who choose to hire private online tutors to assist them with language learning. Based on research in institutions, interpersonal qualities (e.g., directive, assertive teachers and friendly, responsive teachers) might be prominent in students' expectations, with 'friendly' and 'responsive' being potentially very important characteristics of one-to-one tutors.

6.4. Theoretical considerations

This study draws on insights from social-cognitive theory using the notion of 'proxy agency' (Bandura, 1997, 2001), and on L2 Motivational Research (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) in exploring the expectations of Russian customers of private online language tutors from one private online language-tutoring company. Both of these theoretical perspectives are concerned with social and cognitive aspects of learner motivation and learner self-regulation and are, therefore, viewed as compatible and complimentary.

6.4.1. Proxy Agency

'Proxy agency' is a type of socially mediated agency that humans draw on when they seek assistance from other people. A proxy agent tends to be used when a person is either unable to self-regulate, or when they are unwilling to assume the full responsibility for managing a situation (Bandura, 1997). Similar to hiring a personal trainer or a health care professional, hiring a private online tutor can be viewed as a manifestation of proxy agency (see Shields & Brawley, 2006 for prior research on the impact of proxy-agency on exercise and health care). It is important to highlight a distinction between the concept of the 'more knowledgeable other', commonly found in socio-constructivist learning literature (Palincsar, 1998; Vygotsky, 1978) and the concept of proxy agent. The former assists

learners with knowledge-building and developing new skills, while the latter, apart from providing expert advice and guidance, also plays a 'regulatory' role and ensures students' compliance with the mutually agreed requirements. In many cases, tutors, personal trainers or health care professionals act both as knowledge experts and proxy agents, or continuously change between these roles. However, Bandura (2001) cautions that the prolonged reliance on proxy agents may "impede the cultivation of personal competencies" (p. 13) and reduce personal efficacy in individuals. Therefore, excessive 'proxy-reliance' can be detrimental to individuals' self-regulation skills and may even lead to an individual's inability to self-regulate. To date, there has been no research investigating language learners' preferred level of 'proxy assistance' and its relationship to the learning process and/or outcome.

6.4.2. *Motivation of Language Learners*

The topic of motivation in second language learning has attracted a lot of scholarly attention over several decades. The initial conceptualization of motivating factors in second language learning was proposed by Canadian scholars Gardner and Lambert, based on their research on bilingual French-English learners (Gardner & Lambert, 1959, 1972). Gardner and Lambert posited that success in language learning could be explained by learners' attitudes towards the target language, as well as by learners' goals. They differentiated between *instrumental* and *integrative* motivation, with the former being brought to life by the learner's desire to achieve tangible practical outcomes, such as career considerations or academic goals, while the latter refers to the learner's wish to communicate and identify with the speakers of the target language.

While Gardner's and associates' framework played an important role in the subsequent research on language learning motivation (see for example Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993; Gardner & Tremblay, 1994), some of their claims, specifically those pertinent to the

importance of *integrativeness* as a motivating force in language learning, were contested by empirical studies and recent theoretical advances. Several studies provided empirical data which did not fit the initial *instrumental/integrative* framework (see for example Belmechri & Hummel, 1998; Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994; Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2000), while others questioned the validity and currency of the very notion of ‘integrativeness’ in the modern, globalized world wherein English is used as a ‘lingua franca’ among non-native English speakers (Coetzee-Van rooy, 2006; Lamb, 2004; S. Ryan, 2006). The theoretical reconceptualization of the *instrumental/integrative* framework was also encouraged by the growing acknowledgement of language learning motivation as dynamic, rather than as a fixed phenomenon. An important advance in bringing to the fore the dynamic and complex nature of language learners’ motivation was the work of Ryan and Deci (1985; 2000), who described how external motivational orientation can, with time, be internalized by learners. According to their Self-Determination Theory (or SDT), the same learning goal, for example, studying for job-related purposes, can be a result of an external motivational orientation in some learners and the result of internal motivational orientation in other learners.

A major shift in the L2 Motivational research paradigm happened after Dörnyei’s proposal of L2 Motivational Self-System theory (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009). This approach combines (a) self-discrepancy theory from psychology (Higgins, 1987), (b) the concept of intrinsic and extrinsic learning goals from prior research on language learning motivation, and (c) the role of the learning experience (Noels, Clément, & Pelletier, 1999; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Ushioda, 2001). Dörnyei’s model draws on aspects of existing language learning motivational theories, but combines them in a new way to account for affective factors, cognitive factors and the dynamic nature of language learners’ motivation. More specifically, language learning motivation in Dörnyei’s theory is conceptualized as an interplay of (i) learners’ desire to reduce the discrepancy between their Ideal and Actual

selves, with the former being “representation of the attributes that one would ideally like to possess” (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 13) and the latter referring to the representations of attributes that learners believe they actually possess and (ii) learners’ experience (such as teachers’ instructional style, peers, learning environment, etc). The acknowledgement of the dynamic interplay of these factors makes this theory consistent with tenets of Complexity and Self-Determination theories (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Larsen-Freeman, 1997). Since its introduction, L2 Motivational Self-System theory has been increasingly applied in studies of language learners’ motivation (see for example S. Ryan, 2009; Taguchi, Magid, & Papi, 2009).

To sum up, the concept of proxy agency and recent developments in L2 Motivational research theory discussed above seem to be useful and well-equipped for examinations of a previously unexamined population (private online learners from Russia, who hire tutors via the Internet) and considering learners’ stated goals and expectations of their future teachers.

6.5. Method

6.5.1. Data

The data for this study were drawn from the application forms of students enrolled in a private online school based in Russia. This tutoring company offers a variety of lessons, including General English, Exam Preparation, Business English, English for Travelling, English for Specific Purposes, English for Kids and Teenagers, etc., as well as customized English lessons. The lessons in the school are organized at the request of students. Students purchase blocks of lessons (5, 10, 15 or 20) and have one-to-one classes with an assigned instructor 2-3 times a week. The dataset included all the application forms received by this company for a 4-month period (from 4/27/2011-8/27/2011). The application forms included information about the potential use of anonymised data for academic research

purposes and the use of this dataset was approved by the Human Ethics Committee of a large Australian University.

Students' application forms included responses to the following topics: (a) students' prior experience in ESOL learning, (b) students' learning goals, (c) students' demographic information (age, gender) and (d) students' expectations of their future tutors. The application form had multiple-choice and open-ended items. Table 6.1 gives each item in the questionnaire and the type of question associated with each item.

Table 6.1: Application form items and corresponding type of question

Questionnaire item	Type of question
1. What is your prior experience in learning English? Please describe in detail.	Open-ended
2. What are your learning goals? - Learning for work - Learning for exam (if so, which one?) - Learning for travelling - Other (please provide a detailed description)	Multiple choice with an open-ended option
3. Tell us about the kind of teacher you are hoping to have.	Open-ended
4. Age	Numeric
5. Gender	Multiple choice

The main advantage of using application forms as a data source as opposed to administering self-reported questionnaires is that employing archival data is able to produce a more representative sample, less affected by response bias commonly found in volunteer-based research (Hatch, 2002; Kraut et al., 2004). At the same time, we would like to acknowledge some potential challenges associated with obtaining data from schools' administrative arms, particularly regarding participants' anonymity. In this research, care has been taken to ensure that no individuals could be identified as the result

of this study. Prior to the analysis, any potentially identifying information such as students' names and contact details were removed by the school administration so as to ensure anonymity. The dataset comprised of 121 application forms.

6.5.2. Procedure

The three open-ended items (1) students' prior experience in ESOL learning, (2) students' learning goals and (3) students' expectations of their future tutors were coded using qualitative data managing software (NVivo9). The coding categories for the open-ended items were developed inductively and emerged from the data. After an analytical coding and recoding procedure (Gibbs, 2008; L. Richards & Morse, 2007), the following categories were used for coding (see Table 6.2).

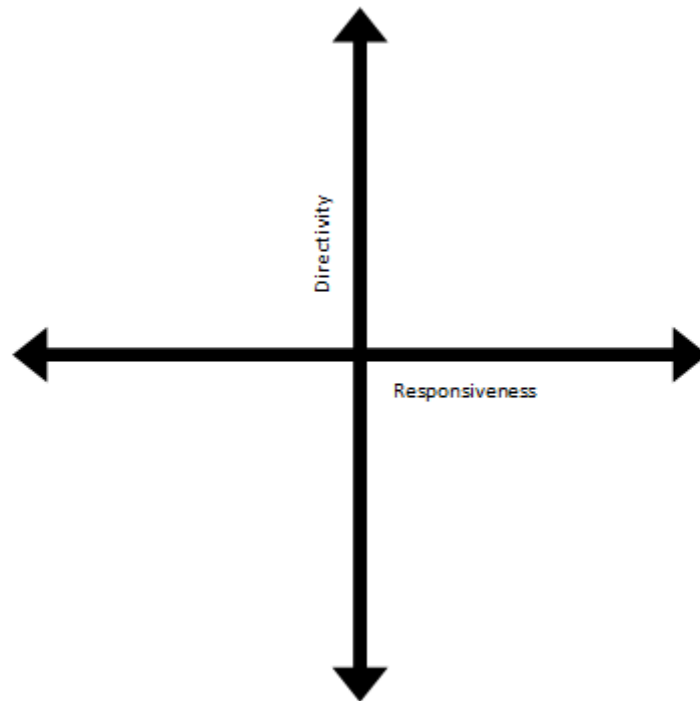
Table 6.2: Coding categories

Questionnaire item	Coding
Item 1 (students' prior experience in ESOL learning):	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Institutional learning (formal school or tertiary instruction in ESOL) (b) Group lessons in private language teaching institutions (language courses and schools) (c) Individual lessons with private tutors (d) Autonomous learning (without regular help of experts) (e) No prior experience given
Item 2 (Students' learning goals):	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Learning for work (existing multiple-choice item) (b) Learning for exam preparation (existing multiple-choice item) (c) Learning for personal (not work-related) communication (existing multiple-choice item) (d) Learning for travelling (category added after inductive analysis) (e) Learning for relocation (category added after inductive analysis)
Item 3 (desired qualities of an ESOL instructor):	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Directive teacher (b) Responsive teacher (c) Teacher with desirable demographic qualities (d) Result-providing teacher

A considerable number of responses to item 3 (*Tell us about the kind of teacher you are hoping to have*) included attributes pertinent to teachers' interpersonal behaviors: in other words, demeanour that teachers exhibit during interactions with students, e.g., 'sensitive teacher' or 'demanding teacher'. These attributes correspond well with the two-dimensional model used by *interpersonal research* (see for example Lorr & Youniss,

1973; Wubbels, Brekelmans, & Hooymayers, 1991), which was described earlier in this paper (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: Most popular types of lessons



From a range of possible terminology for this two-dimensional model used by prior studies, such as Directivity and Warmth (Dunkin & Biddle, 1974); Assertiveness and Cooperation (Robertson, 2002); Control and Responsiveness (Creech & Hallam, 2010); Dominance and Friendliness (Locke & Sadler, 2007), etc., we adopted the terms ‘*Directivity*’ and ‘*Responsiveness*’ for our coding. Students’ responses were assigned the category ‘*Directive*’ if the description included such adjectives like ‘strict’ or ‘demanding’. The category ‘*Responsive*’ included descriptions of teachers who are aware of a student’s personality and needs and modify their behaviour accordingly (e.g., able to ‘adjust’ to students, sensitive, etc.).

A significant number of responses, however, could not be classified using interpersonal categories from the two-dimensional model, as they seemed pertinent to teachers’

demographic or expertise-related qualities. Therefore, two more categories emerged based on qualitative coding and analysis: ‘*Desirable Demographic Qualities*’ and ‘*Result-Providing*’. The category ‘*Desirable Demographic Qualities*’ included students’ responses pertinent to teachers’ demographic characteristics, such as age, gender and country of origin, (e.g. “I’d like a teacher in their 40s;” or “I want to study with a speaker of American English” etc.). The category of ‘*Result-Providing*’ included students’ responses pertinent to teachers’ expertise and previous teaching experience (e.g., able to provide results, good at diagnosing mistakes, experienced, result-oriented). The difference between the categories of ‘*Directive*’ and ‘*Result-Providing*’ was viewed as follows: ‘*Directive*’ teachers are viewed as adopting an explicitly controlling position and taking responsibility for structuring the instruction. The ‘*Result-Providing*’ category, on the other hand, is conceptualized as teachers who are concerned with the final outcome rather than possessing a particular teaching style. A ‘result providing’ teacher, therefore, may employ techniques different from those employed by a ‘directive’ teacher. For example, they may encourage students’ autonomy or delegate control to the student- techniques which a ‘directive’ teacher is not likely to employ.

The coding categories were treated as *mutually unexclusive* as the same student could have indicated more than one category. Students’ responses therefore were coded such that each student could receive more than one code if they had indicated several categories (e.g., a student who had selected the options of learning English both for a job and for travelling would receive 2 codes for the ‘learning goals’ category). Students could not receive the same code multiple times, as judging the magnitude of students’ desires was beyond the scope of this research.

Coding was completed by the first author. An independent coder blind to the hypotheses of the study coded 15% of responses for the purposes of calculating interrater reliability.

Interrater reliability was calculated using the single measure intraclass correlation coefficient and a consistency model. All coefficients were highly significant and above .75, indicating a high degree of agreement between raters (all p 's < .01). Only the initial rater's codes were used for subsequent analyses.

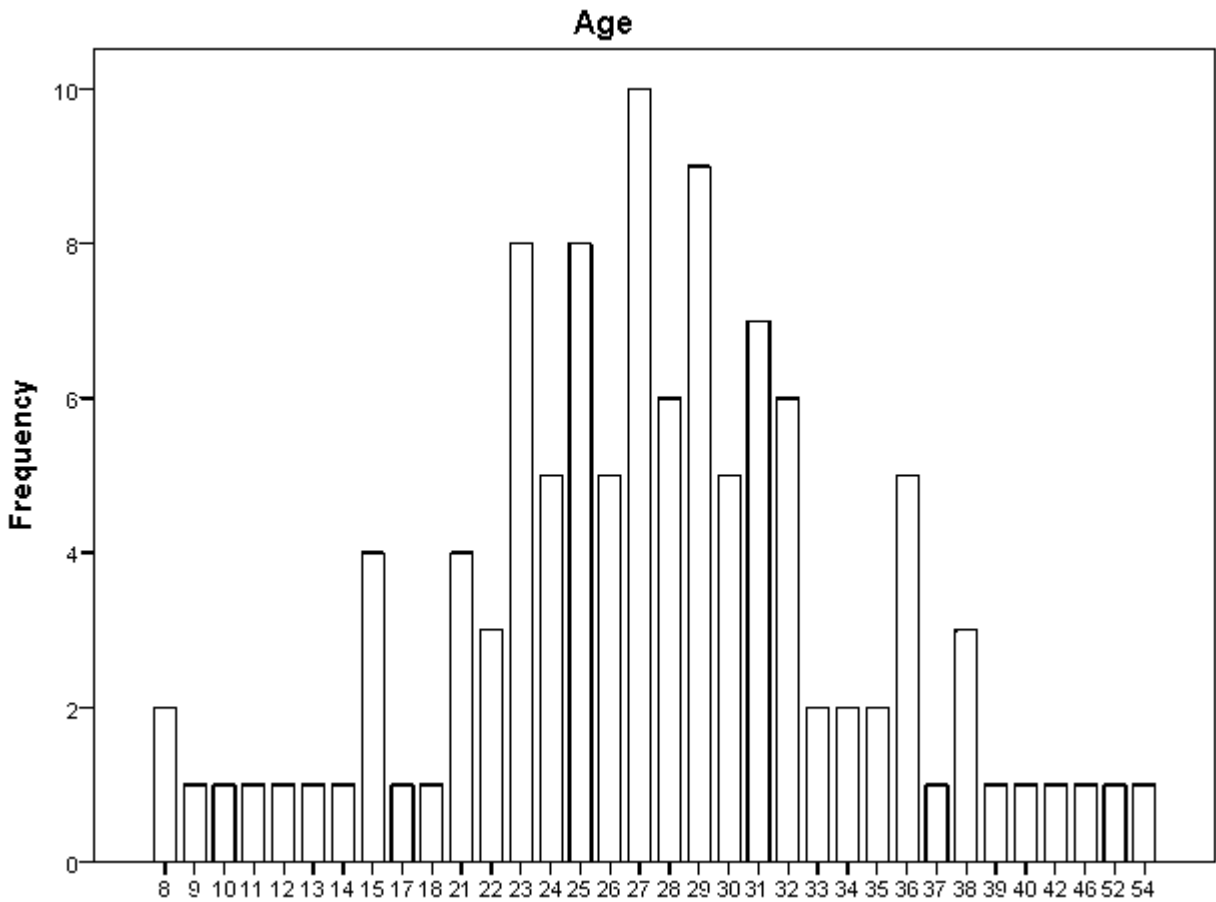
In addition to descriptive statistics, a series of bivariate analyses, namely chi square and independent samples t -tests were used to examine relationships between the variables of interest. Chi square tests were used when both variables of interest were categorical (e.g., gender by reason for studying coded yes/no) whereas t -tests were used when one variable was categorical (e.g., learning goal coded yes/no) and the other was continuous (e.g., age in years). The majority of analyses had a sufficient sample size to satisfy the constraints of the tests. Some results however should be treated with caution, as some chi square analyses had expected cell counts of less than five. Analyses where this is the case are noted after each result.

6.6. Results

6.6.1. Student Age and Gender

Of the total 121 participants, 56 (46.3%) were male and 65 (53.7%) were female, ranging in age from 8 to 54 years of age. Figure 6.2 gives the age distribution of the participants.

Figure 6.2: Age Distribution of the Participants



There was considerable similarity between the male and female participants in their age distributions. The mean age of male participants was 27.54 years ($SD = 8.06$ years), while the mean age of female participants was 27.08 years ($SD = 8.10$ years).

6.6.2. *Students’ prior learning experience*

Table 6.3 gives frequencies of the number of students with each type of previous experience. The most common type of previous experience was institutional, with almost half of all students having previous experience learning English in an institution. The least common was autonomous learning.

Table 6.3: Frequencies and percentages for each type of student prior experience in ESOL learning, student self-reported learning goal and desired teacher quality by student gender

		Male		Female	
		Number of students	Percent	Number of students	Percent
Student prior experience in ESOL learning	Institutional	26	46.4%	35	53.8%
	Group lessons	21	37.5%	22	33.8%
	Individual lessons	8	14.3%	17	26.2%
	Autonomous learning	5	8.9%	5	7.7%
	Not given	12	21.4%	11	16.9%
Self-reported learning goal	Travelling	6	10.7%	16	24.6%
	Personal (not work-related) communication	5	8.9%	6	9.2%
	Work-related	30	53.6%	32	49.2%
	Exam preparation	14	25.0%	15	23.1%
	Relocation	4	7.1%	3	4.6%
	Personal Development	1	1.8%	8	12.3%
Desired teacher quality	Directive	5	8.9%	13	20.0%
	Responsive	21	37.5%	28	43.1%
	Attractive personality	18	32.1%	33	50.8%
	Result-providing	34	60.7%	48	73.8%

NB: percentages do not add to 100 as students could have listed more than one type of previous experience, learning goal or desirable quality.

6.6.3. *Learning goals*

As shown in Table 6.3, the most frequently cited reason for hiring a private online tutor was studying for one's job; the least common was for personal development.

6.6.4. *Learning goals by students' demographics*

The relationship between learning goals and gender was examined with a series of chi square analyses. Gender was significantly related to learning for reasons of travel, $\chi^2(1) = 3.91, p = .048$, with females more likely to be learning for travel reasons than males. Of 65 females, 16 were studying for travel reasons, whereas of 56 males, 6 were studying for travel. There was also a significant relationship between gender and personal development, with 8 of 65 women studying for reasons of personal development, compared with 1 of 56 men, $\chi^2(1) = 4.84, p = .028$. This analysis should be treated with caution as two cells had expected cell counts less than five.

Independent samples t tests examined the relationship between learning goals and student age, comparing age for those who did and did not cite each learning goal. Those who indicated that they were learning for personal (and not work-related) communication were significantly younger ($M = 19.60$ years, $SD = 7.91$) than those who did not cite this reason ($M = 28.06$ years, $SD = 7.69$), $t(109) = 3.31, p = .001$. No other comparisons were significant, although there was a non-significant trend towards those studying for travel being older ($M = 30.05$ years, $SD = 9.95$) than those who did not cite this reason ($M = 26.62$ years, $SD = 7.42$ years). This trend is likely due to the results given by children, with only one child (defined as a learner under the age of 18) citing travel as a reason for studying.

6.6.5. *Teacher desirable qualities*

As seen in Table 6.3, over half of all students reported seeking a teacher who could provide results, with the fewest students reported desiring a directive teacher.

6.6.6. *Teacher desired qualities by students' demographics*

The extent to which male and female students desired teachers with each quality type was analysed using a series of chi square analyses. There were no significant differences between males and females in the extent to which they requested teachers with each quality type, although there was a non-significant trend towards females requesting a directive teacher more often than males, $\chi^2(1) = 2.91, p = .088$. While the number of males and females not mentioning directive as being a characteristic they desired was approximately equal (51 males and 52 females), only 5 males did desire a directive teacher as compared with 13 females.

Students' expectations of teachers' desirable characteristics were also explored in relation to student age, with a series of independent samples *t* tests comparing ages for those students who did vs. did not desire teachers with each quality type. On average, students who wanted a directive teacher were younger than students who did not mention directive as a desirable quality (mentioned directive: $M = 23.22$ years, $SD = 6.01$; did not mention directive: $M = 28.09$, $SD = 8.18$), $t(109) = 2.40, p = .018$. No other comparisons (such as learners' prior learning experience and learners' stated expectations of their future instructors) were significant.

6.6.7. *Teacher desired qualities by learning goals*

A series of chi square analyses explored the extent to which students desired each teacher quality in relation to their stated learning goals. Those who were studying for exams were more likely to want a directive teacher than those who were not studying for exams, with 8

of 29 people studying for exams requesting a directive teacher, but only 10 of 92 not studying for exams asking for a directive teacher, $\chi^2(1) = 4.87, p = .027$ (one cell had an expected count less than five in this analysis).

Those who were studying for purposes of personal (not work-related) communication were less likely to want someone result-providing than students in other groups, with 4 of 11 people studying for personal (not work-related) communication mentioning result providing as compared with 78 of 110 people not studying for personal (not work-related) communication mentioning result providing, $\chi^2(1) = 5.46, p = .019$ (one cell had an expected count less than five). Conversely, those who were studying for job-related purposes were more likely to want someone result providing than those who were not studying for job-related purposes, with 49 of 62 people studying for job-related purposes mentioning provision of results as compared with 33 of 59 people not studying for job-related purposes, $\chi^2(1) = 7.39, p = .007$. No other comparisons (such as learning for travelling, personal, rather than work-related communication and desiring a particular type of teacher) were significant.

6.7. Discussion

6.7.1. Learners' expectations

We start this discussion by interpreting the findings related to learners' stated expectations of their future instructors. It is noteworthy that our data showed considerable differences between the expectations, stated by the learners in this study and those reported in the existing literature. Specifically, unlike students in the compulsory educational sector, who have been reported to desire teachers high on two interpersonal characteristics: *Influence* (e.g., directive, assertive teacher) and *Proximity* (e.g., friendly, open teacher), the students in our sample tended to name teachers' ability to provide results as the key characteristic of a 'good' teacher. This salience of 'result' themes in learners' responses can probably be

accounted for by the difference in contexts (compulsory educational institution versus private tutoring). Indeed, result-oriented descriptions of ‘good’ teachers reflect students’ self-positioning as, first and foremost, *paying customers of private tutors*, who enter the educational marketplace, which indicates convergence between language-teaching and business practices in Russia. While intuitive, this tendency to construe teachers as ‘result-providers’ has not been reported by prior literature and should be studied by future research, since it might be symptomatic of a shifting attitude towards teachers in Russian society and, if so, might have implications for the teaching profession. At the same time, seemingly consumerist orientations of students in this sample might reflect the global trend of commodification of English and the perceived financial and social benefits of English as a global language (Heller, 2010; McArthur, 2004; Pennycook, 2001). From this perspective Russian adults’ desire to learn English for work-related purposes is a good example of the spread of ‘Global English’ – the concept which underscores the important socio-economic role that the English language plays in the process of globalization (Canagarajah, 2007; Sonntag, 2003; Warschauer, 2000).

Apart from expertise-related expectations, 51 out of 121 students in the analysed sample expressed *demographic preferences* for their teachers, such as desiring to have a ‘British’ or ‘American’ or ‘a female in her 30s-40s’. While not significantly related to the other variables measured here, these non-expertise-related expectations raise questions regarding whether there might be an existing image of the ‘ideal’ private online language teacher in Russia related to race or the varieties of English (see, for example, Kubota & Lin, 2006).

What is interesting and what should be viewed as an important contribution of this study is empirical evidence of a strong relationship between learning for examination-related purposes (in this sample, for IELTS and TOEFL examinations) and expecting a ‘strict’ or ‘demanding’ teacher – a trend that could not be accounted for by learners’ age, gender or

prior learning experience. The propensity of students preparing for high-stakes examinations to describe their ideal teachers as ‘strict’ and ‘demanding’ (characteristics that tend to be associated with strained, rather than pleasurable social interactions) raises questions as to why students might associate success in examination preparation with didactic teaching approaches. One possible explanation for this trend is that learners’ expectations could be linked to learners’ prior experience in the institutional context, since prior research in secondary and high school contexts suggests that when preparing students for high-stakes examinations many teachers tend to (i) employ a teacher-centred instructional style, (ii) limit the curriculum focus of their respective subjects to the content included in the examination and (iii) allocate increased classroom time to test format, test-taking strategies and time-management (Au, 2007; Erfani, 2012; Smith, 1991; Vogler, 2005). At the same time, there are studies reporting that not all teachers ‘teach to the test’ and not all classrooms exhibit the signs of ‘test washback’ (Gradwell, 2006; van Hover & Heinecke, 2005). Therefore, explaining students’ desire to have a didactic instructor by students’ prior experience alone cannot account for more complex socio-cultural factors, which are potentially at play in this social practice.

Another, possibly more feasible explanation, is that students in our sample view examination preparation as requiring strong regulation and endorse the efficacy of directive instruction for its *regulation potential*. A statistically significant finding of our study is that students preparing for IELTS and TOEFL in our sample described their ideal teacher as ‘strict’ and ‘demanding’. This finding suggests that students in this group expect their tutors to regulate the students’ behaviour and not just the content of the instruction. Such construal of high-stakes examination preparation as requiring external regulation and a dominant ‘proxy agent’ is consistent with the notion of proxy agency and raises questions regarding whether some learners, preparing for examinations, might be prone to ‘proxy-reliance’, i.e. excessive reliance on their tutor in managing their examination preparation.

If students consistently expect their tutors to act as strong ‘proxy agents’, directing and managing learners, and fail to self-regulate their efforts, it may place additional pressure on teachers and potentially reduce students’ ownership of the learning process, which, in its turn, could lead to a decline in the outcome of the instruction. The practical implication of this finding is that private tutors (and if this trend extends beyond private tutoring contexts, educators in general) need to be prepared to teach students who might expect to be strictly controlled. For example, teachers, preparing students for IELTS, might need to dedicate more time to designing clear guidelines for the learners and to communicate tutor-learner roles and responsibilities early in order to avoid potential tensions and misunderstandings.

Another observation that needs to be made in relation to students’ expectations is that none of the investigated variables in our study (students’ demographic characteristics, stated learning goals, prior learning experience) showed a significant correlation with the ‘Responsive’ category of the interpersonal two-dimensional model (e.g. friendly and open teachers) and yet, it is the behaviour associated with ‘Responsive’ category, which has been reported by prior studies as a salient characteristic of successful one-to-one tutorials (see our earlier overview of literature).

Since our dataset does not contain details on the number of learners who use Skype lessons as the sole method of instruction or the number of learners who are concurrently engaged in other types of instruction, caution is necessary in interpreting the findings of this study. It is possible that the trends identified by this study might be accounted by factors other than students’ demographic characteristics or learning goals. For example, students in this sample might expect certain qualities from their private online tutors because they are already obtaining some training and support from a different source. Moreover, the characteristics and the affordances of the medium itself (see Kozar, 2012a for discussion) are likely to be shaping students’ expectations of their private online tutors. Since out

dataset does not allow us to draw conclusions regarding the relationship between the medium of instruction and learners' expectations of their private online tutors, further research is recommended to investigate the construal of 'ideal' language teachers by Russian learners of English, and what represents effective pedagogy in face-to-face and private online contexts.

6.7.2. Final consideration: Who are the learners?

Since our literature review pointed to several possibilities regarding demographic characteristics of private online learners, it is important to conclude this discussion by highlighting who the learners appear *not* to be. Contrary to the prediction derived from studies on face-to-face private tutoring, most customers of private online tutors were not school-aged students and did not seek private tutoring services to help them succeed in mainstream educational contexts. In fact, most learners in our sample were between 21-33 years old with only 13 out of 121 students being younger than 18. This is a significant finding as it suggests a need to investigate private language tutoring for adult learners and the effect that this social practice may have on learners and on society – areas that have neither been documented nor theorized yet.

Another finding of this study that requires discussion is that unlike some previous studies reviewed earlier (Cronin, 1998; Kim & Lee, 2002), our data did not show a significant gender difference in participating in private online language tutoring - approximately equal numbers of the learners in our sample were males and females. At the same time, while our data did not support the link between gender and the likelihood of participating in private tutoring, our findings identified some gender-related differences in students' learning goals: in their open-ended responses, more females in our sample indicated that they were learning English for travel and personal development. This finding might be due to the

random element in sampling and thus invites further investigations into the existence of gender-related differences in language-learning goals among Russian learners of English.

Despite the inability to seek clarifications and confirmation from the written responses in the application forms, it is still possible to draw broad conclusions about the stated aspirations and background of customers of private online language tutors in Russia. Given that (i) improving job-related English skills was by far the most frequently cited reason for learning in our sample; that (ii) many learners indicated that they could have lessons “before or after work” and that (iii) they had previously studied English in tertiary institutions, it can be hypothesized that a large number of Russian customers of private online tutors are professionals, who need English for their current or future work and are driven by ‘Ought-to’ or ‘Ideal Professional Selves’ – the attributes that an individual would like to or feel obliged to possess (Dörnyei, 2009). Moreover, there were some learners, who while expressing the desire to learn English for work-related purpose, indicated that were not actually using English in their current jobs. Such learners can also be hypothesized to be driven by the visions of themselves using English in future professional context and can be taken as real-life evidence that achieving a certain level of English, especially in the professional context has become essential for the perceived success in the new globalized economy in Russia. Therefore, the current function of private online language tutoring in Russia seems to include the provision of training, perceived as necessary for successful participation in the globalized economy to individual learners. The propensity of adult Russian learners of English to seek paid individual teaching services to presumably enhance their perceived professional skills might be similar to the ‘English frenzy’ in Korean society, described by Park (2010), wherein adult Korean learners of English are driven by “endless self-development and self-improvement celebrated in the new economy”(p. 23).

It remains to be investigated by future studies whether there are any differences between demographic and motivational orientations of learners in more traditional face-to-face learning environments and those learners who seek to hire private online tutors. It could be that the neo-liberal market-oriented motivation is an overarching discourse, shared by traditional and online learners in Russia. At the same time, it is possible that those learners who seek to hire private online tutors could be more strongly aligned with neo-liberal orientations in language learning, and may have different characteristics from their face-to-face counterparts.

6.7.3. Contributions of this paper

The present exploratory study makes several noteworthy contributions to the growing body of literature on private tutoring practices worldwide. First, this paper investigates a sample from a population which has not been previously examined, specifically language learners who choose to hire private online language tutors. The investigation of private online tutoring is particularly timely, given that the spending on private tutoring in some countries approaches the level of spending on government educational institutions (Dang & Rogers, 2008; Silova, 2010) and has been called “a third important educational sector” (after public and private schools) (Dang & Rogers, 2008, p. 161). We hope that, despite the limitations of the dataset used in this study, this paper may provide potential inspiration for other researchers to consider this new social practice.

Furthermore, being an exploratory study, this paper identifies several important avenues for future scientific inquiry, such as an investigation into the motivational orientation of customers of private online tutors, potential difference between motivational orientations between Russian male and female learners of English, the degree of internalization of neo-liberal values among Russian learners of English and the perceived effect of high-stakes examinations on the English-teaching sector in Russia.

To the best of our knowledge, this is also the first study to apply the concept of ‘proxy agency’ to studying a one-to-one English learning context. This concept has proved to be beneficial from the analytical perspective and, if developed and conceptualized further, might hold a considerable potential for the field of education. A useful contribution to the field would be developing and validating an instrument for determining the presence and the intensity of ‘proxy agency’ of a particular learner. Such an instrument would allow predicting and pre-empting potential discrepancies between teachers’ and students’ perceptions of their respective roles and avoid ‘*proxy-reliance*’ in students (Bandura, 2001). Knowing students’ preferences would allow teachers to make more informed and customized pedagogical decisions in relation to individual students. It needs to be acknowledged, however, that the diverse and unregulated nature of private online tutoring and the absence of professional organizations providing support to private tutors pose challenges in disseminating findings of research pertinent to private online tutors. Researchers working in this field might need to liaise with private tuition companies in dissemination of their findings; alternatively, researchers might circulate their findings via online media that could potentially be accessed by private online tutors.

Finally, the study provides empirical data that private tutoring in the analysed sample is used by a large number of adult language learners. This is an important contribution to the existing ‘private tutoring’ literature as it suggests the need to reconceptualise the current ‘shadow education’ model of private tutoring and account for other functions of private tutoring worldwide. A useful theoretical development would be a critical evaluation of the social practice of private tutoring for adults and its role in the society.

In an age when language education is increasingly linked to Internet tools and with private tutoring being a popular practice worldwide, this exploratory study is the first attempt to document characteristics associated with Russian students seeking services of private

online language tutors and to contribute toward building research literature on the demographic characteristics and expectations of customers of private online tutors. Given the predicted changes in the future demand for English and other languages (see for example Bolton, 2008; Graddol, 2001; Graddol, 2008; Warschauer, 2000), capturing the current dynamics of private online language teaching is timely and relevant, particularly considering that this social practice may have a significant impact on the way languages are learnt and taught around the world. We hope that this line of research will be continued by future investigations, which will improve our understanding of the current discourses of private online language teaching both in Russia and worldwide.

PART THREE AFTERWORD



Part Three investigates customers of private online tutors- those students who choose to hire private English teachers online. The findings reported in Paper Five are valuable for several reasons. First, they provide data on a previously unexamined population of language learners. Second, they triangulate the results of Paper Three and Paper Four, that private online language schools in Russia target adult learners of English, thus providing more corroborating evidence that supports the contention that private online language tutoring functions as primarily adult vocational education.

Another finding of Paper Five that contributes to the overall argument of this doctoral thesis, is the prominence of the ‘result-providing’ theme in students’ descriptions of their ‘ideal’ tutors. This theme is consistent with findings reported in Papers One and Four that private online language tutoring schools draw on neoliberal themes, such as effectiveness, affordability and convenience of their services in their communication to the potential students.

At the same time, students’ descriptions of their ideal tutors reveals more than students’ neoliberal orientation. It also gives an insight into students’ beliefs about effective pedagogy and instruction arrangement. While it is clear from learners’ replies that they would like their tutors to create classes based on learners’ needs and level, learners did not express any desire to actively participate in the lesson design. Instead, learners seem to want their tutors to be their ‘proxy agents’ and to act on learners’ behalf in organizing the instruction. This finding is relevant for the discussion of the ‘learner-centeredness’ that has been emerging throughout this thesis, as it suggests that learners’ conceptualization of what good pedagogy is might not align with the general literature on ‘learner-centeredness’. It is also interesting that alongside result-oriented expectations, some

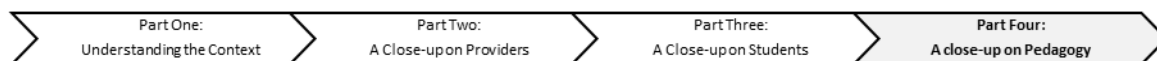
learners mentioned such qualities as ‘a sense of humour’, ‘entertaining’, ‘chatty personality’, etc. Such expectations were particularly common among those learners, who described themselves as learning for no particular purpose or ‘learning for themselves’.

The references to learning for no particular purpose are interesting, as they imply that some learners view language learning as a leisure activity. This suggests the need to conceptualize the ways in which instruction can be organized for such learners.

What Paper Five revealed is that discursively, learners, who seek services of private online tutors have construed themselves as, first and foremost, the customers of educational services, who are entitled to receiving results or ‘a good time’ in exchange for their financial investment. Such a construal reflects a new discursive formation wherein learners are also customers and, as customers, they have a choice of who they would like to study with. This new socio-economic arrangement is likely to impact of how the lessons are delivered and what is going on during the classes.

The importance of this neoliberal orientation of the discourse of students when reporting their preferences, and how this relates to the discourse of providers, and the pedagogy and discourse of actual online lessons is discussed in the final chapter. The following section (Section Four) takes as its focus the specific social event of language lessons and considers it from discursive and pedagogical perspectives.

PART FOUR: A CLOSE-UP ON PEDAGOGY



The previous parts of the thesis collectively investigated the broader context in which private online tutoring emerged from (Part One), the providers of these services (Part Two) and their students (Part Three) or using Faircloughian terms ‘social structure’ and ‘social practices’.

The final part (Part Four) investigates the social practice of language learning by taking as its focus classroom discourses and pedagogies of private online language lessons. This part answers some of the questions that teachers and teacher-trainers might have in relation to LEVAC contexts, such as “What effect does teacher use of written ‘chat’ during lessons have on students’ language production?” and “What do lessons of ‘satisfied’ students look like?”

This Part consists of two papers: Paper Six and Paper Seven, accompanied by a short section detailing the data selection and the coding procedure for these papers.

Paper Six is an analysis of the interplay between oral and written channels during private online language lessons. It investigates whether any text message characteristics, such as length, timing, initiation locus, etc. are related to students’ reaction to these messages, and what effect these messages have on student language production during the lesson.

Paper Seven is a classroom discourse analysis of six lessons that had three things in common: (i) all of the dyads were long-term dyads and had been having lessons on a regular basis for at least several months; (ii) all six lessons were described as ‘conversational’ by teachers and students, and (iii) all six students reported being highly satisfied with their lessons by ranking their experience at the school as ten out of ten.

Several notes need to be made in relation to the design of Paper Six and Paper Seven. As mentioned in Chapter One, the data on the classroom discourse of the lessons comes from seven different lessons. Paper Six analyses audio recordings and the chat history of five lessons, while Paper Seven draws on the audio recordings from six lessons (four of them are the same as lessons in Paper Six). The reason for not using the same six lessons from Paper Six was that Paper Six included one class from an IELTS-focus lesson, while Paper Seven looks specifically at the ‘conversational’ types of lessons. Another reason for the difference in Paper Six and Seven datasets is that due to technical issues, Skype chat history of two lessons was not available.

While it would have been useful to complement the recordings with the video or screen capture recordings of the lessons (see for example Develotte et al., 2010; Levy & Gardner, 2012) or the interviews with teachers and students regarding the pedagogical decisions made during the lessons, there were several reasons why this was not done in this project. The key reason was that some of the recordings were retrieved from the archive of lessons routinely recorded by teachers. It is a common practice among the teachers at this particular online school to record their lessons in case students request an audio file for review purposes. This naturalistic characteristic of data is valuable as it reduces the ‘observers’ effect’ of being recorded in a context where this is unusual. However, this characteristic also placed limitations on the type of data (audio or video recordings) and made retrospective interviews impractical. Thus, the researcher decided not to interview teachers and students for this doctoral thesis. Future studies, however, should expand the research site from the recordings of the lessons and history of text chat to other data sources, which could shed light on teacher decision-making and other important aspects of the teaching and learning process in private one-to-one LEVAC context.

7. Chapter Seven: Text Chat during Video/Audio Conferencing Lessons

(Paper Six) ⁷

7.1. Abstract

Private online language tutoring is growing in popularity. An important pre-requisite for development of effective pedagogies in this context is a good understanding of how different modalities can be combined. This study provides a detailed account of how several experienced online teachers use text chat in their English lessons conducted via Skype with their long-term students, and the pedagogical role and interactional effect of these messages. The study investigates the relationship between characteristics of a text message and students' observable reaction to this message. The study employs a sequential Qualitative-Quantitative design and finds that text chat serves pedagogic and organizational roles in the analysed context and that several characteristics of a text message were correlated with students' reaction to this message. Specifically, students were more likely to incorporate a text message if (i) it introduced new vocabulary and (ii) if it was produced bi-modally (speaking and typing). The study also finds that teacher typing may have a negative effect on students' fluency and teacher attention to student language production. The study calls for further research to investigate how written and spoken channels can be effectively combined in one-to-one English lessons via video/audio conferencing lessons.

7.2. Introduction

There are increasing calls in the literature to study multimodal online learning environments (Guichon & McLornan, 2008; Stockwell, 2007, 2010). Of particular interest are investigations of how *specific modalities* influence the overall teaching and learning experience in synchronous online lessons as well as the investigations of the *interplay*

⁷ This paper has been accepted for publication in CALICO (peer-reviewed international journal).

between modalities (see Kress, 2000; Norris, 2004; Salmon, 2004 for discussions of multimodality). Such studies are an important pre-requisite for the development of effective pedagogies for online teaching contexts. However, even though there are investigations that have explored modalities *individually* (Jepson, 2005; Siler & VanLehn, 2009; Sykes, 2005; Wang, 2004a), there is still “a lack of research that examines the impact of this combined use of tools [speaking and writing] on interaction and analyses multimodal communication” (Hampel & Sticker, 2012, p. 119).

Another gap in the current literature is insufficient studies on *emerging* online language teaching contexts. For example, one of the fastest growing sectors in online language education is *private* language education via video/audio conferencing (LEVAC) (Kozar, 2012b, 2013; Ventura & Jang, 2010). There are at least tens of thousands of teachers and learners worldwide involved in private online language tutoring services (Kozar, 2012b, 2014a) and this number can be expected to grow. And yet there are no published studies on the pedagogies of this online learning context. This dearth of studies is lamentable, since delivering lessons via video/audio conferencing tools may soon be a part of many teachers’ lives and become, using Develotte’s (2009) terms “*deja-la* (already there)”. Thus, there is a pressing need to study this language-teaching context in order to inform current and future practitioners, teacher-trainers and other relevant stakeholders.

Currently most private online tutors offer lessons via tools like Skype, Google Hangout, etc. (Kozar, 2012b). While these tools provide three main modes of communication, specifically (i) text mode; (ii) audio mode (iii) video mode⁸, the majority of private English lessons are conducted via the latter two modes: audio or video mode. In these modes audio and video are the *primary* channels of communication and the use of text chat is optional. This means that a lesson can potentially take place only via audio/video channels without

⁸ Text mode is comprised of text chat only. Audio mode is comprised of VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocol) and (optionally) text chat. Video mode is comprised of Audio Mode plus one-way or two-way video.

the use of text chat and if teachers *do* employ text chat, there must be one or more communicative or pedagogical reasons motivating them to do so. Some of these potential reasons are discussed in the following section.

7.3. Text chat in multimodal language-teaching environments

Prior studies on related contexts (institutional group online language lessons) report at least four different uses of text chat during audio/video lessons, specifically *pedagogical*, *remedial*, *strategic* and *competing*.

Pedagogic uses of text chat tend to be associated with the graphic presentation of new linguistic items or the negotiation of meaning, particularly when interlocutors do not share the same first language (Jin, 2006). Other pedagogic uses include collecting answers from multiple students simultaneously or providing instructions (Cunningham, Fagersten, & Holmsten, 2010; Regine Hampel & Stickler, 2012).

In addition to pedagogic use of the written chat, the literature also cites instances of the *remedial use* of text chat, which refers to drawing on text chat to compensate for communication difficulties, such as the failure of the audio channel or the significant time lag due to bandwidth. Remedial uses have been reported by Cunningham, Fagersten, & Holmsten (2010) as well as Hampel & Stickler (2012), who referred to such use as ‘compensatory’.

The third reported use of written chat is the *strategic use*. It refers to using the text chat as a means to gain access to the production of the discourse. A prominent example of this use was described by Sauro (2004), who shows how a less dominant participant utilized text chat to ‘gain a foothold’ in the conversation.

The final use of text chat, described in the literature, is the *competing* use. It has been reported by Hampel & Stickler (2012) and refers to drawing on the text chat to have parallel conversations during an online lesson. This use is characteristic of classes with

multiple participants and can be likened with taking an interlocutor aside for a conversation. Such parallel conversations are sometimes viewed as disruptive, which explains why some teachers choose to strategically disable text chat functionality during their online language classes (Meskill & Anthony, 2014).

Most relevant for teacher-training and teacher-development purposes is the *pedagogic* use of text chat. Prior studies on *written-only* mode of multimodal tools (see for example Pellettieri, 2000; Toyoda & Harrison, 2002; Tudini, 2003) suggest that messages in text chat can increase instances of ‘noticing’ (see Lai & Zhao, 2006), and in doing so aid language acquisition (Schmidt, 1993). Similarly, other studies reported that communicating via text chat in target language can draw learners’ attention to the form (Lee, 2008; Salaberry, 2000; Shekary & Tahririan, 2006), which is also beneficial for language acquisition. Even though it is unclear to what extent the findings of written-only studies are transferable to multimodal environments, it can be hypothesized that ‘drawing attention’ and ‘noticing’ effects of text chat might even stronger in audio and video lessons compared to text-only condition, since fewer number are presumably produced during audio/video lessons and, thus, these messages hold a potential to make linguistic items more salient (S. E. Carroll, 2012), especially if they are produced orally and in writing.

Using text chat alongside speaking to potentially increase the salience of input has a particular relevance for *pedagogical practices and students’ uptake*. Students’ uptake refers to students’ observable reaction to teachers’ feedback (Panova & Lyster, 2002) and is often used as a measure of effectiveness of instruction and students’ noticing (Sheen, 2006). It needs to be noted that there seem to be no studies investigating the relationship between use of whiteboard/blackboard and language learners’ uptake of linguistic items. Most publishes studies on the use of whiteboards/blackboards seem to be either on (i) the ‘chalk talk’ while teaching mathematics, science, etc (see for example Artemeva & Fox,

2011) or (ii) on the use of interactive whiteboards in the classroom (for example Schmid, 2006).

At the same time, there is a body of literature on multimodal instructional design, which seems relevant for this investigation. These studies suggest that in self-access instructional courses students prefer applications with dual modality – text and audio (Tabbers, Martens, & Merriënboer, 2004). When investigating comprehension of foreign texts, Diao, Chandler, and Sweller (2007) report that audio plus text condition led to a higher comprehension rate compared to audio-only condition. Thus, it can be hypothesized that the use of dual modalities (audio and text) may potentially increase the perceived salience of *input*, which has been recognized as critical by several SLA theories (see for example Gass, 2008; VanPatten, 2007).

At the same time, it needs to be noted that the mere presence of written and acoustic channels does not automatically result in teaching effectiveness. Prior studies show that the physical location of the written information plays an important role in students' processing of input. Specifically, when text and a picture were placed on the same page close to each other, it resulted in a better uptake than verbal and visual information placed separately. This effect was explained by an additional effort required to perform visual search in order to locate information (Van Merriënboer & Sweller, 2005), which suggests that the interface of the multimodal tool and the ease of finding a text message is likely to play a role in whether a message is noticed by the student.

Another hypothesis about message uptake is that message characteristics, such as, for example, the *purpose* of the message, the *locus of its initiation* (requested by a student or provided by the teacher), the *length* or *timing* of the message, etc. influence how students react or not react to this message. For example, students may react differently to longer and shorter messages, or to messages produced at the start or the end of the class, etc. If there is

any relationship between written message characteristics and learners' reaction, then teachers, teacher-trainers and other stakeholders ought to know about it.

Furthermore, when analysing the effect of written messages in multimodal environments, it is important to consider the *degree of synchrony* of the text message, as it affects both the message composer and message receiver.

Building on the work of Kenning (2010), online environments can be described as affording different degrees of synchrony (and therefore immediate access for the receiver) between text and audio/video channels. Figure 7.1 represents the possible range of different degrees of accessibility of written messages in multimodal online classrooms.



Figure 7.1: Different degrees of synchrony of text messages in online environments

The right end of the cline is represented by tools that allow ‘letter by letter’ visibility, such as Ytalk described by Pellettieri (2000) or a popular collaborative tool Titanpad, described by Kozar (2012a), while the left end of the cline are environments like email where the receiver does not have access to the message until this message has been sent and the interlocutors do not have to be online at the same time.

Prior research suggests that displaying the message after sending, or in other words having some delay between composing and displaying, might create a ‘safer’ environment for the sender, since they can edit and check the message before making it visible to other users (Kenning, 2010; R Kern, 1995). On the other hand, the delayed display of a text message

may lead to the message being unnoticed by the receiver, particularly in the multimodal environment with several channels of communication competing for participants' attention (Lai & Zhao, 2006) and where visual search is required to locate information (Van Merriënboer & Sweller, 2005).

The context of this investigation (language lessons conducted via Skype) is placed towards the right end of the 'asynchronous- synchronous cline', represented in Figure 1, but doesn't reach the 'synchronous' end, since text messages in Skype are displayed after they have been completed and sent. Thus, a hypothesis that can be made is that some messages can go unnoticed due to a potential delay between typing and displaying a message.

The final consideration in the study of text messages in multimodal environments is that simultaneous typing and talking may potentially affect student-teacher oral interactions. A study of student-student interaction when using computers (Levy & Gardner, 2012) found that complex tasks, such as typing or making a selection on a computer, almost invariably resulted in hitches and loss of attention in talk. This finding was interpreted as the result of the demands of multitasking. It can be hypothesized that Levy & Gardner's (2012) findings apply to LEVAC context and that teachers' or students' typing influence the flow of conversation.

In sum, based on prior literature, it can be hypothesized that similar to text-only environments, the use of text chat in multimodal contexts may have pedagogic merits, such as increasing the salience of input of linguistic items. Drawing on studies of pedagogic effectiveness of self-access multimodal environments, it can be suggested that feedback presented bi-modally may be uptaken more often by learners compared to written-only feedback, however, the students' reaction to messages is likely to be influenced by the tool's interface and the degree of synchrony of the typing and message display. Finally, similar to studies on the use of computers during face-to-face interactions, the use of

written chat might make the conversation between teachers and students less fluent. These hypotheses are investigated in this paper by examining bi-modal exchanges in five language lessons conducted by Skype.

7.4. Method

The following section reports on the methodology of this study, including data, participants and the analytical procedure.

The data set for this study consists of audio recordings, transcripts and chat logs of English lessons scheduled for 30 minutes in length of five different teacher-learner dyads. The lessons ranged from 27-36 minutes, with most lessons being 30 mins.

All five dyads had been conducting regular English lessons via Skype for an average of nine months at the time of recording. All the students were adult Russian learners of English ranging from 22-39 years old. Three out of five teachers were Russian and two other teachers were American and British (see Table 7.1 for details).

Table 7.1: Participants

Dyad Number	Dyad history	Proficiency level (CEFR)	Lesson number	Participants	Age
Dyad 1	21 months	A2	207 th lesson	<i>Teacher 1: Russian female</i>	24
				Student 1: Russian female	29
Dyad 2	7 months	A2	40 th lesson	<i>Teacher 3: Russian female</i>	32
				Student 3: Russian female	28
Dyad 3	4 months	B1	24 th lesson	<i>Teacher 7: American female</i>	47
				Student 7: Russian male	29
Dyad 4	13 months	A2	86 th lesson	<i>Teacher 6: Canadian male</i>	63
				Student 6: Russian female	32
Dyad 5	6 months	B1	42 nd lesson	<i>Teacher 8: Russian female</i>	29
				Student 8: Russian female	22

In designing this study, special effort was taken to ensure the quality and the internal validity of the data. One requirement for data collection was to obtain the data from long-term dyads in order to investigate established practices, and avoid the ‘novelty effect’ commonly found in language and technology studies whereby the introduction of the new condition (in this case, lessons via Skype) creates changes. Such changes considerably

reduce as participants become used to the change, thus reducing the novelty effect (Buckingham, 2013; R. Kern, Ware, & Warschauer, 2008). Another valuable characteristic of the dataset is that all five recordings were sourced from an existing archive as recording lessons was a regular practice among teachers and students who participated in this study. This allowed minimizing the observers' effect commonly found in recording of classroom interactions (Samph, 1976). These two factors: long-term nature of the dyads, minimizing observer's effect and high reported satisfaction of students make this dataset a valuable one for investigation.

7.5. Analysis

In accordance with the goals of the study to provide a rich description and investigate a potential relationship between message characteristics and students' observable reaction to the message, the data were interrogated using qualitative and quantitative methods. Specifically, the study employed sequential Qualitative – Quantitative methodology (see Table 7.2 for detail), which made it possible to expand the analysis and consider the phenomenon under investigation from different perspectives (Riazi & Candlin, 2014).

Table 7.2: Analytical procedures

Stages of analysis	Object of study	Method
1	Explore teachers' use of text chat (i.e. message functions)	Inductive coding of the whole dataset
2	Explore message characteristics	Inductive and scheme-based coding of the whole dataset (see Table 2 for coding scheme)
3	Explore students' observable reaction to messages	Inductive coding of the whole dataset
		Detailed Conversation Analysis (CA) transcription of all sequences with typing and several sequences without typing (for comparison purposes).
4	Explore potential relationships between message characteristics and students' reaction	Statistical Analysis (Chi Square + Regression Analysis) of the whole dataset

As can be seen from Table 7.2, the study adopted four-stage analytical procedure with each stage drawing on the methods relevant for the particular stage. Table 7.3 below presents the transcription conventions used for the detailed qualitative analysis.

Table 7.3: Transcription Conventions

Symbol	Meaning	Example
//	Overlap	/because (.)/ / Is it?/
< >	Slower speech	so are you <enjoying , being (3.0)> , in uk/raine/
> <	Faster speech	> we took the <i>train</i> <
?	Upward intonation	do you EAT on the train?(.) AND sleep
.	Downward intonation	How are you.
(1.2)	Timed pause	enjoying , being (3.0)
WORD	Pronounced with force, forte	do you EAT on the train?(.) AND sleep
word	Stress (primary accent)	<u>Varied</u>
word	Overlap with typing sound	because um
((click))	The sound of mouse clicking	mmm ((click)) because I like ((click)) everything
((message))	The alert tone of a message	How are you. Can you hear me okay? ((click)) So. ((message sound)) um yeah. How are you.

The following section provides details on the coding schemes used in Stages 1-3 of the process of analysis.

7.5.1. Analysis 1: Functions of text messages

Coding for message functions was performed inductively in NVivo 9 with the coding categories emerging from the data (Gibbs, 2008; L. Richards & Morse, 2007). After the coding and re-coding procedure the final categories for ‘message function’ included: *text messages for agenda setting*, *text messages for in-sequence linguistic focus*, and *text messages for record-keeping and future reference*. These categories are explained and exemplified below.

Text messages for agenda setting

Messages were coded as *agenda-setting* when their purpose was to set an agenda for the subsequent interactional segment, for example when a message included stimuli questions for the student to reply to (See Excerpt 7.1 below). *Agenda-setting* messages were located at the start of individual exchanges, prior to students’ replies. All the messages were produced by teachers.

Excerpt 7.1: Using instructional chat to set the agenda

Speaker	Spoken channel	Written channel
Teacher	Yeah, Okay, right. Some questions we have today um are about stereotyping, okay? So if you want to just have a look at the questions for a minute	

What are some stereotypes?

How is your country stereotyped?

Do you stereotype people?

Does stereotyping help you in some way?

Why do you think people stereotype?

How can stereotypes be damaging?

(38.2)

Student Uh...stereotypes can be about people um, it can be about uh countries.....

Messages for in-sequence linguistic focus

Messages were coded as *in-sequence linguistic focus* if they were used to introduce new linguistic items or to provide feedback on student's linguistic output within the same interactional sequence. The more detailed coding scheme within this category included: *providing new vocabulary items, recasts and explicit error correction*.

Utterances that introduced *new vocabulary items* tended to be initiated by teachers, or requested by students in their L1. *Recasts* were "utterances that rephrase an utterance by changing one or more sentence components (subject, verb or object) while still referring to its central meanings" (M. Long, 1996, p. 434). *Explicit corrections* were utterances that

closely resemble the original utterance and attend only to the erroneous part of the utterance.

The coding did not differentiate between subtypes of recasts (for details see Lyster, 1998; Sheen, 2006) as recasts were not the focus of this paper

Excerpt 7.2 provides an example of *in-sequence linguistic focus*.

Excerpt 7.2: Instructional chat messages for linguistic focus

Speaker	Spoken channel	Written channel
Student	So (2.0) um (2.0) as you know (1.5) we used train.	
Teacher	>we took the <i>train</i> <	
Student	yeah we> took the train< to to (3.0) to get (2.0) here	We took the train
Teacher	Yeah	

Messages for record-keeping and future reference

Messages were coded as *record-keeping and future reference* when they were sent after the linguistic item typed in the text chat had already been negotiated and the conversation had moved on to a new exchange. Excerpt 7.3 provides an example of this category:

Excerpt 7.3: Instructional chat messages for future reference

Speaker	Oral channel	L1 use	Written channel
Student	/Erm / a:nd (1.2) mmm: some people, erm (2.8) 2 как будет (1.4) ну кормить ? (2.2)	L1: What is the English for 'feed'?	
Teacher	Feed		
Student	Feed		
Teacher	А в прошедшем fed	L1: And in the past	
Student	And some people fed ducks (1.6)		
Teacher	Ah , are there ducks in your park?		feed – кормить

Analysis 2: Coding message characteristics

Apart from the inductive coding described above, text messages were also coded for a range of specific characteristics, such as the length of messages, the timing of the message within the lesson, the mode of the message (only written or complemented by the spoken channel) and the locus of initiation (produced on students' request or produced by the teacher without students' request). Messages were coded as bi-modal if a part or all of a full written message was also produced orally by the teacher within the same interactional

sequence. The example of a message produced on students' request can be found in Excerpt 7.3 above where the student uses L1 to ask for a new vocabulary item (кормить, feed). Table 7.4 provides the summary of scheme-driven coding done for this study.

Table 7.4: Scheme-driven coding of text messages

Message characteristics	Coding scheme
Length	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Less than 5 words; 2. 6-10 words; 3. 11-15 words; 4. 16-20 words 5. More than 20 words
Occurrence of message during the lesson	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 0-5 mins 2. 6-10 mins 3. 11-15 mins 4. 16-20 mins 5. 21-25 mins 6. 26-30 mins 7. 30 mins +
Mode	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Written only 2. Bi-modal
Locus of initiation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Teacher initiated 2. Student-initiated

7.5.2. Analysis 3: Students' observable reaction to the text messages

The analysis was performed on (i) the discursive uptake of text messages (whether a message was partially or fully uptaken by the students) and (ii) on the students' speech production during typing. The procedure for each type of analysis is detailed below.

Discursive uptake

Analysis of students' discursive uptake of the message, or in other words, the extent to which students incorporated text messages in their subsequent language production, was done via coding messages as one of the following: no uptake; acknowledgement; partial or full uptake. Messages were coded as 'acknowledgements' if they included phrases like 'uhum', 'ok' (see excerpt 7.4).

Excerpt 7.4: Acknowledging the text message

Speaker	Oral channel	Written channel
Teacher	Okay. yeah, no one could leave.	
Student	Mm-hmm. (2.1)	
Teacher	No one could leave the train okay .everyone *unclear* (7.1)	no one could leave the train
Student	Mm-hmm	

Messages were coded as partial or full uptake if the student incorporated the written message partially or fully in their speech (see extract 7.5).

Excerpt 7.5: Uptake

Speaker	Oral channel	Written channel
Teacher	So, how LONG were each of these <u>stops</u> . (2.1)	
Student	Actually, it it it depended on a stop	
Teacher	it dep	
Student	<i>because um (2.7)</i> yeah. they var'eyed	Varied
Teacher	<u>Varied</u>	

Students' speech production during typing

The analysis of a potential effect of teacher typing on students' language production was conducted via an in-depth Conversation Analysis (CA). All exchanges with text messages were transcribed in detail using the conventions of Conversation Analysis (CA) (Jefferson, 1984; Sacks, Jefferson, & Schegloff, 1995). Since the original transcription conventions of CA did not include coding for computer-mediated communication, some additional coding conventions were added to this analysis. Specifically, a separate column was added to include the written messages; the overlap of typing sound and talking was marked in bold italics. Sound of a mouse clicking was marked as ((click)) and message alert tones were marked as ((message)). The instances of using L1 were noted and transcribed in a separate column. All pauses over 0.5 seconds were noted. The coding conventions included:

7.5.3. *Analysis 4: A potential relationship between message characteristics and students' observable reaction*

The relationship between students' uptake and message characteristics (message purpose; mode of the message; initiation of the message; length of the message and timing of the

message) was examined with a series of Chi Square analyses and Multinomial Logistical Regressions. The analysis was performed only on the categories with sufficient numbers for the robust statistical analysis: minimum 5 cases for each class for Chi Square and minimum 10 cases for each independent variable for Multinomial Logistical Regression (Schwab, 2002).

In sum, the analysis included the investigation of how text messages were used during the analysed lessons, whether the messages were uptaken by students, the relationship between uptake and message characteristics and the effect of typing on students' language production.

7.6. Findings

This section presents the results of the analyses outlined above.

7.6.1. The use of text chat

There were 106 written messages in the analysed corpus, and all of the messages were produced by the teachers. No messages were produced by the students. There were no instances of students employing text chat. This finding is in contrast with some of the existing literature that reports students' extensive engagement with written chat (Regine Hampel & Stickler, 2012; Sauro, 2004). This might be because of different contextual factors, such as one-to-one and group lessons and suggests a need to investigate the factors that are likely to impact students' use of text chat in the one-to-one context.

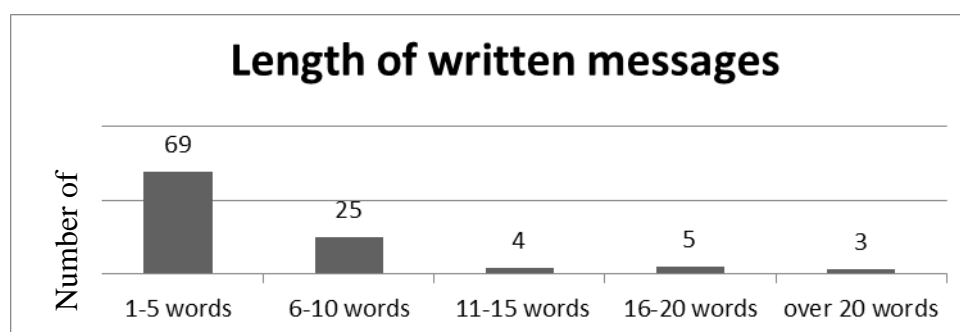
It is noteworthy that four out of five teachers in this sample produced on average 14 messages during the 30-minute lessons, while the fifth teacher produced 51 messages over 30 minutes. This shows that most teachers in this sample used text chat with a comparable frequency and one teacher used text chat significantly more frequently. The scope of this study does not allow explaining the individual differences between teachers. The fact that this teacher used chat more frequently could be for a number of reasons: pedagogical

preferences, the relationship in this dyad, teachers' tolerance of errors, etc. Future research needs to investigate individual preferences of different teachers in terms of using text chat. However, despite the individual differences between teachers, the data showed that the chat was used for similar functions by all teachers.

7.6.2. *Length of messages*

Most messages produced by teachers (65.1%) tended to be under 5 words and can therefore, be described as 'short'. In addition, 23.6% of messages ranged from 6-10 words and 11.3% of messages exceeded 10 words. From this, we can see that the written mode in these lessons was used primarily for individual words and expressions rather than full sentences. This may be due to the chat acting as a supplement to the oral channel. Figure 7.2 provides the summary of results for this category.

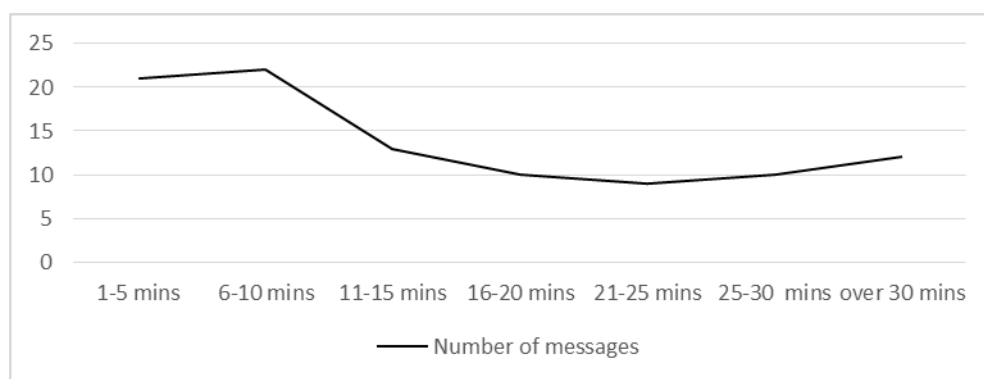
Figure 7.2: Length of instructional chat messages



7.6.3. *Distribution of messages over time*

There was a trend of producing a higher number of written messages in the first 10 minutes of the lesson (see Figure 7.3 for details). This is an interesting finding as it shows that these teachers were more likely to use text chat at the start of the lesson. This could be because teachers used chat to set the agenda for the lesson and to potentially establish their social role, which will be discussed later in this paper. Whether this finding is applicable to other LEVAC contexts is an empirical question to be confirmed by future studies.

Figure 7.3: Message frequency over time



7.6.4. Mode of the message

As can be seen from Table 7.5 below, the majority of text messages (77.4%) were bi-modal (oral plus written), while 22.6% of messages were produced only in writing. The majority of written messages (61.3%) were produced after the teacher had pronounced a linguistic item orally, thus, in this study written messages were most frequently used to supplement oral messages. Further research, such as interviews with teachers, is needed to determine whether the observed pattern is due to teachers' pedagogical preference or other factors.

Table 7.5: Mode of messages

Modality of the message	Frequencies	Percentage
Bi-modal (written + spoken)	82	77.4%
Written only	24	22.6%

7.6.5. Locus of initiation

The summary of locus of initiation of teachers' messages is presented in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6: Locus of Initiation

Locus of initiation	Frequencies	Percentage
Initiated by the teacher	96	90.6%
On student's request	10	9.4 %

As can be seen in Table 7.6, there was a clear pattern in the locus of initiations of most messages. Specifically, 90.6% of teachers' chat messages were initiated by teachers and 9.5% were produced in response to students' requests. This shows that in the lessons analysed here, typing is part of teachers' pedagogical repertoire, and something that teachers do without requiring prompting, or probably even training. This finding is discussed in more detail in the Discussion part of this paper.

7.7. Message function

A noteworthy finding of this study is that over 90% of all messages produced by teachers functioned to focus students' attention on specific linguistic forms within a sequence (see Table 7.7 for details). This shows that the written mode is seen by the teachers in this study as particularly suitable for focusing students' attention on linguistic items while students are producing the language.

Table 7.7: Functions of instructional chat messages with counts

Message function	Frequencies	Percentage
Agenda-setting	4 messages	3.7%
In-sequence linguistic focus	97 messages	91.5%
Written record (for future reference)	6 messages	4.8%

A substantial difference in frequencies between the three categories (4/97/6) precludes a robust statistical analysis of all three categories. Therefore, the statistical analysis (Chi Square and Regression Analysis) of students' reaction by message characteristics presented later in the paper was performed only for the category 'linguistic focus', which had 97 messages.

7.7.1. Linguistic focus

Table 7.8 provides the frequencies for the sub-types of messages, used to focus students' attention on a particular linguistic form, specifically on the number of *recasts*, *new vocabulary items* and *explicit error correction* messages.

Table 7.8: Text messages used to focus students' attention on linguistic forms

Message type	Frequencies	Percentage
Recasts	50 out of 97	51.5%
Providing new vocabulary items	31 out of 97	32%
Explicit error correction	16 out of 97	16.5 %

The data shows that half of the text messages were recasts of the linguistic items previously generated by the student. Messages introducing new vocabulary and providing explicit error correction accounted for 32% and 16.5% respectively. This is different from what one might expect given the affordance of the written chat to provide feedback without explicit interruptions. It is also interesting that from a range of potential uses, written chat is employed primarily for recasts – what has traditionally been viewed as an ‘implicit’ error correction technique (Lyster, 1998). The question that arises is whether the use of multiple modalities (written and oral) for recasts changes the implicit nature of recasts and makes them more explicit. This point will be returned to in the Discussion part of this paper.

7.8. Students' observable reaction

Teachers' text messages seem to have had a mixed effect on students' language production. On the one hand, some messages may have scaffolded students' language production as they were subsequently incorporated in students' language. On the other hand, teachers' typing may have caused some disfluency, specifically mono-syllabic repetitions. The results for these findings are detailed below.

7.8.1. Discursive uptake

Only 22% of teachers' text messages were incorporated by students' in their speech. Most of teachers' text messages were either acknowledged by a short 'uhum' or received no observable reaction from the students (see Table 7.9 for details).

Table 7.9: Students' reaction to text chat messages

Reaction	Frequency	Percentage
No observable reaction	42 out of 106	40%
Acknowledgement (e.g. Uhum)	40 out of 106	38%
Partial or full uptake of the message	24 out of 106	22%

It is possible that students may have acknowledged the message nonverbally via a silent nod or other facial expressions signifying agreement or recognition.

The statistical analysis performed on the *in-sequence linguistic focus* category (97 messages, see Tables 7.10 and Table 7.11) showed that there were two statistically significant relationships between students' reaction to the message (ignored, acknowledged or uptook) and message characteristics.

Table 7.10: Pearson Chi Square results

Students' reaction	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Pearson Chi-Square
By the mode of message	.000	$\chi^2(1) = 43.0995$
By message purpose	.000	$\chi^2(1) = 36.493$
By initiation of message	.105	$\chi^2(1) = 4.512$

As can be seen from the Table 7.10, the mode of message (whether the message was only written or bi-modal, that is written and oral) was significantly related to the students' reaction. This finding may be related to the potential of the message being unnoticed due to the requirement to perform a visual search in a small 'chat' window or due to temporal delay between producing and viewing the message, discussed earlier in the literature review. It is also possible that the students noticed the message, but since the discourse had moved on, responding to the message would have been unfitting.

Table 7.11 further elaborates on the second statistically significant finding from the multinomial logistic regression analysis. The key finding is that the odds of the message being ignored relative to being repeated were considerably higher (Exp (B): 121.217) for recasts compared to new vocabulary messages. This could be because recasts might have been interpreted by the students as teachers' discursive moves (i.e. responding to the content of students' contributions) rather than corrective moves. This finding is discussed in more detail later in this paper.

Table 7.11: Results of Regression analysis

Independent variable	Relative odds of the message being ignored by the student ,Exp(B)		Relative odds of the message being acknowledged by the student	
Length of the message	1.016	p= .890	1.132	p=.250
Occurrence of message during the lesson	.992	p=.784	1.032	p=.220
Recasts	121.217	p=.000	31.980	p=.003
Explicit correction	6.662	p=.033	3.918	p=.110

Note: The reference category for students' reaction: 'students incorporated the written message in their speech

The reference category for message purpose: 'introducing new vocabulary'

It needs to be noted that there was no relationship between the length of the message or the occurrence of the message over the lesson time and the students' uptake. Nor was there a significant relationship between the locus of initiation (on students' request or teacher-initiated) and students' observable reaction to the message. This finding is discussed in more detail later in the paper.

7.8.2. Effect of teacher typing on students' language production

The following hypothesis was presented: the use of text chat during audio/video conversation may influence the flow of interaction between students and teachers.

The analysis of the detailed transcriptions with and without teacher typing suggested that teacher typing may have had a potentially negative effect on students’ fluency.

Specifically, disfluency of a certain type (monosyllabic repetition) appeared regularly in those stretches of discourse where teacher typing was audible, whereas such disfluency did not appear to be a regular feature of student discourse at other times. Therefore, the findings support the hypothesis drawn from literature review. The details of this findings are presented below.

Monosyllabic repetitions

Students seemed to have produced a high number of monosyllabic repetitions during teacher typing whereas this trend was less common in the absence of teacher typing. As can be observed in Excerpt 7.6, the student repeats the particle ‘to’ twice in line 5 , twice in line 10 and repeats the conjoining element ‘and’ three times in line 14. All of the repetitions take place when the teacher is typing.

Excerpt 7.6: Teacher typing and Student’s Repetition of short words

Speaker	Spoken channel	Written channel
Teacher	so are you <enjoying , being (3.0)> , in uk[raine]	
Student	[So] um (2.0) as you know (1.5) we used train.	
Teacher	> we took the <i>train</i> <	
Student	<i>yeah we > took the train < to to (3.0) to get</i>	we took the train

(2.0)

here

Teacher Yeah

Student And uh (2) erm it took us (1.6) about twenty
two

hours ((click)) but (1.5) um you know it is
much

safer((click)) than *to to use airplanes*.

Teacher *yes. yes it is? oh, so *unclear** <do you EAT the train left the
on the train?(.) AND sleep, ((click)) and all station
this.

Student yeah. so. train (1.5) uh started his way *at eight* started on its way
pm, 14 so. (1.5) um and and and we had
bought uh some 15 food.

Teacher uh-huh.

The comparative analysis of the same student's talk in the absence of typing showed that this student produced fewer repetitions when the teacher was not typing. Moreover, the nature of the repeated words with and without typing differed in the analysed sections. Most repeated words produced by the student when their teacher was typing were

monosyllabic (e.g. 'to'/'and'/'no'), which created a 'stutter-like' effect, while most of the repeated words in the sequences without typing were multiple words (see Excerpt 7.7).

This trend was observable among other students as well.

Excerpt 7.7: Repetitions without typing

Speaker	Spoken channel
Teacher	Uhum (2.2((click))) and how was the weather. was it good weather for walking? (1.2)
Student	Hh (2.1) yeah so (.) actually, the weather is (1.3) much better than in St. Petersburg /because (.)/
Teacher	/ Is it?/
Student	for example, currently (2.2) uh the sun (1.4) the weather is sunny and
Teacher	Yeah
Student	And this morning (1.7) uh (1.4) I walked (.) just (1.7) with my (1.5) with my shirt

The abovementioned difference in repetitions with and without typing may be due to the students' stalling for time when the teacher is typing, or it may reflect the divided attention between speaking and reading (or searching for information in the text chat even if the message has not been sent yet). There could be other reasons for this finding, which should be investigated by future research.

Teachers' shift in attention

While most of the analysis was dedicated to *students'* reaction to the typed messages, the dataset also provided some interesting examples of the effects of typing on teachers' spoken interactions with students. As revealed by the detailed transcription, some teachers found it challenging to combine typing and to listening to the student. In Excerpt 7.8, for example, the teacher misses the student's request as they had been engaged in typing. Specifically, Student 3 is telling the teacher about her visit to a local park. The teacher corrects the student's phrase 'went to bicycle' for 'riding bicycles' and types this phrase in both Russian and English. While the teacher is typing, the student proceeds telling her story and signals a vocabulary gap, which goes unnoticed by the teacher (Lines 10-13 - note the 2 second silence after the student's question in lines 11-12, which has to be repeated in line 14). Perhaps unsurprisingly, this suggests that teacher typing affects teachers' attention to students' language production, and raises the question of the pedagogical 'cost' of using the written channel simultaneously with student speech, as opposed to the pedagogical 'benefit'.

Excerpt 7.8: Teachers' shift in attention

Speaker	Oral channel	L1 use	Written channel
Student	Some people:, erm (.) went to bicycle (2.3) erm		
Teacher	were RIDING bicycles uhuh		
Student	/riding?/		
Teacher	/кататься/ на велосипеде будет < ride >		

Student	<i>uhum</i>	
Teacher	<i>the bicycle uhum</i>	
Student	ride (.) bicycles, (0.7)	
Teacher	/uhum /	
Student	/mmm:/ <i>some people walked</i> (0.7) (H) <i>erm</i> (1.0) <i>s:ome: people: (H) erm.</i> (1.7) <i>have a tone? (2.0)</i> <i>загорали.</i>	ride a bicycle - кататься на велосипеде
	L1: sunbathe	
Teacher	What?	
Student	<have a tone>? (heh) to	
Teacher	ah: were (.) sunbathing.	

In sum, the results of this study indicate that (i) most teachers in this sample were moderate users of text chat while one teacher made extensive use of this functionality; (ii) text chat seems to serve pedagogic and organizational roles in the analysed context; (iii) several characteristics of the written message may be correlated with students' reaction to the message; (iv) students may display markers of disfluency when their teacher is typing, and (v) teacher attention to student language production may be negatively affected by the use of text chat. These findings are discussed in more detail below.

7.9. Discussion

The findings of this study show that even though teachers in this sample varied in the extent they used the text chat, the way they used the text chat and the way students reacted to the text chat messages were consistent across all teacher-student dyads.

It is interesting that unlike previous studies, which reported other uses for text chat, written messages in this study were used primarily for pedagogic purposes, such as providing feedback, introducing new vocabulary, setting agenda and creating a written record for future review. There were no instances of remedial uses of the written chat, wherein participants draw on text chat to compensate for inadequacies of audio channel (Cunningham et al., 2010; Regine Hampel & Stickler, 2012). This might have been due to the fact that there were no significant problems with the audio during the lessons. Nor did this dataset include instances of competing uses of text chat similar to those reported by Sauro (2004) wherein the less dominant participant in one-on-one Skype conversations between learners was ‘gaining a foothold’ in the conversation via the written chat. It might be that due to long-term nature of the analysed dyads the implicit rules of using the text chat had already been negotiated and had become fixed. Another possibility is that, due the different power relations between the two contexts (student-student in Sauro’s study versus teacher-student in this study), this strategy was not necessary for teachers, and not a ‘licensed choice’ (Candlin, 2001, p. xvi) available to learners in the current study.

The finding that 91.5% of all text messages were used for focusing students’ attention on the linguistic form suggests a strong pedagogic orientation in the use of the text chat in the analysed context. This pedagogic orientation raises questions about pedagogic effectiveness of these messages. If the assumption is that *error corrections*, *new vocabulary items* and *recasts* are produced to assist students’ language acquisition then long-term retention of the linguistic items and students’ immediate reaction to the written message are relevant in judging the effectiveness of text messages for the pedagogic

purpose. The nature of this study does not allow considering long-term retention of linguistic items and future longitudinal research is recommended to investigate the retention rate of text messages in LEVAC contexts. However, this study *does* provide data on whether the text message was subsequently incorporated in students' speech in the same lesson, which has been viewed as "one measure of learner noticing and thus have potential for language acquisition" (Sheen, 2006, p. 368). Thus, this measure will be used to discuss the pedagogic effectiveness of teachers' text messages in the following sub-section. Despite being a useful indicator, observable uptake is not an ideal measure, as uptake is an optional move (Ellis, 2001; Loewen, 2004), and learners may potentially notice and benefit from the written message even if they do not incorporate it in their immediate speech. This consideration should be kept in mind when interpreting the findings of this and other studies on learner uptake.

7.9.1. Multimodality and students' uptake

One of the questions that motivated this investigation was whether the combined use of text and oral modalities is incorporated by students in their language production more frequently than written-only input. The hypothesis about bi-modal input being incorporated more frequently was supported only for new vocabulary and explicit error correction messages and was not supported for recasts, which were *not* incorporated by students in their language regardless of being written-only or bi-modal (written and oral). When interpreting these results, it can be hypothesized that vocabulary and error messages may be cognitively salient for the students due to their clear pedagogical intent and that an additional modality of a text message amplifies this saliency and results in a higher likelihood of a message being incorporated in students' speech. The purpose of a recast, on the other hand, can be ambiguous for the student, as recasts could be interpreted as teachers' reaction to the *content*, rather than the *form* of a message.

Another surprising finding of the study is that there was no statistically significant difference in message uptake for messages produced as a reaction to students' request and messages produced without students' request. This is counter-intuitive as one would expect that students might be more likely to incorporate messages if they have explicitly signalled a gap. The reason for the insignificant difference in uptake might be that teachers' messages appeared too easy or too complex to the student or that seeing the requested linguistic form seemed sufficient to the student and wanted to proceed with the conversation rather than focus on the linguistic form. There could be other reasons for this finding, which should be investigated by future research.

7.9.2. Identity-constructing use of written chat

Since all 106 text messages were produced by teachers, it can be concluded that text chat is likely to be construed as the 'teachers' space' among the participants of this study and that apart from the pedagogic role, discussed above, text chat may also mark social and professional boundaries in the analysed context. Given that neither students nor teachers had been given any guidelines or training by the online school on how to use written chat, the considerable similarity in the use of the text chat by all five dyads' chat suggests the presence of similar social forces that lead to the production of the same social practice. The most logical explanation for teachers' exclusive use of text chat seems to be a shared understanding among teachers and students on how a language teacher and a language learner ought to behave. For example, it might be that in the analysed context the rules of using text chat resemble the common rules of using whiteboard or a blackboard in the face-to-face context in that most messages are produced by teachers and that students' unsolicited use is counter-expectant.

It is also interesting that more written messages were produced in the first 10 minutes of the lesson, compared to other stages of the lesson. Could this be indicative of teachers'

using text chat as a means to establish their professional identity? This interpretation would be consistent with prior research that suggests that people tend to exert more effort in constructing and projecting ‘an ideal self’, including a ‘professional self’ during the early stages of personal and professional interactions (Goffman, 1959; Metts, Grohskopf, Greene, & Burleson, 2003). Being an empirical observation of real interactions, this study did not collect students’ and teachers’ perception of their use of the written chat. It is thus recommended that further investigations are conducted on the teachers’ use of text chat in the private one-to-one paid teaching context.

7.9.3. A potentially negative effect of teacher typing on students’ fluency

The final aspect that needs discussing is a possibility of teacher typing negatively influencing students’ fluency and having a distracting effect on teachers themselves.

As revealed by the conversation analysis, some students displayed increased monosyllabic repetitions when they heard the sound of teacher typing. This decrease in fluency upon hearing teacher typing may have several explanations. First, it may have been a discursive response to the situation, since teachers had a higher social status and typing was ‘something that teachers did’ in this context. If teacher typing is perceived as a part of teachers’ ‘display’ of power in this context and if the students have previously experienced teachers’ loss of attention as the result of teachers being engaged in typing, then hearing teacher typing may have made students uncertain about how to proceed. Another explanation for the reduced fluency is that the learners could be accommodating their speech to the sound of typing. This explanation would be consistent with prior research that shows that speakers tend to pause, stretch words and restart in response to the sound of table bangs, coughing or sound of equipment, etc. on archaeological excavation site, etc. (Goodwin, 2003; Hosoda & Aline, 2012). In addition to accommodating speech to noise, the students’ disfluency markers may have been a result of typing being interpreted as a

‘display of disengagement’ on the teachers’ part (Goodwin, 1981). Similar to gaze, nodding and gestures investigated in classical conversation analysis work (see Goodwin, 1981 for example), the sound of typing may have signalled to the student that teachers’ locus of attention had shifted and that they were no longer fully engaged in listening to the students. This realization (conscious or unconscious) could have led to increased monosyllabic repetitions. According to Carroll (2004), disfluency markers can function to draw listeners’ attention when the listeners display the signs of disengagement. Thus, it can be hypothesised that this effect holds true in the video/audio conferencing environment, wherein teacher typing may be interpreted by the student as the sign of a potential loss of attention to what the student is saying. More research across different domains is recommended to investigate the relationship of typing and disfluency markers in various online contexts that involve speaking and the use of computers. If the findings of this study are confirmed in other contexts and if second language speakers consistently display signs of disfluency when their interlocutors are typing, it could have implications for a wide range of social situations that L2 speakers are involved in, such as job interviews, which are increasingly being conducted via video/audio conferencing.

Finally, the findings of this study highlight the need to inform current and future online language teachers about the potential effect that their typing may have on students’ language production and on teachers’ attention. An interesting question that needs to be answered is whether the loss in teachers’ attention is a justified cost of typing. In order to answer this question, future research needs to study the effect that teacher typing has on students’ language production during online lessons as well as the long-term retention. It is also important that practitioners engage in reflective practice about their pedagogy in order to facilitate the development of effective teaching methods.

7.10. Conclusion

In a context where an increasing number of teachers and learners worldwide are using video/audio conferencing for language lessons without having strong empirical data or theoretical underpinnings, this study conducted in one-to-one LEVAC teaching contexts has identified several important trends, which should be closely investigated by future studies. Due to its small scale, it is possible that some of the findings of this study might not be generalizable to other contexts. At the same time, it is possible that at least some of the explanatory findings that come from concentrating on this single context are applicable to other contexts. Regardless, further research into text chat in LEVAC, the related factors, and the broad range of related practices is strongly recommended in order to improve our understanding of the dynamics and pedagogies of multimodal online language lessons.

8. Chapter Eight: Coding for Chapter Nine (Paper Seven)

This short chapter serves to complement the Section 9.3.7 (Coding), since the length limitations of a scholarly article precluded a detailed description of the coding used in Paper Seven. This Section is therefore designed to provide a clear account of how I coded and analysed the data. Another goal of this section is to clarify similarities and differences between datasets in Paper Six and Paper Seven.

Paper Seven draws on four recordings that had been analysed in Paper Six. The reason why the fifth recording from Paper Six was not included for analysis in Paper Seven is that that recording was of an IELTS lesson (exam preparation), while Paper Seven seeks to analyse ‘conversational lessons’. Two additional recordings were added to the initial dataset to extend the sample size.

The coding in Paper Seven is based on functional-semantic research (M. A. Halliday, 1994; Halliday & Hasan, 1976, 1989), applied to classroom discourse analysis.

Specifically, I draw on IRF classification, which has been widely documented across different classrooms and is viewed as the most recognizable pattern of classroom discourse.

Sinclair and Coulthard (1992) conceptualize classroom discourse as consisting of the following levels:

Lesson

Transaction

Exchange

Move

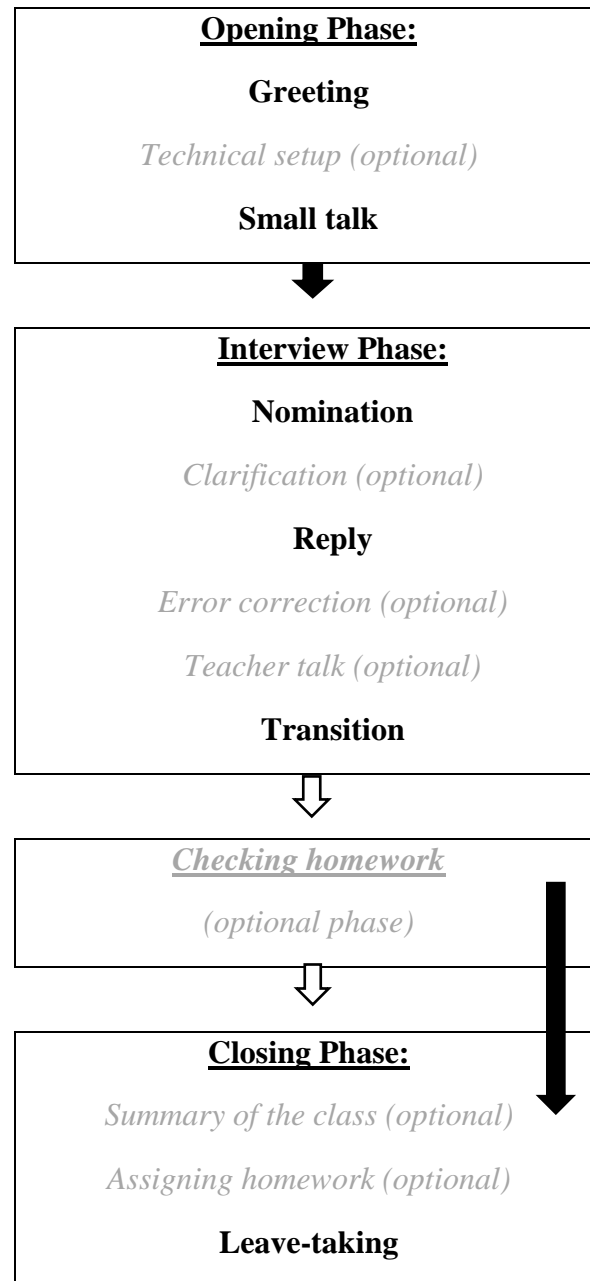
Act

This investigation sought to shed light on what is construed as ‘conversational’ lessons in the analysed context. Given the similarity in the overarching goal of all six lessons, the key question was how the goal of creating a ‘conversational’ environment was realized over the course of the lessons. In order to answer this question, it was important to code the transcript on three levels: *transaction level* to identify the overall organization of the lesson; *exchange level* to study how the ‘conversational’ transactions are realized; and *moves level* to study the organization of exchanges.

8.1. Coding for transactions

Coding at the *transaction level* was done inductively (Seale, 2004) with the categories emerging from the data. This level of coding allowed producing a schematic representation of six lessons (see Figure 8.1). Transactions present in all six transcripts were coded as obligatory and marked in bold, while the transactions, found only in some of the transcripts were coded as optional and marked in grey italics.

Figure 8.1: Coding for transactions



8.2. Coding for exchanges

Coding at the *exchange level* drew on the work of Nassaji & Wells (Nassaji & Wells, 2000; Wells, 1996).

When analysing classroom discourse Wells (1996) and Nassaji & Wells (2000) view exchanges during lessons as **nuclear** and **bound** with the former being obligatory

exchanges “which can stand alone, independently contributing to new content to the discourse” and the latter being “dependent on nuclear exchanges” (p.78). Bound exchanges are exchanges that occur either as a preparation for or as a reaction to a nuclear exchange. Bound exchanges share similarities with what which Sinclair and Coulthard (1992) described as ‘framing’ or ‘focusing’ exchanges, which serve to prepare the students for the main nuclear exchange (e.g. asking students to open the book on a certain page). The advantage of using Well’s (1996) conceptualization, however, was its ability to account for error correction exchanges, which were frequently found within nuclear exchanges. It is this conceptualization of exchanges as ‘embedded’ that proved to be useful for this investigation.

As a result, exchanges in this study were coded as

- **Nuclear exchanges**
- **Bound** (*preparatory; embedded; dependent*) **exchanges**.

8.3. Coding for moves

Coding at the *move level* drew extensively on functional-semantic research (Eggins & Slade, 2004; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975).

Based on the functional-semantic research tradition, all speech roles can be categorised as follows:

Table 8.1: Speech Roles (overview)

		Commodity exchanged	
		Information	Goods-and-Services
Speech role	Giving	Statement	Offer
	Demanding	Question	Command

Source: Halliday, 1994, p 69

Applying Halliday's system to the classroom context, Sinclair and Coulthard (1992) used the following terms:

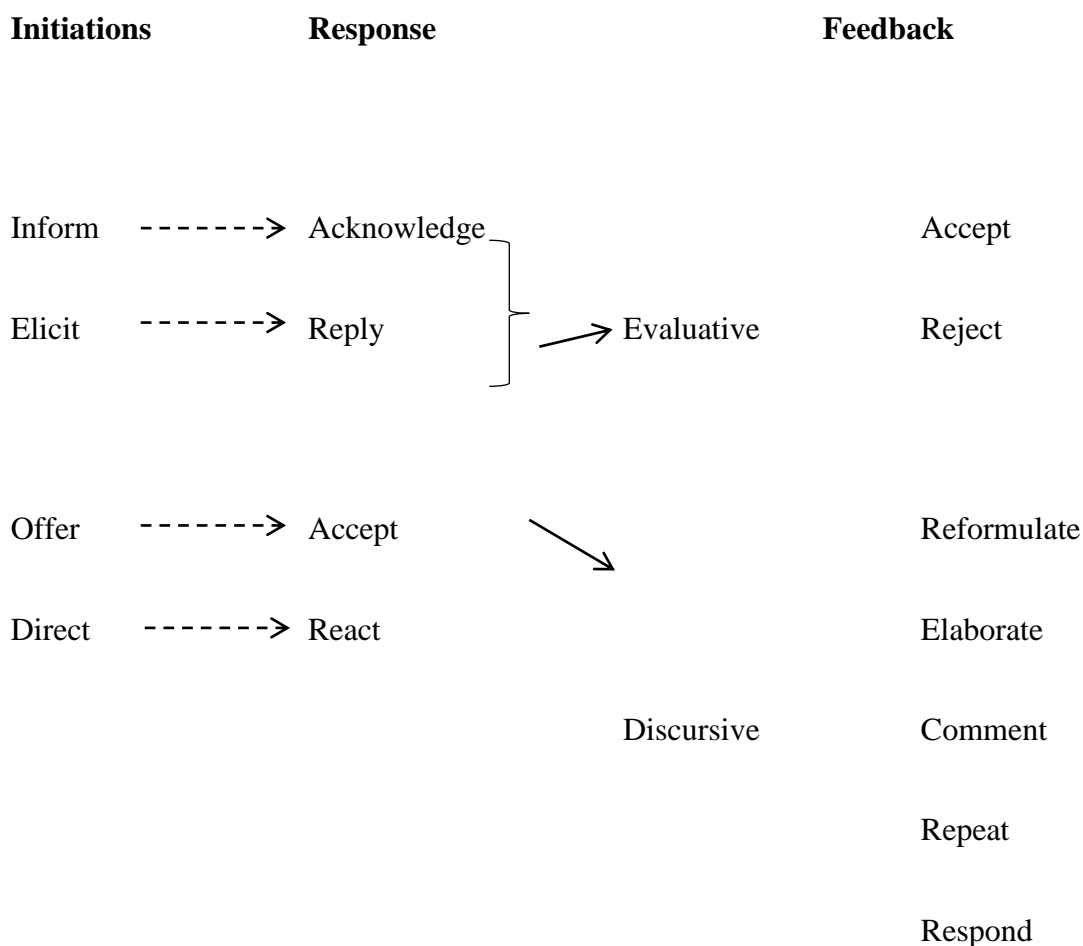
Table 8.2: Speech Roles (modified by Sinclair and Coulthard, 1992)

		Commodity exchanged	
		Information	Actions
Speech role	Giving	Inform(ation)	Offer
	Demanding	Elicit (ation)	Direct(ion)

Apart from the categories above, the transcripts were also coded for Initiation, Response and Feedback (IRF). This coding was done since IRF sequences are strongly associated with classroom discourse, ubiquitous across different educational contexts (see for example Cullen, 2002; K. Richards, 2009; Walsh, 2006). This interaction pattern is characterized by clear role distribution: teachers typically manage initiations and provide feedback while students respond to teachers' initiations.

In order to provide more details on the types of initiations, response and feedback, coding was extended based on classroom discourse literature. The specific coding for Initiation, Response and Feedback are presented in Figure 8.2 and discussed below.

Figure 8.2: Coding for Initiation, Response and Feedback



8.4. Initiation coding

The functional-semantic view of language posits that initiations vary based on the functions that they perform. Specifically, a person can initiate an exchange in order to provide or demand information or in order to offer or demand ‘goods and services’.

‘Goods and services’ should be conceptualized broadly. For example, in the context of language classroom, ‘goods or services’ could be certain actions that teachers or students perform or learning artefacts, such as homework or a textbook.

Coding at move level drew on the categories used by Sinclair and Coulthard (1992).

Specifically, initiations were coded as one of the following:

- Inform
- Elicit
- Offer
- Direct

8.5. Response coding

While response moves can also provide or demand information or offer or demand ‘goods and services’, a particular function of the response move is that it tends to depend on the type of the initiation move. In other words, response moves are framed and constrained by the initiating move. It would be deviant not to provide information as a response to information elicitation or to express acceptance in response to providing information. This principle has been widely discussed in the literature and is viewed as the sequential implicativeness concept. In other words, certain initiations tend to result in certain responses. Drawing on this research, the coding for the response category was based on the coding scheme used in Sinclair and Coulthard’s model (1992). Specifically, they code responses as:

- Acknowledge (usually found in response to informing)
- Reply (usually found in response to elicitation)
- Accept (usually found in response to offer)
- React (usually found in response to direction)

The coding for this study used the same categories as Sinclair and Coulthard (1992) since these categories allow for a detailed understanding of the types of responses.

8.6. Feedback/Follow up moves

The final element in the IRF sequence is the ‘F-move’. It has been referred to differently in the last several decades. While mostly known as IRF (Initiation/Response/Feedback or

Follow-up) it has also been referred to as IRE (Initiation/Response/Evaluation) see Mehan, 1979. For the purposes of this coding, I have selected the term ‘Feedback’ as it is the most frequently used term and is widely accepted among applied linguists. This term also captures different functions of the third move, including the evaluative and discoursal functions.

There are different classifications of the ‘F-moves’ (Cullen, 2002; Mercer, 2001; Nassaji & Wells, 2000; Van Lier, 2001). This study adopts the coding scheme proposed by Cullen (2002), who conceptualized F move as having two categories: evaluative and discoursal. The function of the former is to provide students with feedback on their performance, typically on the form of the language item, while the function of the latter is to provide feedback on the content of the response. Cullen (2002) also identified several sub-types of the discoursal moves, capable of providing effective follow-up in the context of language classroom. Table 8.3 summaries the coding for the ‘F-move’.

Table 8.3: Coding for "F-move"

Evaluative F-move	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accept - Reject
Discursive F-move	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reformulation - Elaboration - Comment - Repetition - Responsiveness

8.7. Other coding categories

There were several other categories of moves found and coded in the process of the analysis. These categories included:

- Linguistic Bids

The term ‘bid’ has been used extensively in linguistics research to refer to the indications of readiness of one speaker to perform a certain function. Bids are often short and are manifested in gestures, vocalizations, such as um, erm, etc. There are numerous references to linguistic bids in the literature (Hellermann, 2005, 2007; Winchatz, 2008). When found, these moves were classified as particular types of bids, e.g. ‘initiation bid’.

- Greetings

Exchanges were coded as ‘greeting’ (terminology used by Frobenius, 2011; Laver, 1981 etc) if they contained the greeting phrases such as “Hello, How are you?” and served to greet the interlocutor.

- Leave-taking

Exchanges were coded as ‘leave-taking’ (Tang, 2007) when their function was to terminate the lessons. They included such phrases as ‘good bye’.

This approach to analysis draws on decades of classroom discourse analysis, and was able to identify discourse patterns at different levels. It also showed how the social action of conversational classes is systematically related to socio-economic arrangements of lessons, as discussed in Paper Seven, and in the final chapter.

9. Chapter Nine: Language Education via Audio/Video Conferencing

(LEVAC): A discursive investigation (Paper Seven)

9.1. Abstract

This study is the first to document discursive patterns of private one-to-one Language Education via Video/Audio Conferencing (LEVAC). Students in this study are adult language learners from Russia and the study seeks to identify discursive features of six lessons, perceived as satisfying by learners. One particularly valuable characteristic of the analysed dataset is the long-term nature of the dyads, which allows reducing the ‘novelty effect’, commonly reported by educational technology studies. ‘Novelty effect’ refers to a short-lived increase in students’ efforts or reported motivation following the introduction of a new treatment or a new tool. The analysis shows a stable discursive structure with asymmetrical role distribution between teachers and students, wherein students tend to perform the role of respondents and do not practice topic nomination or managing transitions. Second, the study showed that most language produced during the lessons was relatively simple and covered everyday topics such as food and weekends. The study raises questions regarding the use of teaching materials in this teaching context, the learning outcomes of the identified curriculum genre and an apparent difference in pedagogic behaviour of native and non-native English tutors in relation to grammar error correction. Finally, the dataset provides illustrations of two medium-specific characteristics of LEVAC environment, which are unique to this context: (i) the use of emoticons to complement speaking and (ii) interruptions from external users. The findings of this study will be of interest for a wide range of English-teaching stakeholders, including teachers, teacher-trainers and educational developers.

9.1. Introduction

There is a ‘new kid on the block’ of the multi-million dollar language teaching industry. This ‘kid’ is private online language tutoring, which tends to be conducted via popular video/audio-conferencing tools, such as Skype. However there is a dearth of studies on this teaching and learning context. The existing studies have focused on the providers of private online English lessons and customers of such services (Kozar, 2012b, 2014a; Kozar & Sweller, 2014). These studies show that private online language lessons are commonly presented as ‘one-to-one conversational lessons’ and marketed as able to ‘crash the language barrier’ - a strategic representation of language learning in Russia, which allows private teaching providers to justify their existence and portray a negative image of public education (Kozar, 2014b). The focus on speaking in one-to-one English lessons conducted via video/audio conferencing in Russia is not accidental. Unlike other online tools, such as emails, blogs, wikis, discussion forums, designed primarily for asynchronous written communication, Skype and other similar VoIP (Voice over the Internet Protocol) tools are able to support real-time voice and video conversations and therefore create an opportunity for speaking practice. Speaking is an attractive activity for the students from the countries of the ‘Expanding Circle’ (Kachru, 2006), wherein English has no special administrative status and the opportunities to use English outside of the classroom are limited. While this study investigates only one country of the Expanding Circle, the findings may be of relevance to other countries of the Expanding Circle.

Despite the growing popularity Language Education via Video/Audio Conferencing (LEVAC), there are no published studies which investigate the *pedagogy* of online English lessons conducted in a private teaching context. This lack of research leaves unexamined an important social practice and does not provide language teachers who wish to engage in this teaching context with guidelines and suggestions for practice. Another drawback of limited research on pedagogy and material design for private LEVAC contexts is that

teachers, teacher educators and other authors of language-teaching materials do not have any established research to draw on for this teaching context.

This study seeks to investigate the structure and the discursive characteristics of several ‘conversational’ lessons conducted via Skype with Russian learners of English who reported being satisfied with their lessons. A central question of this paper is whether there may be a consistent genre of the ‘conversational LEVAC lesson’. This question is important since identifying and describing a genre is one way to understand and critically evaluate new social phenomena. This analytical power comes from genres being “staged, goal-oriented, social processes” (J.R. Martin, 1997, p. 13), which makes the knowledge of genres useful for teacher training and professional development.

The data for this study comes from six ‘long-term’ dyads of teachers and learners who have been having English lessons via Skype on a regular basis for at least 4 months. The ‘long-term’ nature of dyads is an important feature of this study, as it allows reducing the ‘novelty effect’. Novelty effect refers to a short-lived increase in students’ efforts or reported motivation following the introduction of a new treatment or a new tool. This effect is commonly found in educational technology research and has been widely cautioned against (Buckingham, 2013; R. Kern et al., 2008; Selwyn, 2010). Another important characteristic of the dataset is that all the students expressed a high overall satisfaction with their lessons by ranking their classes as ‘10 out of 10’ on the perceived usefulness and enjoyment scales in the regular feedback to the private school, which matched these students and their teachers. This dataset is therefore valuable as it provides a snapshot into established practices reported as useful and enjoyable by private online language learners. Similar to any discursive investigation, the aim of this study is to describe and explain what is happening in a particular context, rather than to necessarily generalize findings to other contexts.

9.2. Conversational lessons: unknown species?

Even a cursory look at the current English-teaching market in Russia shows a considerable interest in ‘conversational English’ (Russian: *razgovornyi angliisky*). There are numerous books, multimedia courses and websites, featuring the phrase ‘conversational English’ in their title (e.g. Gasina, 2003; LinguaMatch, 2003; Tomalin, 2007) and an increasing number of private language schools foreground *razgovornyi angliisky* in their advertisements and promotional materials (Kozar, 2014a). The salience of ‘conversational English’ in current English teaching discourse in Russia might be rooted in a common perception that Russian learners of English have a considerable gap between their grammatical knowledge and their speaking skills, usually attributed to a long tradition of the grammar-translation approach in Russia (Ter-Minasova, 2005).

Despite its widespread use, there is a degree of ambiguity about the meaning of the phrase *razgovornyi angliisky* (conversational English) in the Russian context. On the one hand, this concept can be understood as a type of class that focuses on improving speaking skills and has a high number of speaking activities; at the same time, this phrase can also be interpreted as ‘informal, modern English’ and can imply learning slang and the varieties of English, different from formal English. Moreover, some of the books, sold under the banner of ‘conversational English’ in Russia closely resemble phrasebooks for travellers and contain mostly formulaic phrases, such as buying tickets or ordering a meal (see for example Shiryayeva, 2012). It is, therefore, unclear what is constructed as ‘conversational English’ in the Russian context, what pedagogy underpins lessons named this way and whether ‘conversational English’ goes beyond being just a marketing slogan.

The lack of clarity on the nature of ‘conversational’ lessons is not exclusive to Russia. Current literature suggests that there is a considerable vagueness about the nature of speaking or ‘conversational’ lessons worldwide. In a recent paper on conversation-driven ELT (English Language Teaching) pedagogy, Chappell (2014) asks “if we are privileging

conversation, then what is it exactly that is being privileged?” (p. 2). This question is pertinent, as, despite the existence of several approaches to teaching conversational skills, ranging from a “carefully graded progression” of questions and answers, known as the Direct Method (J. Richards & Rogers, 1986, p. 10) to various forms of Communicative Language Teaching and Task-Based Learning (for overview see Thornbury & Slade, 2006), teaching speaking and conversation remains under-theorized in the field of English-language teaching even for the face-to-face context (Nunan, 1987; Spada, 2007; Thompson, 1996). When a new medium of delivery (videoconferencing) is added to the equation, the question of what pedagogy is being privileged during ‘conversational’ lessons conducted via tools like Skype and what goals are being achieved becomes even more relevant, as not only should teachers take into account the new ‘materiality’ of online environments (Regina Hampel, 2006), but they also need to find appropriate teaching materials and learning activities for this context.

9.3. Theoretical Background

The following section presents a brief overview of relevant research and theoretical considerations which informed the design of this study.

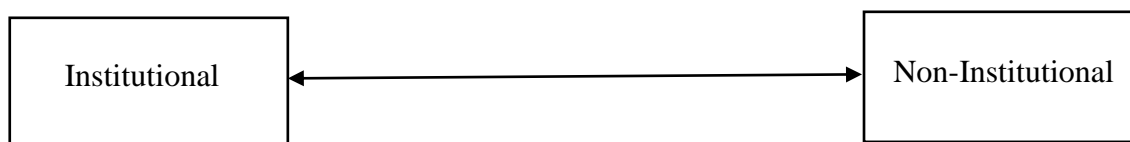
9.3.1. Classroom discourse studies

Studies investigating group language classrooms in institutional contexts (primary, secondary, tertiary sector) have traditionally done so by analysing language produced during lessons. More specifically, classroom discourse studies have focused on teacher-student interactions from a variety of perspectives, such as construction and negotiation of identities, language acquisition, teaching techniques, etc. It is not feasible to summarize all the research on classroom discourse within the constraints of one paper; however it is important to outline some major themes, relevant for the present study. First, numerous studies have shown that English language teachers tend to control turn-taking and topic

selection during lessons (Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Breen, 2001; K. E. Johnson, 1995; Van Lier, 2001). Research also suggests that language teachers rely on a broad range of linguistic devices, such as prosodic features, politeness strategies, scaffolding techniques, code-switching, etc., to support students' language production and to control the flow of the lesson (Camilleri, 1996; Lin, 1990; Lörcher & Schulze, 1988; Mora, 2000; Morley, 1991). Teacher control over the classroom discourse is usually exercised via initiating exchanges and providing feedback, typified in the exchange sequence termed IRF (Cazden, 2001; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). As a result, language classrooms tend to consist predominately of "questions and answer routines" (Walsh, 2006, p. 7) with teachers doing most of the initiations and feedback and students responding to teachers' initiations. The IRF sequences seem to be ubiquitous: they occur in traditional, grammar-oriented as well as in communicative, meaning-oriented classrooms (Cullen, 2002; K. Richards, 2009; Walsh, 2006).

There is an important difference between the context of this study (private, one-to-one language lessons conducted via a popular video/audio conferencing tool) and that of the studies above. This difference is represented visually in Figure 9.1. The left end of the cline is represented by classrooms conducted within formal educational institutions (e.g. secondary, tertiary institutions) in in *group* contexts, wherein an institution provides framework for the participants' interactions and therefore influences the teaching and learning relationship. Most of the studies mentioned in the previous paragraph fall towards the left end of the cline as these classrooms are strongly influenced by institutional curriculums and requirements. The right end of the cline are learning environments negotiated personally, or facilitated for individual tutors and their students by websites like www.verbalplanet.com or www.italki.com that function as online platforms for teachers to post their profiles and set their own prices, terms and curriculum.

Figure 9.1: The cline of institutional presence



This article is concerned with contexts that fall towards the right-hand end of the cline in Figure 9.1, specifically with lessons organized via a private online language school. Private online language schools have been explored here because they are currently the most widespread type of provider of online language tutorials in Russia (Kozar, 2012b).

Given the difference between institution-mediated and private online language tutoring contexts, it remains unclear to what extent the findings of the classroom discourse research, conducted in the formal educational institutions, might be relevant to one-to-one teaching context of this study.

Another important difference between this study and those mentioned earlier is the number of students. Most of the existing classroom research was done in a *group* context, wherein a teacher is conducting lessons with a number of students simultaneously. This study, however, focuses on *one-to-one* English lessons with one student and one teacher.

Finally, while classrooms are multimodal environments and face-to-face teachers employ gesture and movement, and often a variety of audio-visual tools such as the whiteboard, overhead projectors, etc., the *multimodality of LEVAC contexts* differs from that of face-to-face contexts. LEVAC contexts are computer-mediated, with a shared temporal location but different spatial locations. One can expect that this different ‘materiality’ of private online language tutoring contexts (Regina Hampel, 2006) might have a discursive effect on the lessons.

Given the abovementioned differences, while this study also reviews prior research on one-to-one teaching practices in institutions, the transference or relevance of these studies to

the context of this study is not assumed. Instead, the findings of studies discussed above and those to follow are used as a reference and comparison point for analysing data on the interactions that took place during one-to-one online English tutorials. The following section overviews research on dyadic (i.e. one-to-one) learning contexts and synthesises the findings of these studies.

9.3.2. *Research on dyadic interactions in English classrooms*

Despite the long-standing recognition of the potential of one-to-one instruction (Bloom, 1984; Cohen, Kulik, & Kulik, 1982), there is a dearth of peer-reviewed research on one-to-one teaching. The literature on one-to-one English language teaching consists of several commercial manuals, based on writers' personal experiences (Osborne, 2005; Wilberg, 1987; Wisniewska, 2011) and several academic studies, which mostly seek to identify characteristics of one-to-one *writing* tutorials, perceived as successful by students (Thonus, 2001, 2002, 2008; Weigle & Nelson, 2004; Zdrojkowski, 2007). These studies suggest that it is the *process of the tutorials* that may be correlated with students' satisfaction with the sessions. This conclusion is based on the findings that the presence of small talk, conversational turn structure, mitigation of directives by tutors, simultaneous laughter and affiliative overlaps are strongly linked with students' perceived success of one-to-one tutorials.

The importance of interactional factors in classroom dyadic interactions is also suggested by studies on student-student communication during language lessons. Storch (2001, 2002) reports that those dyads that exhibit higher mutuality, number of agreements, phatic utterances, and clarifications are also those that exhibit more instances of transfer of knowledge. Meanwhile, the dyads with seemingly worse interpersonal rapport showed "the greatest number of instances showing no transfer of knowledge" (Storch, 2002, p. 148).

While these results are noteworthy, it is critical not to assume a causal relationship

between the interpersonal processes and students' perceived satisfaction of their lessons, as there may be other types of relationship between these factors.

Another field of enquiry potentially relevant to one-to-one LEVAC research are studies on language advising – the practice wherein learners consult experts in language learning on particular language-learning issues (Mozzon-McPherson, 2001; Stickler, 2001). Consistent with other literature on dyadic interactions, studies on learning advising foreground the importance of empathy, good listening skills and interpersonal rapport in advising sessions (Karlsson, Kjisik, & Nordlund, 2007; Mynard & Carson, 2012), as well using careful language during the advising sessions (Mozzon-McPherson, 2007) and encouraging positive attribution in learners (McLoughlin, 2012). It is, however, important to recognize that despite sharing certain qualities, there are considerable differences between the context of private language tutoring and language advising. While these two contexts are similar in that they are both dyadic and voluntary by nature, language advising aspires to promote learner autonomy and independence (Mozzon-McPherson, 2012). Language teaching, on the other hand, views language teachers as central in language-learning process and concerns itself with effective methods of facilitating language learning. A further difference between language advising and language teaching is that the former tends to happen on demand, and students could content themselves with one or two meetings with a language advisor, while language teaching tends to require a long-term commitment.

In sum, the existing literature does not seem to provide sufficient grounds to make predictions as to what type of discourse is likely to be found in one-to-one private LEVAC lessons. On the one hand, it is possible that, similar to reports from face-to-face group classrooms, teachers in this study will control most of the nominations, topic transitions via the IRF (Initiation-Response-Feedback) sequence. At the same time, it may be that one-to-one teaching contexts might exhibit features found in studies on language advising and classroom pair work. In that case, one might expect a more conversational and symmetrical

turn structure. These are of course not the only possibilities and the analysis might reveal a different discourse produced in this social setting.

9.3.3. *Genre studies*

When any person produces language, they draw extensively on implicit or explicit understanding of what is possible, appropriate and best-suited for the situation in which they find themselves communicating, based on the existing social stock of similar interactions. These communication norms and conventions are precisely what genre theories are investigating. There are three major approaches to studying genre: English for Specific Purposes, Rhetorical Genre Studies, and Systemic-Functional Linguistics. These traditions have been compared and widely discussed in the literature before (V. Bhatia, 2004; Hyon, 1996; John Swales, 2009).

This paper draws on Systemic Functional Linguistics (hereafter SFL) genre analysis to understand the social context of private online language lessons and views genres as “staged, goal-oriented, social processes” (J.R. Martin, 1997, p. 13). One reason for choosing SFL genre theory as the overarching framework for this study is the long tradition of this line of research in classroom discourse analysis (starting from Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). There is also a considerable amount of SFL-based work on genre analysis in face-to-face classrooms (see for example Christie, 2005; Christie & Martin, 2009; Herrington & Moran, 2005). These and other studies have demonstrated the usefulness of identifying genres which take place in various classrooms for improving pedagogy and student involvement. The present study seeks to shed light on genres, which unfold in a previously unexamined context of private one-to-one LEVAC lessons. This paper draws on Sinclair & Coulthard’s (1975) IRF framework, and the genre descriptions adopted from work of Derewianka (1990), Hammond, Burns, Joyce, Brosnan, & Gerot,

(1992), McCarthy & Carter (1994) and Martin & Rose (2008) in analysing the language produced during the analysed lessons.

9.4. Methodology

The following section reports on the methodology of this study, including research participants and the analytical procedure.

9.4.1. Participants

Participants in this study include six different dyads (six teachers of various nationalities and 6 Russian students), who had been having regular ‘conversational’ English lessons conducted via a popular video/audio conferencing tool, Skype for a minimum of 4 months. The lessons were organized via a private online school, which matches English teachers and students. The school claims on its website to follow the Communicative Language Teaching approach. There is no set curriculum, and the teachers are encouraged to negotiate the content of instruction directly with their students. There are also no formal assessments and the students do not receive any certifications formalizing their education. A summary of the participants is presented in Table 9.1. The dyads are organized as follows: Dyads 1-3 are dyads where the teachers are Russian teachers of English, while Dyads 4-6 are dyads where the teachers are native-English speakers.

Table 9.1: Research Participants

	Dyad history	Lesson number	Participants	Age
Dyad 1	21 months	207 th lesson	<i>Teacher 1: Russian female</i>	24
			Student 1: Russian female	29
Dyad 2	10 months	68 th lesson	<i>Teacher 2: Russian male</i>	53
			Student 2: Russian male	39
Dyad 3	7 months	40 th lesson	<i>Teacher 3: Russian female</i>	32
			Student 3: Russian female	28
Dyad 4	4 months	24 th lesson	<i>Teacher 7: American female</i>	47
			Student 7: Russian male	29
Dyad 5	13 months	86 th lesson	<i>Teacher 6: Canadian male</i>	63
			Student 6: Russian female	32
Dyad 6	4 months	22 nd lesson	<i>Teacher 8: South-African female</i>	29
			Student 8: Russian female	20

Three out of six teachers were Russian and three other teachers were from the US, Canada and the UK. Teachers ranged from 24-63 years old and students ranged from 20-39 years old. In language-teacher parlance, all students could be described as falling in the range of

‘high-beginner’ to ‘intermediate’. At the time of data collection, the dyads had had an average of 74.5 lessons over the period of 9.8 months on average.

9.4.2. *Materials used during the lesson*

Table 9.2 summarizes the materials used during the lessons. As can be seen from the table, two out of six dyads did not use any teaching materials and opted for spontaneous conversations (Dyad 1 and Dyad 4). Two other dyads used a list of questions prepared by the teacher prior to the lesson (Dyad 5 and Dyad 6) and two remaining dyads used textbooks for part of the lesson (Dyad 2 and Dyad 3).

Table 9.2: Learning Materials

Dyad 1	Dyad 2	Dyad 3	Dyad 4	Dyad 5	Dyad 6
X	Textbook: <i>Headway</i> <i>Elementary</i>	Textbook: <i>English File</i> <i>Intermediate</i>	X	A list of questions prepared by the teacher	A list of questions prepared by the teacher

In both cases when textbooks were used, textbook work happened in the second part of the lesson following small talk. Both dyads had previously used the respective textbooks (*Headway* and *English File*) and continued from the pages where they had finished at the previous lessons.

As for the lists of questions, Dyad 5’s lesson was based on the questions related to food preferences, while Dyad 6’s lesson was based on a list of questions about ‘controversial’ topics, such as drugs, social welfare, etc. In Dyad 5 the student had the list of questions, as it had been previously emailed to her by Teacher 5, while in Dyad 6 the student did not know the questions and Teacher 6 read them to Student 6 during the lesson.

9.4.3. *Data*

The data for the study consists of six audio-recordings of English lessons obtained from the participants. The recordings range from 27-48 minutes and were done via Skype Recorder – a plug-in, which allows recording audio conversations in Skype.

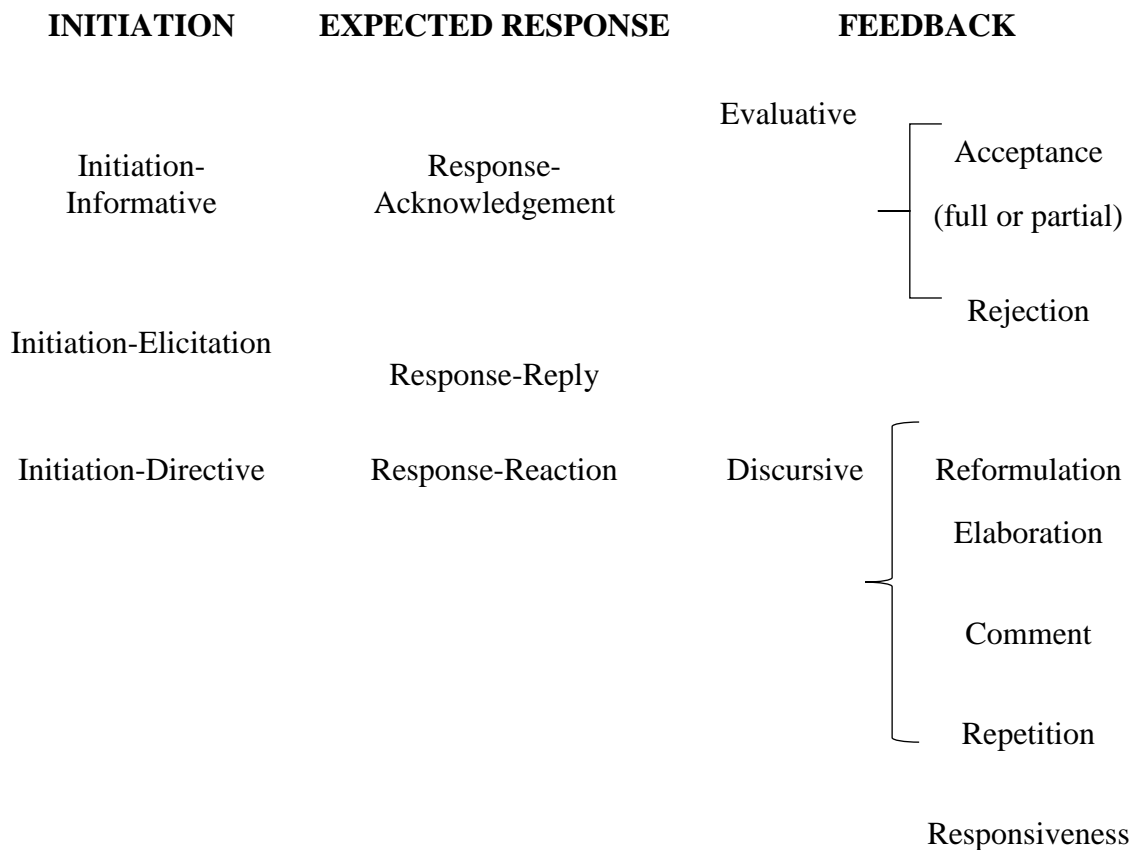
In compiling the dataset, care was taken to obtain naturalistic data and where possible, the recordings were retrieved from existing archives, as most of the participants frequently recorded their lessons for review purposes. If the archives were not available, teachers recorded a number of lessons. Informed consent was granted by all the participants.

9.4.4. *Coding and Analysis*

The recordings were transcribed and the transcripts were entered into NVivo10 software. The transcripts were coded inductively (Gibbs, 2008; L. Richards & Morse, 2007) for structural elements. In the process of coding a number of genres described in the existing research was identified, e.g. Derewianka, (1990); Hammond, Burns, Joyce, Brosnan, & Gerot, (1992); McCarthy & Carter, (1994); Martin & Rose, (2008) and coded where discovered.

In terms of interaction patterns, the transcripts were coded for exchanges and moves, drawing on the model developed by Sinclair & Coulthard (2002; 1992; 1975). The codes used for this level of analysis included: Initiations, Response, Feedback and the sub-types of these categories, specifically Elicitations, Information-providing, Direction, Reply, Acknowledgement, Reaction, Evaluative Follow-up, Discursive Follow-up (Cullen, 2002; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1992). The exchanges were also coded as Nuclear or Bound (Nassaji & Wells, 2000; Wells, 1996). The former are exchanges that “can stand alone, independently contributing to new content to the discourse” (Nassaji & Wells, 2000, p. 78), while the latter depend on nuclear exchanges. Figure 9.2 summarizes the coding scheme used in this study.

Figure 9.2: Coding Scheme



In terms of lexico-grammatical elements, which were important for identifying the type of language produced by students, the transcripts were coded for: (i) *patterns of nouns* used by the participants (generic/specific; concrete/abstract; technical/everyday); (ii) types of *conjunctions* in participants’ talk; (iii) tenses used by the participants (Halliday & Hasan, 1976).

While transcripts were coded for the IRF, the main focus of this study are the broader discursive patterns that constitute the genre of ‘conversational LEVAC’ lessons.

9.5. Results

This section presents the key findings of the analysis in relation to the structure of the analysed lessons and the type of language produced by students.

9.5.1. What types of language are taught and/or practiced during the lesson?

The analysis of the recordings showed that most of the lesson time was spent interviewing the students about their personal experiences and opinions. The topics for discussions predominately included students' plans for the weekend or students' past activities, food preferences, recent trips, etc. The genres employed while discussing these topics tended to include *autobiographical recounts* and *personal responses*. One lesson (Dyad 1) exhibited several instances of the *analytical argument* genre, which demonstrates that it is possible to elicit genres other than autobiographical recount or personal response during one-to-one LEVAC lessons in a private teaching context.

The analysis of language produced by the students showed that students tended to employ *specific* and *concrete* nouns and used either grammatically simple sentences or a limited range of conjunctions in complex sentences. When using complex sentences, students showed a tendency to use the same conjunctions, specifically the causative conjunction 'because', the additive conjunction 'and' and the contrastive conjunction 'but'. Few other conjunctions were used. Table 9.3 provides the summary of conjunctions used by students. As can be seen in Table 9.3, 174 out of 190 instances of additive conjunctions were expressed by the conjunction 'and'. All 51 instances of contrastive conjunctions were expressed by 'but'. There were 61 instances of causative conjunctions with 48 instances expressed by the conjunction 'because'. As for temporal conjunctions, 15 out of 34 instances were expressed by 'after' and 14 instances were expressed by 'when'. This finding suggests that the language generated during the lessons relied on a narrow range of lexico-grammatical realizations.

Table 9.3: Conjunctions used by students

	Causal		Additive		Temporal			Adversative
	<i>because</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>when</i>	<i>before</i>	<i>after</i>	<i>but</i>
Dyad 1	7	0	26	3	5			1
Dyad 2	0	0	14	0	2	0	0	4
Dyad 3	3	0	8	2	0	0	0	3
Dyad 4	17	8	46	4	7	5	5	18
Dyad 5	3	5	12	1	0	0	1	7
Dyad 6	18	0	68	6	0	0	9	18
Total	61		190		34			51

Turning from lexicogrammatical features to topics, Extract 9.1 provides a representative example of the topics, covered in the analysed lessons and the type of language produced by the students. As can be seen in Excerpt 9.1, the language produced by the student is everyday and concrete.

Excerpt 9.1: Discussing personal topics

	Speakers	Transcript	Exchanges	Moves	Comments
1	Teacher	Um (.) do you remember what you ate yesterday?	Nuclear	Initiation	Elicitation
2	Student	Oh, yes.		Response	Reply
3	Teacher	Question number	Bound	Initiation	Direction

		two.			
4	Student	Yes, I remember. I remember.		Response.	Reply
5	Student	My husband uh like very much eating. It's uh a big – it give big pleasure for him. So, very often uh the food prepare my husband. So yesterday, he prepared uh a duck.	Nuclear (continued)	Response	Reply
6	Teacher	Mm-hmm. Okay.		Feedback	Discursive
7	Student	Duck with rice. Uh, yes, it is.		Response	Reply
8	Teacher	Mm-hmm.		Feedback	Discursive
9	Student	It was duck with rice uh with tea. Uh (.)that's all.		Response	Reply
10	Teacher	Ok, good.		Feedback	Evaluative
11	Teacher	Erm (.) the next	Nuclear	Initiation	Direction

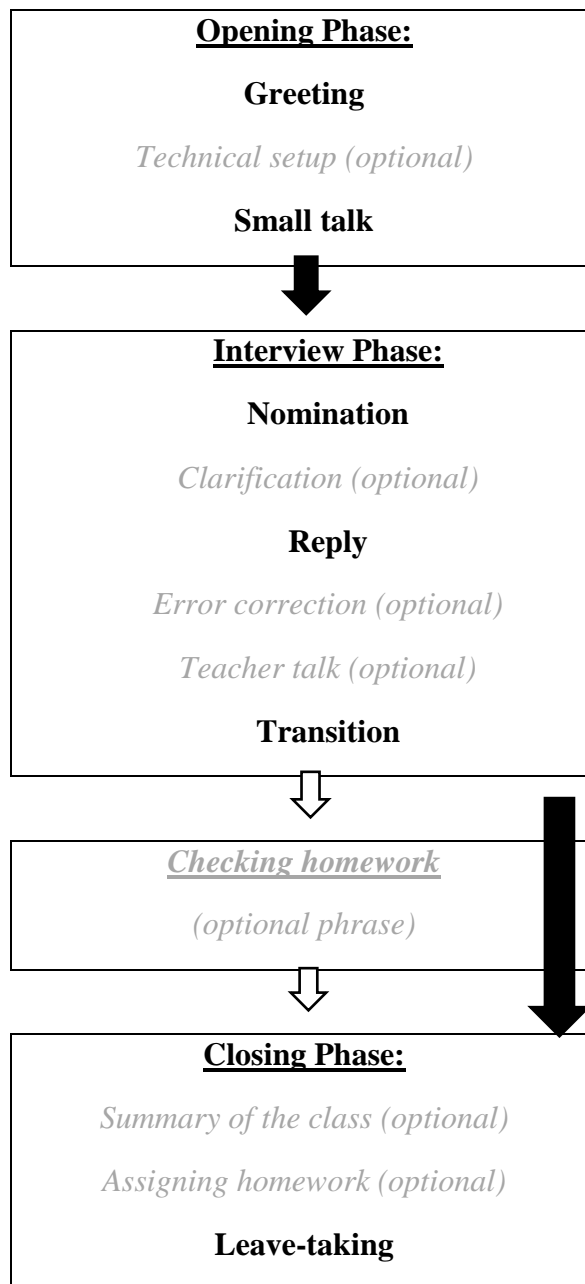
question asks....

* *Response in Move 4 is the response to the literal interpretation, while Move 5 responds to the information elicitation.*

9.5.2. Structure of the lessons

All of the analysed lessons were based on the following schematic structure (see Figure 9.3).

Figure 9.3: Schematic Structure of the lessons



There were three phases that occurred in every lesson: (i) Opening phase; (ii) Interview phase and (iii) Closing phase. There was also an optional phase, specifically ‘Checking homework’. This phase followed the Interview phase and preceded the Closing Phase. The detailed description of each obligatory phase is presented below. The constraints of this paper do not allow including details of the optional phase, but it is worth noting that all instances of checking homework were in lessons of Russian teachers.

9.5.3. *Greetings*

Greetings in the analysed lessons tended to be short exchanges at the start of the class, consisting of 4-10 moves of formulaic nature (Hello-How are you- I’m...). Excerpt 9.2 illustrates a typical greeting.

Excerpt 9.2: A typical greeting

	Speakers	Transcript	Exchanges	Moves	Sub-types
1	Teacher	Hello Pavel. How are you?	Greeting	Initiation	Salutation
2	Student	Hello Barbara.		Response	Salutation
3		Yeah	Nuclear	Initiation	Bid
4	Teacher	How are you?	Nuclear	Initiation	Elicitation
5	Teacher	Can you hear me okay 🤔?	Nuclear	Initiation	Elicitation
6	Student	Yes (message sound)		Response	Reply

7	Student	Um yeah.	Nuclear	Initiation	Bid
8	Student	How are you?	Greeting/	Initiation	Elicitation
9	Teacher	Really well. Thank you.	Nuclear	Response	Reply
10	Teacher	How are you (message sound)?		Initiation	Elicitation
11	Student	I'm fine, thank you.		Response	Reply
12	Teacher	Terrific.		Feedback	Evaluative

Excerpt 9.2 is representative of the analysed dataset in that it includes the compulsory greeting and small talk which were found in all six recordings. This example also illustrates a seemingly unequal power relationship between the teacher and the student manifested in teachers' assertive behaviour (e.g. teacher's multiple repetition of 'how are you' until the question was answered) and the evaluative remark at the end of the sequence.

Another notable feature of openings in the dataset is that half of the recordings included questions pertinent to the technical set-up. These questions tended to follow the first greeting move and preceded the small talk. Yet another similarity across the recordings was a degree of formality between the students and the teachers, expressed through such lexico-grammatical choices, as the formal "I am very well, thank you". At the same time,

the teachers sometimes modified the degree of formality via the use of emoticons, which were employed in conjunction with audio and video channels (see 9.2.Turn 5 above). While there was only a small number of emoticons used in the analysed dataset (five instances), three instances of emotions were found in the greeting phase, which may or may not reflect a potential trend in this environment.

The transition from Opening Phase to the next phase of the lessons was usually marked by a directive move from the teacher, such as ‘let’s talk about’ followed by the topic nomination. Excerpt 9.3 illustrates a typical transition from the Opening to the Interview Phase.

Excerpt 9.3: Typical transition

	Speakers	Transcript	Exchanges	Moves	Sub-types
1	Teacher	Um	Nuclear	Initiation	Marker
2	Teacher	Let’s talk about your weekend.		Initiation	Direction
3		What did you do last weekend?		Initiation	Elicitation

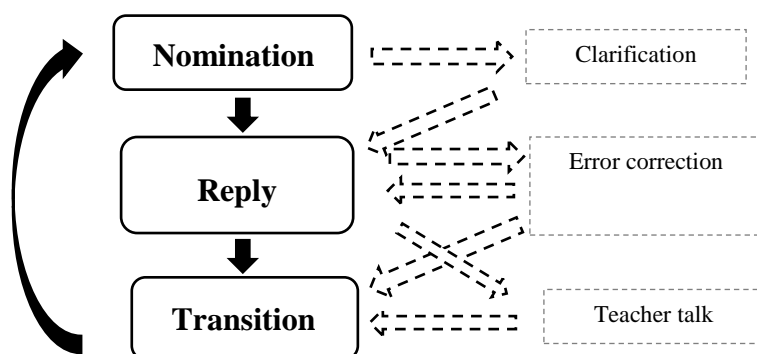
9.5.4. *‘Interviewing’ the student: the ‘heart’ of the lesson*

The analysis revealed that most of the lesson time was spent on question-answer sequences, which closely resemble what is typically viewed as an *interview* wherein one participant asks questions and the other participant answers these questions. Given this similarity, these sequences were referred to as ‘interviewing’ sequences of the lesson and the phase, characterized by a large number of ‘interviewing’ sequences was referred to as

an ‘Interview Phase’. An important finding of the study is that similar to classroom discourse studies reported in the literature, learners consistently played the role of respondents and did not initiate exchanges.

Another important finding is that there was a stable structure of the ‘Interviewing Phase’. This structure is presented in Figure 9.4. The structure of the ‘Interviewing Phase’ had *obligatory* and *optional* elements. The former are represented in bold lines, while the latter are represented in dotted lines. The size of each element represents the frequency and duration of each element. For example, the ‘Reply’ part was the longest and the most frequent in the analysed transcripts. Similarly, ‘Error correction’ was the longest and the most frequent part among the optional elements.

Figure 9.4: Structure of ‘interview’ part (dotted elements represent optional moves)



As can be seen in Figure 9.4, there was a clear order of the compulsory and optional elements. Specifically, ‘Clarification’ tended to occur immediately after ‘Nominations’ and ‘Teacher response’ (in this study: segments, wherein the teacher shared their opinion or a personal story) always occurred at the end of the sequence immediately before the transition and a new nomination.

Another important feature of the identified pattern is that the ‘Interviewing’ sequences were recursive. The average number of such sequences during one lesson was 15, ranging

from 7 to 31 ‘Interviewing’ sequences per lesson. This considerable difference in the number of sequences in each lesson was due to variations in the length of individual sequences. Some dyads produced long sequences, while other dyads tended to produce shorter sequences. To illustrate, the longest sequence in the dataset included 107 moves, while the shortest sequence contained 3 moves. The analysis revealed that the length of the sequences tended to be proportionate to the number of embedded exchanges and specifically to the number of error corrections made by the teachers. Overall, the more error corrections a teacher made, the longer a particular sequence tended to be. Therefore, the lessons, which had fewer error corrections, were also the lessons with the most question-answer sequences (Dyads 4, 5, 6). These three dyads were dyads with ‘native speaker’ teachers.

Table 9.4 provides a summary of error corrections made by different teachers in this dataset. Although the small size of this dataset precludes from making any generalizations, there might be a correlation between the teachers’ background (native speaker/ non-native speaker) and the number of grammatical error corrections, made by each teacher. In this sample non-native English-speaking teachers (Dyads 1-3) attended to more grammar errors than did their native English-speaking counterparts.

Table 9.4: Error correction by different teachers

	Dyad 1	Dyad 2	Dyad 3	Dyad 4	Dyad 5	Dyad 6
	NNS	NNS	NNS	NS	NS	NS
Corrected grammar	37	12	6	0	2	1
Uncorrected grammar	1	6	0	4	4	13
Corrected vocab	27	6	8	9	20	11
Uncorrected vocab	3	2	0	8	7	5
Corrected						
pronunciation	1	3	0	2	1	1
Uncorrected						
pronunciation	0	0	0	1	0	0

Excerpt 9.4 shows an instance of error correction, and is a typical sequence in Dyad 3. As can be observed, the teacher seems to attach considerable importance to error correction and actively employs the student's first language to provide cues for error correction. As can be seen in Table 9.4, grammar corrections were a marked feature of interactions in other dyads with Russian teachers.

Excerpt 9.4: Typical error correction by a Russian teacher

	Speakers	Transcript	Translation from L1	Exchanges	Moves	Comments
1	Teacher	What was the weather like?		Nuclear	Initiation	Elicitation

2	Student	The weather was (.) erm nice and there many people outside			Response	Reply
3	Teacher	В прошедшем	Russian: <i>in the past</i>	Bound	Initiation	Direction
4	Student	Were			Response	Reaction
5	Teacher	Uhum			Feedback	Evaluative
6	Student	Erm there were a lot of people outside			Response	Reply (cont)
7	Teacher	В парке было много людей	Russian: <i>there were many people in the park</i>	Bound	Initiation	Direction
8	Teacher	Can you say it again please?			Initiation	Direction
9	Student	Erm..(.) a lot of people (.) erm (.)			Response	Reaction
10	Student	was? Were		Bound	Initiation	Elicitation
11	Teacher	Uhum			Response	Confirmation
12	Student	In the park			Response	Resuming move 9 (Reaction)
13	Teacher	In the park. Можно и так сказать	Russian: <i>it's possible to say this.</i>		Feedback	Accept
14	Teacher	А если использовать конструкцию , которая означает что-то где-то находится?	<i>And what about using a construction which means something is located somewhere.</i>		Initiation	Direction
15	Student	There are			Response	Reaction
16	Teacher	А в	Russian: <i>In the</i>	Bound	Initiation	Direction

		прошедшем	<i>past</i>		
17	Student	There was erm there were		Response	Reaction
18	Teacher	Uhum		Feedback	Accept
19	Student	many people in the park		Response	Reaction (cont)
20	Teacher	In the park. Uhum.		Feedback	Accept
21	Teacher	What were they doing?	Nuclear	Initiation	Elicitation

9.5.5. *Closing Phase: short and often rushed*

The Closing Phase of the lessons tended to be brief and averaged at 8 moves. Excerpt 9.5 is a representative example of the lessons endings in that it contains two seemingly essential elements: (i) confirmation of day/time of the next lesson and (ii) leave-taking. Two out of six lessons also included assigning homework and providing a short summary of the lessons.

Excerpt 9.5 : Rushed Closing Phase

	Speaker	Transcript	Exchanges	Moves	Comments
1	Teacher	I'm just looking at the time, Alex.	Nuclear	Initiation	Informing
2	Teacher	I'm afraid we have to stop here and we'll continue next time.		Initiation	Direction
3	Student	Okay		Response	Reaction

4	Teacher	I'll talk to you next Tuesday then.	Nuclear	Initiation	Informing
5	Student	Tuesday, yes.		Response	Acknowledging
6	Teacher	Take care. Bye	Leave-	Initiation	Farewell
7	Student	Bye	taking	Response	Farewell

Excerpt 9.5 illustrates a seemingly abrupt nature of lessons endings, which was typical in the analysed dataset. The rushed quality of the endings might be the result of another lesson being scheduled after or be rooted in other factors, such as insufficient lesson planning. Future research would do well to investigate in more detail lesson management by LEVAC teachers working in a private online teaching contexts.

To sum up, this study showed that most of the language produced during the lessons covered everyday topics such as food and weekends and employed such genres as recount and personal response, with little or no requirement of learners to participate in other genres, such as role plays, negotiations, requests, etc. What is more, there was a stable structure, possibly a genre of one-to-one private LEVAC, which recurred across the lessons.

9.6. Discussion: same product in a new package?

This paper set about to investigate what constitutes a 'conversational' lesson in the context of one-to-one LEVAC conducted via Skype by teachers in a private teaching context and whether there is a meaningful pattern observable across these lessons. There are a number of significant findings that emerged from the analysis as well as several minor findings that deserve discussion.

The key finding of this study is that there is considerable similarity between the analysed lessons in their overall structure, the topics covered during the lessons, elicited genres and teacher-student roles. All lessons were based on the recursive sequences wherein teachers interviewed the students about every-day topics using IRF discourse chains. It is interesting that from the spread of possible language uses and functions, the analysed lessons mainly encouraged students to respond to questions about food, weekends and traveling, etc., using relatively simple language and did not require students to engage with other genres or perform other discursive roles. This gives rise to a number of important questions. Why is answering questions about everyday topics using a limited range of lexico-grammatical resources being privileged in these lessons? What effect might this pedagogy have on students? Is this trend a natural progression of language learning or is it reflective of a lack of curriculum? While future research is needed to investigate the abovementioned questions, it can be hypothesized that the identified ‘interviewing’ pattern could be a reproduction of the familiar teacher-student roles wherein teachers usually ask questions and students answer questions (see Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977 for example). Breen (Breen, 2001) compared this discursive role distribution to ‘a joint conspiracy between teacher and learner’ to privilege ‘predictable and trouble free discourse’ (p.318). There could also be pragmatic reasons for the identified genre of lessons, specifically teachers’ desire to minimize preparation time outside of the lessons. If teachers are paid only for the lesson time, asking students about familiar topics might be perceived as a sustainable solution to the lesson content. Given the lack of clarity about the specific factors that led to the observed genre, future research would do well to investigate curriculum design, pedagogic beliefs and discourses of the one-to-one LEVAC context in Russia, as well as LEVAC contexts taking place in different cultural and intercultural settings. Teachers’ conditions of employment is also worthy of investigation.

An important question that needs to be addressed is what outcome the identified classroom genre of lessons is effective for, and what this curriculum genre does and does not prepare students for. If the philosophy of language learning is that language is acquired and learnt through practice, then the analysed lessons mainly prepare students to respond to other people's questions and talk about their personal experience. Such an approach has been previously described as 'closed discourse format', with its usefulness questioned due to limited opportunities for students to develop self-regulation and ownership of discourse (see van Lier, 2001 for discussion).

Another feature of the analysed lessons that needs discussion is the use of teaching materials. There were two types of materials used during the lessons: textbooks and lists of questions. None of the six analysed lessons employed any online resources, such as podcasts, videos, etc., despite having Internet access during the lessons. This is an interesting finding since online resources have been recognized as having a rich potential for language learning due to their authenticity, currency and potential to facilitate cross-cultural learning (see, for example, Duffy, 2008; Levy, 2009). Refraining from employing online media and drawing predominately on traditional textbooks and lists of questions could have various explanations, such as teachers' prior experience of face-to-face classrooms, additional workload associated with selecting suitable materials, or a number of other reasons. Indeed, the tendency of new online teachers to "simply map traditional practices onto the new medium" without making changes to their core teaching practices (Gold, 2001, p. 35) has been reported in the literature before (Bennett & Lockyer, 2004; Berge, 1998; Shepherd, Alpert, & Koeller, 2007). It is possible that private online language tutors in this sample might lack knowledge and/or training to use materials other than textbooks or lists of questions. At the same time, teachers might not be able to invest time in selecting suitable materials, and/or might not have access to resources in an increasingly 'free-market' employment context, where institutions often do not provide traditional

support mechanisms and resources for teaching staff who are located ‘externally’ (see for example Hall & Knox, 2009). Moreover, there could be another, more strategic reason for teachers to use established teaching materials. For example, teachers might wish to present their private online lessons as close alternatives to face-to-face lessons. In that case, familiar teaching materials, commonly used in the face-to-face context might be attractive for teachers due to their seeming legitimizing potential.

Whether it is by circumstance or by choice, almost two decades after the necessity to adapt one’s teaching style and materials to online environment was broadly advocated (Berge, 1995; Harasim, Hiltz, Teles, & Turoff, 1995) and the term ‘webagogy’ was coined (Ells, 1999), the online language tutors in this study do not seem to have adopted online materials in their teaching practice. Without assuming that the shift towards ‘webagogy’ is necessary, future research needs to investigate the educational background, employment circumstances, and pedagogic beliefs of private online language tutors, as well as their reasons for choosing particular types of teaching materials.

Finally, there are several minor findings which, despite not being the focus of this investigation, merit discussion as they could contribute to other research areas or could potentially open avenues for future studies. The first one is the observed difference in pedagogical behaviour of native and non-native English tutors in this study, specifically in their use of learning materials. The finding that native and non-native English teachers may differ in their approaches to the use of teaching materials is consistent with prior research reporting that non-native speakers of English tend to rely more on English-learning books than their native-speaking counterparts (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Braine, 2005; Medgyes, 1986). Yet, the new context of private online teaching raises several important questions related to this established finding. First, there is a need to investigate what implications (if any) might this trend have on online language teaching practices and whether non-native English teachers will be less likely to adopt stimulus and other online resources because

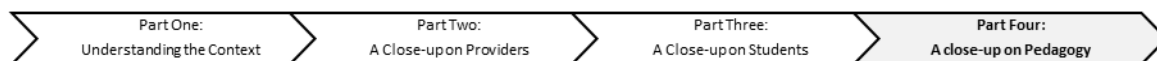
they may not view them as ‘linguistically safe’ (Medgyes, 1986, p. 110). Another minor finding is a seemingly different treatment of grammatical errors by native and non-native English teachers. This finding contributes to the literature on the role of error correction in the language classrooms (Dekeyser, 1993; Russell & Spada, 2006; Truscott, 1999) and needs to be tested by future studies. The third minor finding that merits discussion is empirical evidence of the different ‘materiality’ of private one-to-one LEVAC context (Regina Hampel, 2006) and specific behaviours associated with this new materiality, such as the use of emoticons and interruptions by external users of the same video/audio conferencing tool. It is noteworthy that, unlike previous literature, which framed emoticons as being used in text-based communication to *compensate* for the absence of audio or visual cues (see for example Derk, R., & von Grumbkow, 2008), this dataset shows how emoticons are used to *complement* audio and/or video cues to, for example, reduce the formality of the spoken message.

When contemplating the results of this study, one key conclusion that arises from the data is the importance of not equating students’ reported satisfaction with teaching effectiveness. Despite a high satisfaction level reported by all six students in this study, there are several reasons to question the pedagogical effectiveness of the analysed lessons, particularly in relation to the type of language produced during the lessons and discursive roles that students are being encouraged to adopt. Not equating students’ reported satisfaction with the teaching effectiveness is especially pertinent for the private online teaching context wherein students’ satisfaction tends to be the most important (and sometimes the only) measure of assessing teaching effectiveness and attracting new students. As the social practice of teaching language online via audio/videoconferencing tools continues to grow, there is a clear need to understand the dynamics of this practice and its effect on English-teaching sector. While the present study provides some insights

into the discursive nature of lessons perceived as satisfying by adult learners of English from Russia, much work is yet to be done in relation to this growing educational context.

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PART FOUR AFTERWORD



Having looked at the broader social structure of private tutoring in Russia (Part One), social practices of providers of private online tutoring services (Part Two) and the customers of private online tutors (Part Three), this final part (Part Four) focused on the specific social practices of private online language tutoring and on the pedagogy of lessons. Papers Six and Seven reveal specific patterns in this social action and raise questions about the origins of these patterns and the extent to which these patterns are related to the social context of the classes.

An important contribution of Part Four to this thesis (and potentially to the wider research literature) is providing empirical data on teacher talk and teacher behavior in distance language learning, which has been identified as “a major gap in the research” (White, 2006, p. 253).

In addition to this, some key questions that have arisen from Section Four are the degree of learner-centeredness of the analyzed context (discussed in more detail in 10.3.1 below) and the pedagogical effectiveness of the analyzed lessons. It is interesting that both Paper Six and Paper Seven reveal an essentially teacher-driven discourse with clearly defined roles of teacher and student behavior. For example, in this context it is teachers’ ‘job’ to use the text chat, to initiate the topics for discussion and to manage transitions, while students’ role seems to be reactive, or even passive. Thus, one cannot help but wonder what outcome the analyzed lessons are effective for, and the extent to which lessons prepare the students for functioning outside of the classroom. Given that most of the lessons were conducted as an ‘interview’ of a student, whereby the teacher was managing most of the initiations and topic transitions and the student only learning to respond to questions and prompts, the conclusion that can be drawn is that the student is learning to respond to the initiations of a

teacher or other interactant with more discursive power in the exchange. While being useful, responding to questions is only *one of the skills* that a language learner needs to master in order to use the language effectively.

Another question that needs asking is the extent to which teachers have a principled use of text chat, or whether they use it intuitively without assessing the effectiveness of their practices. It appears that there is a gap between “potential and actual use” of the environment, cautioned by White (2005, p. 174).

One more conclusion that can be drawn from Paper Six and Seven is that learners in the analyzed context are happy to have English lessons that do not have a fixed syllabus. It appears that learners are satisfied with lessons wherein they are asked to answer questions about themselves and their pastime. The absence of syllabus and its implications for pedagogy will be discussed in more detail in 10.3.3.

Both Paper Six and Paper Seven point to the overarching conclusion that private online English-teaching industry needs a stronger pedagogical base for lessons. In sum, Part Four sheds light on the pedagogy and discourse of actual online lessons of ‘satisfied’ learners. The findings suggest that there is a need to critically evaluate the pedagogical practices found in the analyzed lessons. The final chapter (Chapter 10) will reflect on the key issues that have emerged from all seven papers of this thesis and will offer suggestions for future research.

10. Chapter Ten: Discussion

Now this is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning.

Winston Churchill

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this is the first in-depth investigation of the growing industry of private online language tutoring anywhere in the world. From this perspective, the scholarly articles presented in this thesis are indeed 'the end of the beginning' of investigations of this newly emerged industry. This study raises a number of questions about the practices of private online language tutors and provides baseline data, or a reference point, against which future studies can be compared. The fact that most of the papers in this doctoral thesis have already been published in peer-reviewed international journals gives hope that this thesis might encourage further investigations into the practices of private online language tutors worldwide.

This chapter draws together the findings of the seven studies presented in this thesis, formulates the overall conclusions and implications, discusses the limitations, and sketches opportunities for future research.

10.1. Major findings: the 'highlights tour' of this thesis

The following section reviews and synthesizes the key findings from the seven journal articles that comprise this doctoral thesis.

10.1.1. Finding 1: Private English tutoring is a widespread and growing social and economic activity in post-Soviet Russia

The project started with an investigation of the backdrop against which private online language tutoring in Russia is unfolding. The key finding of this part of the thesis is that private face-to-face English tutoring is very common and widespread in Russia. In fact, English lessons were *the most* commonly offered type of lessons among private tutors and

many highly-qualified teachers ⁹ in the analysed dataset were offering private English lessons. Identifying what appears to be a wide acceptance of private English lessons was an important starting point of this thesis, as it helped to understand why private online tutoring has become a sizeable business in Russia. Indeed, when hiring private tutors is a common social practice, taking this face-to-face practice online is ‘the next logical step’ particularly when the online version of this practice helps to save time on travel and allows access to a wider pool of potential teachers and students. In other words, the emergence and growth of private online language tutoring can be explained first and foremost by social forces, including the social changes that took place in Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the global social and economic importance of English, rather than by technological developments alone. Simply put, private online tutoring emerged in Russia because there is an existing demand among Russian learners for private lessons and technology provides a cost-effective way to deliver private tutoring services. In sum, an important contribution of Paper One to the overall development of this thesis is explaining important aspects of the social context within which online language lessons have been readily accepted by Russian learners of English.

10.1.2. Finding 2: Several types of ‘providers’

After gaining evidence of the popularity of private English lessons in Russia, the next step was to identify what type of providers seem to be the most popular in Russia. The key finding of this part of the thesis is that there are four types of providers of online tutoring services and that among the top 70 results of providers of private online tutoring, private schools are more frequent than individual tutors, aggregator websites and websites of existing institutions. In addition, their involvement is higher than that of aggregator websites which simply provide a technical base for teachers’ profiles. From an economic

⁹ Based on self-reported data

perspective, online schools act as agents and employ teachers to be their subcontractors for delivering private English lessons.

The contribution of Paper Two to the overall development of this thesis is that the findings of Paper Two, discussed above, provided a basis for the focus of this thesis on private online language schools and not on other types of providers of real-time English lessons. The finding about the prominence of private online schools in the analysed dataset needs to be interpreted carefully. It is possible that there are considerably more individual tutors offering private English via Skype to Russian learners of English than represented in the dataset, as some individual tutors may not have had websites or their websites might not have a good search ranking. However, despite the actual number of individual tutors offering private online language lessons, the key finding of Paper Two - that it is private online language schools have the highest count in the results of the web search for English lessons in Russia - is significant as these results replicate the results that a potential customer of private online language tutors would have had when they searched for a potential online tutor. Thus, whether or not they are the greatest in number, they are the most prominent in web search results, obviously a crucial marketing environment for reaching (potential) online learners.

In addition, it is significant that all four identified types of providers of online tutoring services in Russia were private providers. There were no instances of public providers, such as schools or governmentally sponsored institutions, in the analysed dataset. This finding suggests that private providers are more willing than institutional providers to adopt new technologies and methods of delivering lessons. This may be due to a more agile and adaptive position of private providers who, unlike formal educational institutions, are not limited by institutional frameworks and regulations and can therefore react to new opportunities faster. It may also be interpreted as the keenness of private providers to differentiate themselves from formal educational institutions and, as shown in Paper Three,

even juxtapose themselves to schools and universities, who are discursively construed as ineffective and even detrimental to learners. These findings can be taken as evidence of commercialization of English education in Russia and the prominence of ‘for-profit’ providers in the English-teaching industry in Russia.

10.1.3. Finding 3: The popularity of ‘conversational’ lessons

Another finding of Paper Two that had implications for the emerging design of this thesis is the identified popularity of ‘conversational’ lessons among private online tutors. This finding determined the focus of Paper Seven, which investigated the recordings of ‘conversational English lessons’ between different dyads. It also influenced the study presented in Paper Three that looked at discursive construction of ‘language barrier’ – the concept that was frequently found in the descriptions of ‘conversational lessons’.

As detailed in Paper Three, websites of private online schools juxtapose themselves to institutional language education programs and foreground ‘conversational’ lessons as their key point of differentiation from an allegedly flawed teaching approach practiced by school and university teachers. From a Faircloughian perspective, the attached importance to this ‘new’ type of lesson reflects socio-economic and ideological changes that are taking place in Russian society. Indeed, it is not accidental that from a range of possible types of English lessons, private online English tutors foreground ‘Conversational’ English as their key expertise. One explanation for this trend is that the term ‘conversational English’ is open-ended enough to potentially refer to a variety of different lessons. Thus, this term serves as a good marketing tool. Another explanation, elaborated in more detail in 10.2.1, is that the genre of ‘conversational’ lessons, as found in the analysed dataset, aligns well with the economic arrangement whereby teachers are paid only for the teaching time and are not paid for preparation or syllabus design. As will be elaborated in 10.3.1., it is feasible that it is the lack of pre-determined syllabus and the ability to have lessons without

prior preparation that may have made ‘conversational lessons’ popular with private online English-teaching providers. In sum, ‘Conversational English’ is the most common and widespread focus of private online tutors, who work with Russian learners of English. Thus, analysing what constitutes ‘conversational lessons’ in this social context is an important part of this thesis.

10.1.4. Finding 4: Private online language schools are products and producers of strong neoliberal ideology

The key finding of Papers Three and Four is that websites of private online language schools exhibit a strong neoliberal ideology. They position learners as, first and foremost, customers of educational services. Papers Three and Four found that marketing of private online language teaching services is done directly via appeals to buy lessons and also indirectly via creating narratives of harmful effects of government education and missed professional and personal opportunities. These marketing techniques attest to the commodification of language education in Russia, and illustrate how socio-economic changes in post-Soviet Russia have had a profound effect on language education. Thus, Papers Three and Four provide an in-depth understanding of discursive practices in post-Soviet Russia, which gives this thesis a contextual and social depth that could not otherwise be achieved.

In sum, the role of Papers Three and Four for the overall thesis is to place the practice of private online language tutoring against the backdrop of current ideologies of language education in Russia. This contextualizes the interpretation of subsequent papers and helps us to understand why learners expect what they expect from their tutors and why lessons are conducted in a particular way.

10.1.5. Finding 5: Most customers of private online language tutors are adults and they expect 'result-providing' teachers

The key finding of Paper Five is that most customers of private online language schools are adults and that they report work-related motivation as their main reason for hiring a private online language tutor. This finding is consistent with Finding 4 and offers further empirical evidence that English skills are viewed as essential for a successful participation in the new market-oriented economy in Russia, and that adult learners are ready to invest in English learning.

Another important finding of Paper Five is that a great number of students who seek the services of private online language tutors describe their 'ideal' tutors as 'result-providing'. This description is consistent with findings reported by Paper Three and Four that learners are positioned as customers of educational services who can expect efficiency and results in exchange for their money. Students' descriptions of their 'ideal' teachers confirm the convergence between language-teaching and business practices in Russia, discussed in Papers One-Four. They also demonstrate a particular socio-economic and ideological approach to education in post-Soviet Russia.

10.1.6. Finding 7: Students' reaction to teachers' written messages were related to mode and purpose of the message

The key findings of Paper Six are that (i) there are several characteristics of text chat messages that were, in the lessons studied, correlated with students' reaction to these messages, and (ii) students displayed markers of disfluency when their teacher was typing, and (iii) teachers' attention to students' language production was negatively influenced by the use of the text chat. These findings raise questions about the effective use of text chat during one-to-one English lessons, conducted via videochat tools. For example, it is currently unclear whether teachers should avoid typing recasts as they don't get an

observable reaction from the students or whether teacher typing is beneficial for learners even when students do not display an observable reaction to the message. Another important issue that has emerged from Paper Six is the ‘symbolic cost’ of using multimodal messages during lessons. Specifically, the study raises the question whether potential pedagogical gains justify an occasional loss of attention on teachers’ part. Future research needs to investigate the relationship between teacher typing and long-term retention of linguistic items in order to provide teachers and teacher-trainers with more detailed information on effective use of the written modality during English lessons conducted via video and audio chat. And finally, the consistency of the findings across the different dyads, who varied in terms of age, gender, and nationality, demonstrate that identifiable social conventions of multimodal discourse, including the expression of teacher-learner power relations, may be emerging already in this social context.

10.1.7. Finding 7: ‘Conversational’ lessons share a common genre

The key finding of Paper Seven is that ‘conversational’ lessons analysed in this study exhibit a similar structure, and there is a recognisable genre of conversational lessons conducted via Skype. These lessons are interview-style classes wherein students respond to teachers’ questions within an identifiable macro-structure. It does not seem to be coincidental that all six analysed lessons appeared not to have required much planning or preparation on the teachers’ part. Most of the lessons consisted of spontaneous topics, wherein teachers asked students questions about their weekends, preferences, etc., and extended the discussion based on students’ answers. It may be that such lessons are perceived as the most effective for students. It may also be that such lesson organization is privileged for its ‘low-maintenance’ nature and the minimal preparation required, which would be attractive for teachers who are only paid for the lesson time and not their preparation time.

The key question raised by Paper Seven is why this pattern has emerged, whether this style of classes is pedagogically effective and whether it prepares students for a broad range of discursive situations that students are likely to encounter outside of the classroom. Future research needs to investigate the perceptions of private online language tutors about the role of curriculum in private online language lessons as well as the employment conditions of private online language tutors and the way in which teachers may be supported.

10.2. Limitations

Even though most limitations of the present study have already been discussed in the relevant chapters of this thesis, they will be reviewed briefly in this section.

One of the limitations of this study is a small number of lessons used for analysis. In particular, Paper Six relies on five lessons, while Paper Seven relies on six lessons. These lessons constitute nearly 3 hours of spoken discourse and they were transcribed and analysed by the researcher in a number of ways, including: conversation analysis, IRF analysis, genre analysis, qualitative analysis of themes and quantitative analysis of patterns of nouns, types of conjunctions and tenses used by learners in language production. The detailed analysis of the six lessons was done against the backdrop of 30 recordings, which constitute 1009 minutes, or nearly 17 hours of spoken discourse. As discussed in section 11.4, the six lessons, selected for detailed analysis, were representative of the corpus of 30 classes. Three out of six lessons were conducted by Russian teachers and three lessons were conducted by native speakers. Lessons exhibited similar topics of conversation and the in-depth analysis of these six lessons allowed for a deeper understanding of the patterns repeated across all lessons. The researcher's intention was not to generalise the findings of the study to a broader, represented population, but rather to offer insights into the new social practice of conversational lessons via Skype.

Another potential limitation of this study is not conducting interviews with teachers or students. Instead, this thesis drew on lesson recordings, publically available information on the websites and students' responses as the principal sources of data. The decision to use naturalistic data was determined by my intention to analyse the actual practices of private online tutors rather than seek their perceptions of these practices. One area that could be pursued by future research is gaining an insight into students' and teachers' perceptions of their private online language teaching and learning practices.

10.3. Final Reflections

The following part contemplates the key findings of this thesis and suggests future areas for research. The discussion is grouped in three broad areas: (i) learner-centeredness; (ii) role of students' satisfaction and (iii) economic model and pedagogic practices.

10.3.1. Learner-centeredness

One theme that requires discussion is the degree of learner-centeredness of the analysed context. This is an important question, since responding to learners' needs has been advocated as one of the key foci of research and practice on technology-enabled language learning (White, 2007). On the one hand, it can be argued that private online language tutoring affords 'perfect conditions' for learner-centred education, as this context does not have an external curriculum and learners study on an individual, voluntary basis. Learners can also discontinue lessons at any time and would arguably continue with the lessons only if they find the lessons sufficiently useful. All of these elements seem aligned with the learner-centred teaching approach whereby learners are encouraged to collaborate with teachers in educational decision-making and co-create learning experience (Anton, 1999; Weimer, 2013).

On a closer investigation, however, the analysed lessons appear to be learner-centred only in *topics* of discussions, rather than in the underlying organization and philosophy of

lessons. While on a 'surface' level, most of the lessons do indeed revolve around discussing learners' weekends or personal preferences, most of these topics were nominated by teachers. There were very few instances of students taking the initiative to nominate topics for discussion or express their opinion about the lesson organization. Thus, it can be argued learners did not participate in setting the agenda or selecting the topics for their lessons, nor did they truly co-create the curriculum.

Before concluding that teachers fail to create a 'truly' learner-centred approach, it is important to note that there have been concerns voiced by researchers regarding the feasibility of learner-centred approach in adult education context (see for example Cervero & Wilson, 1999; Usher, Bryant, & Johnston, 1997). For example, Usher et al view 'learner-centeredness' as "inherently ambivalent" (1997, p. 105), while Cervero & Wilson argue that 'learner-centeredness' is "a naïve position" that is incapable of meeting the complex demands of adult education context. Another body of literature that can assist in understanding 'what is going on' in this context is the critique of learner-centred approach voiced by some Systemic Functional Linguistics scholars. Specifically, Martin, Christie and Rothery (1987) posit that language practice without explicit language instruction is insufficient for acquiring a range of genres. Their argument is that new and unfamiliar genres cannot "simply spring spontaneously from within (students)" (James R Martin et al., 1987, p. 245) and that language development and the acquisition of new, higher-order skills requires explicit deconstruction of target genres. Drawing on these considerations, 'conversational lessons' that consist solely of conversation practice and do not include explicit instruction may have a limited pedagogical effect.

In sum, the analysed context provides a unique opportunity to study what happens in one-to-one lessons in the absence of formal certification or curriculum. It appears that despite a 'structural potential' of such lessons to create a 'learner-centred' learning environment, the 'learner-centeredness' is manifested on a relatively 'shallow' level of topic selection (e.g.

talking about students' pastime). There was no student participation in decision-making about learning content, nor an attempt to customize lessons for each individual student.

10.3.2. Role of students' satisfaction

Another interesting question that emerged from this thesis is what role learner-perceived satisfaction should play in curriculum design in the context of life-long, non-award language learning.

On the one hand, it can be argued that given the self-funded, non-award and voluntary nature of lessons, students act as initiators and sponsors of the lessons and, thus, their perceived satisfaction should carry the most weight in the evaluation of their lessons. This would be consistent with the business-driven ideology discussed in several papers of this thesis and common in language teaching education worldwide (Labao, 2004; J. S.-Y. Park, 2011; Singh, Kell, & Pandian, 2002).

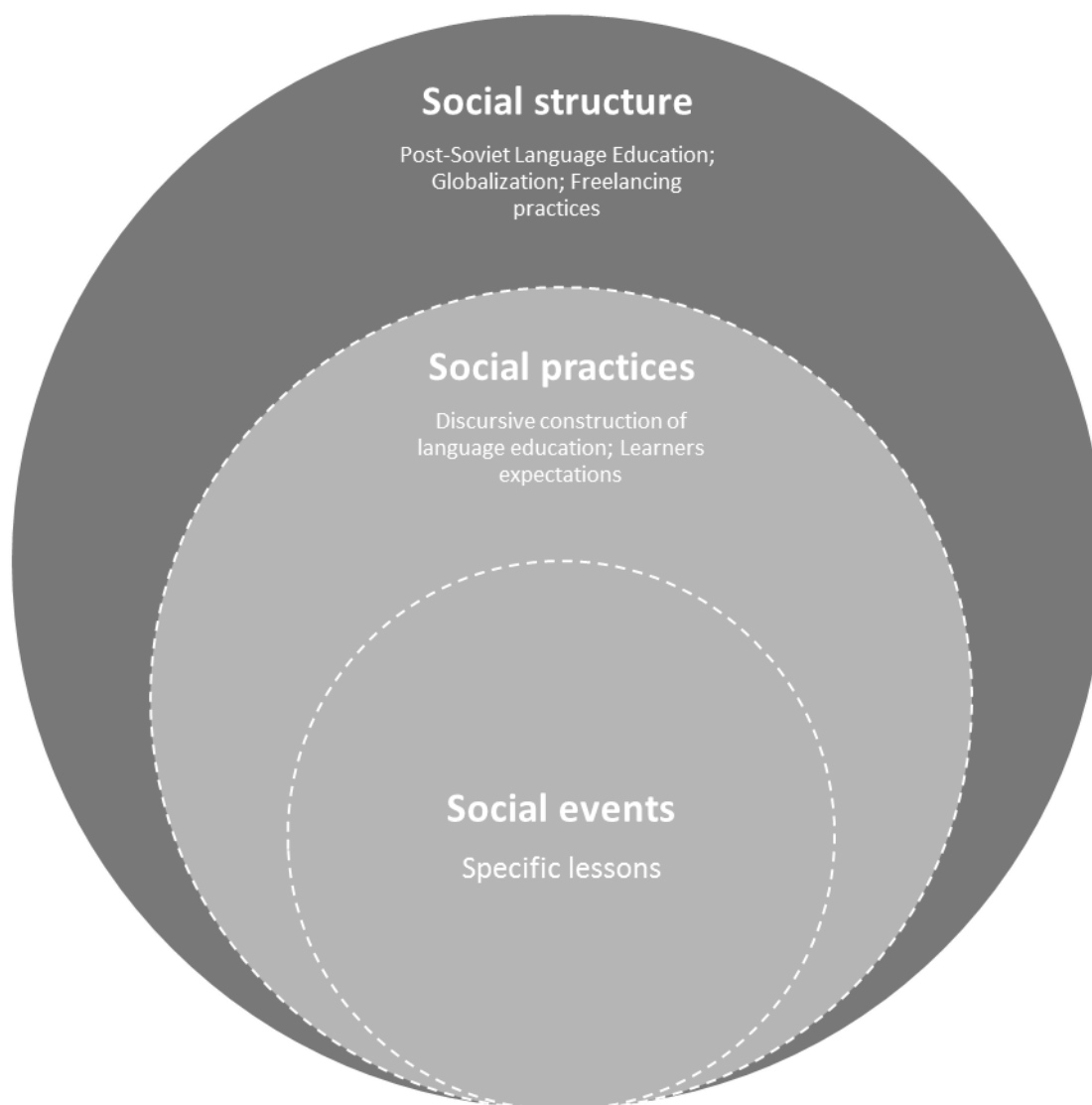
Another argument for viewing students' satisfaction as the key metric of lessons success is viewing classes from the 'recreational leisure' perspective. For example, Kubota (2011) notes that learning English for 'leisure' is probably the most prevalent function of language learning among adult Japanese learners and that it represents a *consumption* rather than *investment* orientation. Learning English as 'leisure' is hedonistic in nature and can be satisfying regardless of the actual language acquisition or the lack of thereof. In other words, the process of socializing with an English-speaking interlocutor, provided that there is a good interpersonal relationship (see Eneau & Develotte, 2012 for a discussion on the importance of interpersonal relationship in online learning and teaching), may be self-fulfilling and enjoyable for the learners. Indeed, there is an emerging body of research foregrounding the importance of learners' affective experiences in language learning (Bown & White, 2010).

In sum, learners' satisfaction is undeniably important in the context of non-award, student-initiated and student-funded lessons. However, despite its importance, students' perceived satisfaction should not over-ride a dedicated and rigorous approach to curriculum and pedagogy on the part of LEVAC teachers and providers. Otherwise, teachers and other stakeholders may not be fulfilling the trust placed in them by the learners.

10.3.3. Economic model and pedagogic practices

This thesis has documented in considerable detail discourse production and three discursive levels of private online tutoring in Russia. Figure 10.1 is an adaptation of Fairclough's (2003) model of discourse applied to private online language tutoring in Russia. These levels of discourse are separate systems, but they are interconnected and influence each other.

Figure 10.1: Fairclough's model of discourse applied to private post-Soviet LEVAC



As can be seen from the model, individual lessons, analysed in Papers Six and Seven, represent specific *social events*. These lessons do not exist in vacuum - they are influenced and shaped by the overarching social practices and the larger order of social structures. In other words, what is happening during the lessons and students' reactions to lessons are socially and historically situated, and similar lessons in a different socio-economic and historical context may result in a different reaction from students.

The second level of discourse in Figure 10.1 is the level of social practices. These practices are dynamic and constantly adapt to other socio-economic factors. This thesis has described in considerable detail social practices of websites' self-representation to potential

students, the discursive construction of the language barrier among providers and learners, as well as the practices of individual learners seeking private online tuitions. These investigations provide an insight into specific ways in which the broader social structure of language education in post-Soviet Russia is constructed.

The top layer of the discourse is *social structure*. This level provides the synoptic view, the background and the big picture of what is being valued in language education in post-Soviet Russia and how the forces of globalization, freelancing and neoliberalism influence this specific educational field.

It is clear from the analysis presented in this thesis that there are repeated patterns, identifiable social roles, and representations specific to language education in post-Soviet Russia. It can be argued that many of these patterns represent what Fairclough (2003) refers to as ‘inculcation’ of neoliberal market-oriented discourse in language education in Russia, as they have emerged in the last two decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the growth of globalization, including the global demand for English language education. In other words, via the multifaceted investigation of private online tutoring in Russia, this thesis has shown how new discourses emerge and become internalized in a particular social domain. Specifically, numerous texts, analysed in this thesis (teachers’ profiles, websites homepages, articles about ‘language barrier’, students’ descriptions of their ‘ideal’ teachers, transcripts of lessons) act as ‘local’ examples of similar social actions that constitute social practices and the order of discourse of private English language education in post-Soviet Russia.

It is noteworthy that this thesis revealed considerable alignment between different levels of discourse, shown in Figure 10.1, as well as a reproduction of similar social roles, narratives and representations on different websites and among different student-teacher dyads, who have different cultural and gender relationships. Overall, it can be said that private online

language tutoring to Russian learners of English is grounded in a strongly neoliberal educational context, whereby ‘schools’ are ‘agents’, learners are ‘customers’ and teachers are ‘subcontractors’. As discussed below, the economic model of private English lessons appears to be closely related to the absence of a pre-determined syllabus. In other words, what gets taught and how it gets taught is closely related to a range of factors in the social context, including the terms and conditions of teachers’ employment.

The analysis of the lessons suggests that the philosophy underpinning the lessons is that language learning happens through practice, and that teachers act as ‘conversation partners’ and sometimes as ‘error correctors’. The data did not reveal any systematic or explicit instruction in grammatical or functional elements. Nor did data show the presence of a syllabus underlying the instruction. This seeming absence of a syllabus deserves a detailed discussion, as it places the analysed context in stark contrast with ‘traditional’ institutions, wherein a syllabus tends to be an essential part of a curriculum (Ellis, 1993; M. H. Long & Crookes, 1992).

The absence of a pre-determined syllabus can be explained by at least two forces: pedagogical and economic. The pedagogical explanation lies in one-to-one nature of the analysed lessons. Returning to the notion of learner centredness, since classes are conducted with individual learners rather than groups of learners, creating a syllabus prior to the start of instruction is problematic, as teachers would not be able to account for the individual needs of a particular learner. In other words, it can be argued that one-to-one educational contexts, as analysed in this thesis, do not lend themselves to a pre-determined syllabus. Instead, the syllabus ought to be negotiated with the learner drawing on the ‘bottom-up’ rather than the ‘top-down’ syllabus design advocated by Candlin (1984) and Breen (1984), whereby a syllabus is viewed as open and negotiable and needs to be co-constructed with learners based on learners’ needs. Using Richards’ conceptualization,

private one-to-one learning context may be compatible with ‘central’ and ‘backward’ design, rather than ‘forward’ curriculum design (J. C. Richards, 2013).

However, if the absence of a pre-determined syllabus were due to the goal to create a ‘bottom-up’ syllabus, the study should have documented a range of different lesson structures and activities in different dyads. After all, it is precisely the individualization of lessons that underpins the philosophy of ‘bottom-up’ syllabus design. However, the data shows a remarkable similarity in the lesson structure, activities and topics covered during the classes. This similarity contradicts the idea that the seeming absence of a defined syllabus serves to provide the flexibility for the teachers to customize classes according to students’ needs and goals. Therefore, there should be a different explanation for the considerable similarity between the analysed lessons.

At this point, we can reconsider the lack of learner centredness in the observed lessons with the additional perspective of Fairclough’s model. As mentioned in section 10.1.7 above, the real reason for the identified similarity between lessons may lie in the economic arrangement of private online English tutoring. It is important to remember that in the analysed context learners can sign up for any number of lessons and discontinue at any time. Another economic feature of this context is that teachers are paid only for the lesson time. Thus, it can be hypothesized that in the context of no payment for the time ‘outside of the classroom’, there is a strong incentive for the teachers and online schools to seek lessons types that require little preparation prior to the lesson. ‘Conversational’ lessons seem to offer teachers and schools this option of minimizing the preparation time. As found in Paper Seven, the lessons revolved around encouraging students to talk about their pastime and personal events. This selection of topics allows teacher to ask questions spontaneously, just like they would in a casual conversation outside of the classroom and makes planning across lessons non-essential. This type of interaction does not require much preparation before an individual lesson, nor across a number of lessons. Thus, the

identified genre of lessons offers a viable way to conduct lessons with minimum prior preparation. We can see, then, that the social action of individual lessons, repeated across dyads, is systematically related to social forces ‘one level up’ in Fairclough’s model (e.g. discursive construction of teaching, learning, and teacher and learner roles) and to the social structures ‘two levels up’ (e.g. Post-Soviet neoliberalism and globalization).

It is noteworthy that the lack of syllabus and the ‘stand-alone’ nature of classes did not negatively affect students’ reported satisfaction. In fact, this genre was well-received by the students, as all students ranked their experience as ‘10 out of 10’ on enjoyment and usefulness scales. Future research needs to investigate in detail what makes students satisfied with their lessons. The researcher can hypothesize that students’ high reported satisfaction could lie in the limited opportunities of many Russian learners of English to use the target language in social situations and the positive reaction that learners might have when they perceive themselves as being able to converse in the target language. It may also lie in the enjoyment and interpersonal aspects of lessons or, in other words, in enjoying the process of socializing with someone in English discussed earlier.

In sum, while this doctoral thesis did not observe lessons over time and therefore cannot make strong claims regarding the complete absence of a negotiable syllabus, it does appear that there was no ‘bottom-up’ syllabus in the analysed dataset and that all lessons were similar in structure, activities and topics. The most feasible explanation of this similarity lies in the social context, including the economic model of classes, wherein students can discontinue their classes at any time and teachers are paid only for the lesson time. If this explanation is true, then the structure and content of lessons conducted via similar technological tools are likely to differ for lessons in a different social and economic context. This finding would further support the idea expressed in 10.1.1., that the affordances that are drawn on in different social contexts are strongly influenced by the social forces of this context.

Thus, it is important to examine teaching practices, students' perceived satisfaction and learning outcomes in other online language teaching contexts and compare these with teaching practices, students' perceived satisfaction and learning outcomes in the private online language tutoring. Such investigations will allow confirming or disconfirming the proposed conclusions that the genre of analysed lessons is rooted in the social and economic arrangement of the classes.

In sum, the analysis of various texts produced as a result of private online tutoring shows consistent patterns between three levels of discourse as well as the convergence of educational and economic practices in post-Soviet Russia. Specifically, language education is construed as a commodified activity presented in such a way that it appeals to the 'customer' identity of students and downplays the effort and work required for language learning. This specific representation of language education is situated in current socio-economic and historical situation in post-Soviet Russia.

10.4. Implications

This study raises a number of questions about the social, discursive and pedagogic practices of private online language teaching and learning. The implications of the study are discussed briefly below under the headings of implications for: (i) online language teachers, online schools and teacher-educators; (ii) the English-language teaching industry worldwide and (iii) for society and the government.

10.4.1. Online language teachers, online schools and teacher-trainers

The findings of this thesis have direct implications for online language teachers, online language schools and teacher-trainers. One finding is the empirical evidence of different expectations held by students who prepare for a high-stakes examinations and other students. Specifically, students who were preparing for examinations described their 'ideal' teacher as 'strict' and 'demanding' and expected them to assume the responsibility for

achieving students' compliance. It is important for teachers to be informed about the expectations of their future students in order to pre-empt potential tensions and manage students' expectations.

Another finding relevant for teachers, schools and other stakeholders is the identified similarity in the observed genre of lessons across different teachers. Within this genre, students perform a limited range of discursive functions and use a limited range of linguistic items. This finding raises questions about pedagogic benefits of such lessons and about students' ability to use English beyond their language classrooms.

Similarly, the finding that only a small percentage of text chat messages, produced by teachers, are being immediately uptaken by the students raises questions whether the teachers are using the written chat effectively and whether a different style of employing text chat might be more beneficial. It also seems important to train teachers in the use of text chat to avoid teachers' attention shift, observed in Paper Six.

Overall, the findings of this thesis suggest that private online tutors and private online schools need to critically reflect on how curriculum design can be organized in the social context of private online lessons. This social and economic context presents a set of unique characteristics, which need to be taken into account when planning and teaching private online teaching. An important question is: in a social context where students wish to purchase 'conversation lessons' in a privatized system, where teachers and providers are trying to offer conversation lessons at the lowest price feasible, where teachers are geographically separated from their students and employers, where there are few or no established research findings, teaching materials, or widely-known practices for teaching in LEVAC contexts, and where a formal, standardised curriculum is unlikely to be workable or desirable, how can teachers be enabled to plan and organize lessons in such a way that they achieve optimal pedagogical outcomes, and how can providers monitor teachers'

practice and learners' development in a professionally and economically sustainable manner? What kind of models of teacher education and professional development, of curriculum and materials development, are going to have an impact on the widespread social practice of LEVAC? Finding answers to such questions is obviously challenging and complex, but without an understanding of the constraints and relations operating in the social context, such as that provided in this thesis, it is likely to be the case that the right questions are not even being asked.

10.4.2. English-language teaching industry worldwide

One of the contributions of this thesis is its potential to draw attention of the wider English-teaching industry to the emerging and growing industry of private online language tutoring. The phenomenon of private online language tutoring can have considerable economic and social implications for the English-teaching industry worldwide. For example, one implication is creating competition for face-to-face English-teaching providers. If students can arrange English lessons with teachers around the world via videochat tools like Skype, this may reduce the demand on face-to-face lessons in some places, which may negatively affect the earnings of English teachers. At the same time, the same social practice can provide additional career and financial options to teachers who live in areas where employment opportunities are limited or where remuneration for English-teaching is low. These teachers might opt for teaching online instead of teaching face-to-face in order to access more students.

Another implication of the growth of online English teaching is that some teachers who, due to physical disability or personal circumstances, were previously unable to engage in English teaching, can re-enter the profession by teaching online. For example, the school which provided data for this doctoral thesis had several teachers whose physical conditions

precluded them from working outside of home and for whom teaching online was the most convenient option for continuing their teaching careers.

In sum, the effect that the growth of private online language tutoring may have on the English-language teaching industry worldwide is complex and multifaceted.

One of the issues that has prevented research on private tutoring is the ‘hidden’ nature of this social practice (Ireson & Rushforth, 2004; Kim, 2010; Silova, Būdiene, & Bray, 2006). Data on private tutoring has traditionally been hard to obtain and there is very little that educational research knows about private tutoring. This lack of data and conceptualization has prevented serious government measures or initiatives in this area (for discussion see M. Bray, Mazawi, & Sultana, 2013). One of the implications of the growth of private *online* tutoring is the ‘digital trace’ that it leaves, exposing various details about this social practice. With the increasing ‘digitization’ of private tutoring, there is now information available about various aspects of private tutoring practices: scale, pricing, subjects, teachers, etc. This information will be instrumental for researchers and various stakeholders in conceptualizing private tutoring. Bray et al (2013) describes how an increasing number of researchers and policy makers are now considering the phenomenon of private tutoring and its relation to broader issues of education and policy worldwide more closely. It may be that private online tutoring will finally facilitate these inquiries by making data that used to be ‘hidden’ and inaccessible to outsiders, easily available for analysis, investigation and triangulations.

10.5. Future Research

This thesis is the first investigation into the practices of private online English tutoring. It offers important insights into this new social practice that should be pursued by future investigations. There are several lines of research that could draw on the findings of this thesis. One line would be CDA studies investigating discursive construction of private

online tutors in different countries, as well as the appropriation of various concepts (like ‘the language barrier’) by neoliberal actors. Of particular interest would be investigations of private online language lessons in different countries and contexts. Such studies would help to identify which findings of this thesis were context-specific and which findings hold true for other contexts.

Another valuable area for future investigation would be longitudinal studies that measure students’ language acquisition and the long-term effect that teacher typing during lessons and different pedagogical approaches such as explicit instruction have on learners’ language acquisition.

Future research would also do well to investigate motivational orientations of customers of private online tutors and potential differences between motivations of male and female students alluded to by the findings of this thesis as well as the motivational orientation of learners, preparing for high-stakes examinations. Another fruitful avenue for future research would be to consider proxy agency as a dynamic, situated construct, for example by exploring changes (if any) in students’ proxy-agency orientation at different stages of their language learning (for example, at the start of an academic year compared to ‘exam’ time). Yet another area for future investigations would be to explore teachers’ pedagogical decision-making, as well as issues and challenges faced by teachers in this new context. These studies could help to collect data on what is viewed by teachers as challenging and how teachers overcome these challenges. The findings of such studies could inform the field of teacher-education and teacher-training and help build the knowledge of semio-pedagogical skills required for successful online teaching.

Future research would benefit not only from empirical investigations of private online language tutoring, but also from theorizing this learning environment. White’s (2006) observation of theory-building in distance language being in an “embryonic stage” applies

to the analysed context (p.250). Much work remains to be done to explain practices of private online tutors and to inform such tutors about effective ways to use the medium.

10.6. Conclusion

This doctoral thesis is the first to document the social, discursive and pedagogical practices of private online language tutors. The very emergence of private online language tutoring attests to fundamental changes in Russian society and in the way that languages are taught and learnt. Given the rapid adoption of video/audio conferencing tools and the numerous logistical benefits that LEVAC brings, delivering lessons via video/audio conferencing tools will soon become a part of many teachers' lives and become, using Develotte's (2009) terms "deja-la (already there)". In other words, more and more teachers will be finding themselves in new environments and would need to navigate these environments pedagogically. Thus, there are many pedagogical questions that need to be answered in order to provide an increasing number of teachers who will be teaching languages via video/audio conferencing tools with guidance and support. It is also important that teacher-education and teacher-development programs recognize the trend and start including LEVAC-specific training in their programs. There is considerable potential in LEVAC, but this potential cannot be achieved without research and training.

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12. APPENDICES

12.1. A table of acronyms

ESOL	English as Second or Other Language
TESOL	Teaching English as Second or Other Language
ELLT	English Language Learning and Teaching
LEVAC	Language Education via Video/Audio Conferencing
ELT	English Language Teaching
VoIP	Voice over Internet Protocol
CALL	Computer-Assisted Language Learning
CMC	Computer-Mediated Communication
SCMC	Synchronous Computer-Mediated Communication
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CA	Conversation Analysis
USE	Unified State Exam
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
OU	Open University
IELTS	International English Language Testing System

12.2. Ethics Approval

Dear A/Prof Hall

Re: "Investigating interactions in non-formal private online language teaching and learning" (Ethics Ref: 5201100805).

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Human Research Ethics Committee and you may now commence your research.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

A/Prof David Hall
Ms Olga Kozar

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS APPROVAL EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).
2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports. Your first progress report is due on 21 November 2012.

If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

<http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/>

[http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how to obtain ethics approval/human_research_ethics/policy](http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy)

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of Final Approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have Final Approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Secretariat at the address below.

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of final ethics approval.

Yours sincerely
Dr Karolyn White
Director of Research Ethics
Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee

12.2.1. Recruiting teachers for participation in the lessons recordings and interviews



We are looking for ESOL teachers and their students (teaching-learning pairs) to take part in the research study about interactions during one-to-one English lessons. The study will be anonymous and the participants will never be personally identified in any presentation of the findings.

Your participation will include:

- ✓ Recording of 2-3 of your lessons

You'll be compensated 60 AUD for your participation

If you'd like to participate, please email olga.kozar@students.mq.edu.au for further information

Please note that your participation in the project is absolutely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time.



Recruiting students for participation in the lessons recordings and interviews

(The translation of the advertisement above for Russian students)

Здравствуйте!

Мы ищем учителей и учеников, которые бы хотели принять участие в исследовании о ведении индивидуальных занятий по скайпу. Исследование будет абсолютно анонимным, участникам будет присвоен псевдоним и их личность нельзя будет определить в публикациях.

Участие в исследовании будет включать в себя:

- ✓ Запись 2-3 занятий

Ваше участие будет вознаграждено 60AUD. Если Вы заинтересованы, пожалуйста, напишите olga.kozar@students.mq.edu.au

Обратите внимание, что Ваше участие абсолютно добровольно, и Вы сможете отказаться от участия в любой момент.

12.2.2. Information and Consent Form



Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW
2109
Phone: +61 (2) 98508740
Email: lingadmin@mq.edu.au

Researchers: Ms Olga Kozar (PhD candidate)

A/Professor David Hall (Supervisor)

Name of Project: “Investigating interactions in non-formal one-to-one synchronous online language lessons”

Information and Consent Form

Dear English teacher/ English learner,

You are invited to participate in a study conducted by Ms Olga Kozar, Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University (ph: +61 (2) 98507425, *email:* olga.kozar@students.mq.edu.au) as a student research project to meet the requirements of Doctor of Philosophy degree under the supervision of A/Professor David Hall (ph:+61(2) 98509647; *email:* david.hall@mq.edu.au).

The project has received ethical clearance from Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Review Committee (Approval No. 5201100805).

What is the study about?

Conducting satisfying English Speaking lessons online is a complex and fascinating process. This research will investigate interactions between students and teachers who have been working together for over 3 months. The study aims to identify what constituent elements there may be to perceived satisfying student-teacher interactions and what kind of students and teacher behaviour may be associated with positive affect in this kind of lessons (non-institutional online synchronous language learning). The gathered data could potentially become a basis for developing a prediction instrument for mutually satisfying relationships in this learning environment. Ultimately, this research project seeks to contribute to improving online language teaching practices.

What will happen if I participate?

After you give your permission to participate, 2-3 of your lessons will be recorded using Skype Recorder for observation and transcription purposes. You will be compensated 60 AUD for your participation.

What about confidentiality?

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of this study are absolutely confidential. No individual will be identified in any publications or presentations of the findings. Only the researchers will have access to this information. A summary of the results of the data will be made available to you – a 1-2 page summary will be emailed to you after the data analysis is complete.

How do I accept or decline participation?

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence. If you choose not to take part in the study, you need to do nothing further.

If you are happy to participate in the research, please complete both copies of the consent form attached and send a scanned copy to us to: olga.kozar@students.mq.edu.au

Thank you for taking time to consider being involved in this research. It is only through the support of people like yourself that we can discover how best to conduct online language lessons.

Sincerely,

Ms Olga Kozar

PhD candidate

Department of Linguistics

Macquarie University

NSW 2109 Australia



Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY
NSW 2109
Phone: +61 (2) 98508740
Email: lingadmin@mq.edu.au

Consent Form (participant's or investigators' copy)

I, _____ have read (*or, where appropriate, have had read to me*) and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: __

(Block letters)

Participant's Signature: Date: __

Investigator's Name: __

(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: Date: __

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone + 61 (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Information and Consent Form (Russian translation)



Факультет Лингвистики
Отделение Гуманитарных Наук
Университет Маквэрри (Macquarie University)
Сидней, Новый Южный Уэльс ,2109
Phone: +61 (2) 98508740

Email: lingadmin@mq.edu.au

Исследователи: Ольга Козарь (Кандидат на степень Доктор Наук)
Профессор Дэвид Холл (Научный Руководитель)

Название проекта: "Коммуникация в индивидуальных занятия английским онлайн "

Информация о проекте и бланк Добровольного Участия

Уважаемые ученики!

Приглашаем Вас принять участие в исследовании, проводимом Ольгой Козарь

(кафедра лингвистики, Macquarie University /тел: +61 (2) 98507425/ электронная почта: olga.kozar @ students.mq.edu.au) под научным руководством профессора Дэвида Холла (тел: +61 (2) 98509647 / электронная почта: David.hall @ mq.edu.au). Данный проект является частью получения научной степени Доктор Наук (PhD).

Проект получил разрешение комиссии этики Macquarie University (Разрешение № 5201100805).

О чем это исследование?

Проведение разговорных занятий иностранному языку по скайпу- это сложный и увлекательный процесс. В этом проекте мы более будем наблюдать за тем, как общаются между собой учителя и ученики, которые занимаются более 3х месяцев и довольны друг другом. Мы надеемся, что нам удастся заметить некоторые составляющие элементы, которые характеризуют успешные занятия и вызывают приятные эмоции у учеников и учителей. Собранные данные потенциально могли бы стать основой для разработки инструмента оценки занятий и тренинга учителей. Главная цель этого исследования- это улучшение практики преподавания языка онлайн.

В чем будет заключаться мое участие?

После вы даёте разрешение на участие, 2-3 ваших уроков будут записаны с помощью Skype Recorder (для наблюдения и транскрипции). Вы будете компенсированы 60 долларов за Ваше участие в этом проекте.

Как насчёт конфиденциальности?

Вся информация и личные данные, собранные в ходе этого исследования, абсолютно конфиденциальны. Никакая личная информация не будет упомянута в публикациях или презентации результатов. Только исследователи будут иметь доступ к личной информации. Результаты исследования (суммирование на 1-2 страницы) будут высланы Вам после завершения анализа данных.

Как я могу согласиться или отказаться от участия?

Участие в этом исследовании является полностью добровольным: Вы не обязаны участвовать, и, если Вы решите участвовать, Вы можете отказаться от участия в любой момент.

Если Вы решили не участвовать в исследовании, просто проигнорируйте это письмо.

Если Вы бы хотели принять участие в исследовании, пожалуйста, заполните 2 копии Бланка о Согласии и отправьте отсканированную копию нам по адресу: olga.kozar @students.mq.edu.au

Спасибо, что нашли время, чтобы подумать об участии в нашем исследовании. Только через поддержку людей, как Вы, мы можем узнать, как лучше проводить онлайн-уроки языка.

С уважением,

Ольга Козарь

Кандидат на степень Доктор Наук

Кафедра лингвистики

Macquarie University

NSW 2109 Австралия

Consent Form (Russian translation)



Факультет Лингвистики
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Сидней, Новый Южный Уэльс ,2109

Phone: +61 (2) 98508740

Email: lingadmin@mq.edu.au

Бланк о Согласии Участия в Научном Исследовании

Я, _____ прочитал(а) (или, где это уместно, мне прочитали) и понял(а) информацию об исследовании, и получил(а) ответы на интересующие меня вопросы.

Я согласен(а) участвовать в этом исследовании, зная, что я могу отказаться от дальнейшего участия в исследовании в любой момент без каких-либо негативных последствий в мой адрес. У меня осталась копия данного документа.

Имя участника:

(Печатными буквами)

Подпись участника:

Число:

Имя исследователя:

(Печатными буквами)

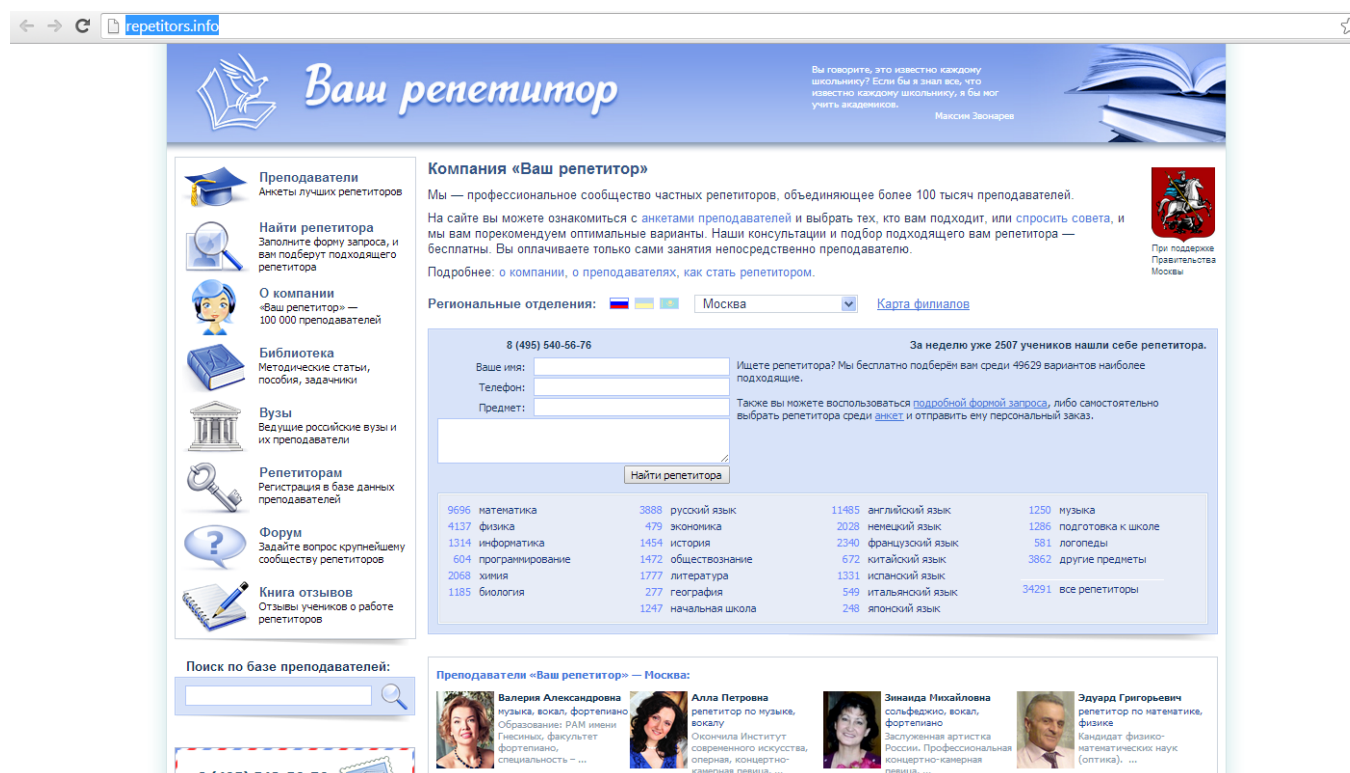
Подпись исследователя:

Число:

Этические аспекты данного исследования были одобрены комиссией по Этике Macquarie University. Если у вас есть жалобы или вопросы о вашем участии в этом исследовании, вы можете связаться с Комитетом через директора по этике научных исследований (телефон + 61 (02) 9850 7854 или по электронной почте ethics@mq.edu.au). Любая жалоба будет конфиденциальна, и Вас проинформируют о результатах

Sample websites with profiles of private tutors (Chapter 2)

Figure 12.1: Screenshot of repetitor.info /24.04.2014



<h1>Your Tutor</h1>	<p>You are saying that it is known by every school student?</p> <p>If I knew everything that is known by every school student, I would be able to teach academics.</p> <p>Maxim Zvonarev</p>
<div><div>Teachers</div><div>Profiles of the best tutors</div><div>Find a tutor</div><div>Fill in the application form and you'll be matched with a suitable tutor</div><div>About the company</div><div>"Your tutor" – 100 000 teachers</div><div>Library</div><div>Methodology articles, teaching materials, collection of problems</div><div>Universities</div><div>Leading Russian universities and their teachers</div><div>Forum</div><div>Ask a question to the largest community of tutors</div><div>Feedback</div><div>Students' testimonials of the work with tutors</div></div>	<div><div>Company "Your Tutor"</div><div><div>We are a professional community of private tutors, uniting over 1000 teachers.</div><div>Supported by Moscow Government</div></div><div><div>You can view profiles of teachers on this website, select the suitable ones or ask for advice and we'll suggest some great options. Our consultation and matching you with a tutor is done free of charge. You'll only pay for the actual lessons to our tutor directly.</div><div>More details about: company, our tutors, how to become a tutor.</div><div>Regional representatives: (Map of brunches)</div><div>8 (495) 540 56 76</div><div><div><div>Your name</div><div>Phone number</div><div>Subject</div><div>Find a tutor</div></div><div><div>Are you looking for a tutor? We'll find you the most suitable tutor free of charge from our 49629 tutors.</div><div>You can also use the detailed application form or search yourself in our database of profiles and send the tutor an individual order.</div></div></div><div><div><div>9696 Maths</div><div>4237 Physics</div><div>1314 IT</div><div>604 Programming</div><div>2068 Chemistry</div><div>1185 Biology</div></div><div><div>3888 Russian language</div><div>479 Economics</div><div>1454 History</div><div>1472 Sociology</div><div>1777 Literature</div><div>277 Geography</div><div>1247 Primary school</div></div><div><div>11485 English</div><div>2028 German</div><div>2340 French</div><div>672 Chinese</div><div>1331 Spanish</div><div>549 Italian</div><div>248 Japanese</div></div><div><div>1250 Music</div><div>1286 School preparation</div><div>581 Speech therapists</div><div>3862 Other subjects</div><div>3491 All tutors</div></div></div></div></div>
<div>Search a tutor in our database</div>	<div><div>Teachers "Your Tutor"- Moscow</div><div><div>Valeriya Alexandrovna, music, singing, piano</div><div>Alla Petrovna, music tutor, singing tutor</div><div>Zinaida Mikhailovna, solfeggio, singing, piano</div><div>Eduard Grigor'evich, Maths and Physics tutor</div></div></div>

Figure 12.2: Screenshot of repetitor-baza.ru / 24.03.2014



Figure 12.3: Teachers ranking on repetitors.info

← → ↻ 🔍 ☆ ☰



Что может быть честнее и благороднее,
как научить других тому, что сам
наилучшим образом знаешь?
Квинтилиан

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Сертификация преподавателей «Ваш репетитор»

Стандарт сертификации разработан компанией «Ваш репетитор» при содействии экспертного совета по организационным и технологическим вопросам образования парламентского центра ФС РФ.

Сертификация репетиторов проводится в центральных офисах экспертами компании «Ваш репетитор». Её целью является дать каждому клиенту максимально подробную и гарантированно достоверную информацию о его будущем репетиторе.

Сертификация 1-го уровня (документарная):

- Очное собеседование.
- Составление детальной анкеты.
- Актуальная качественная фотография преподавателя.
- Видеоролик-презентация, в котором преподаватель представляет себя, рассказывает о своём образовании и методике преподавания.
- Проверка наличия документов об образовании и опыте работы — дипломов, грамот, сертификатов и пр. Документы сканируются и заносятся в общую базу данных.

Сертификация 2-го уровня (предметная):

- Оценка глубины знаний репетитора по данному предмету. Проводится в виде обширного стандартизованного теста, максимально приближенного к тем экзаменам, к которым готовит этот преподаватель (экзамены на базе ЕГЭ, TOEFL, GMAT и т.п.).

Сертификация 3-го уровня (методико-педагогическая):

- Оценка педагогических навыков преподавателя. Учитель свой предмет должен не только знать, но и уметь доступно объяснить ученику. Проводится с помощью системы специализированных тестов.



Поиск по базе преподавателей:

 🔍

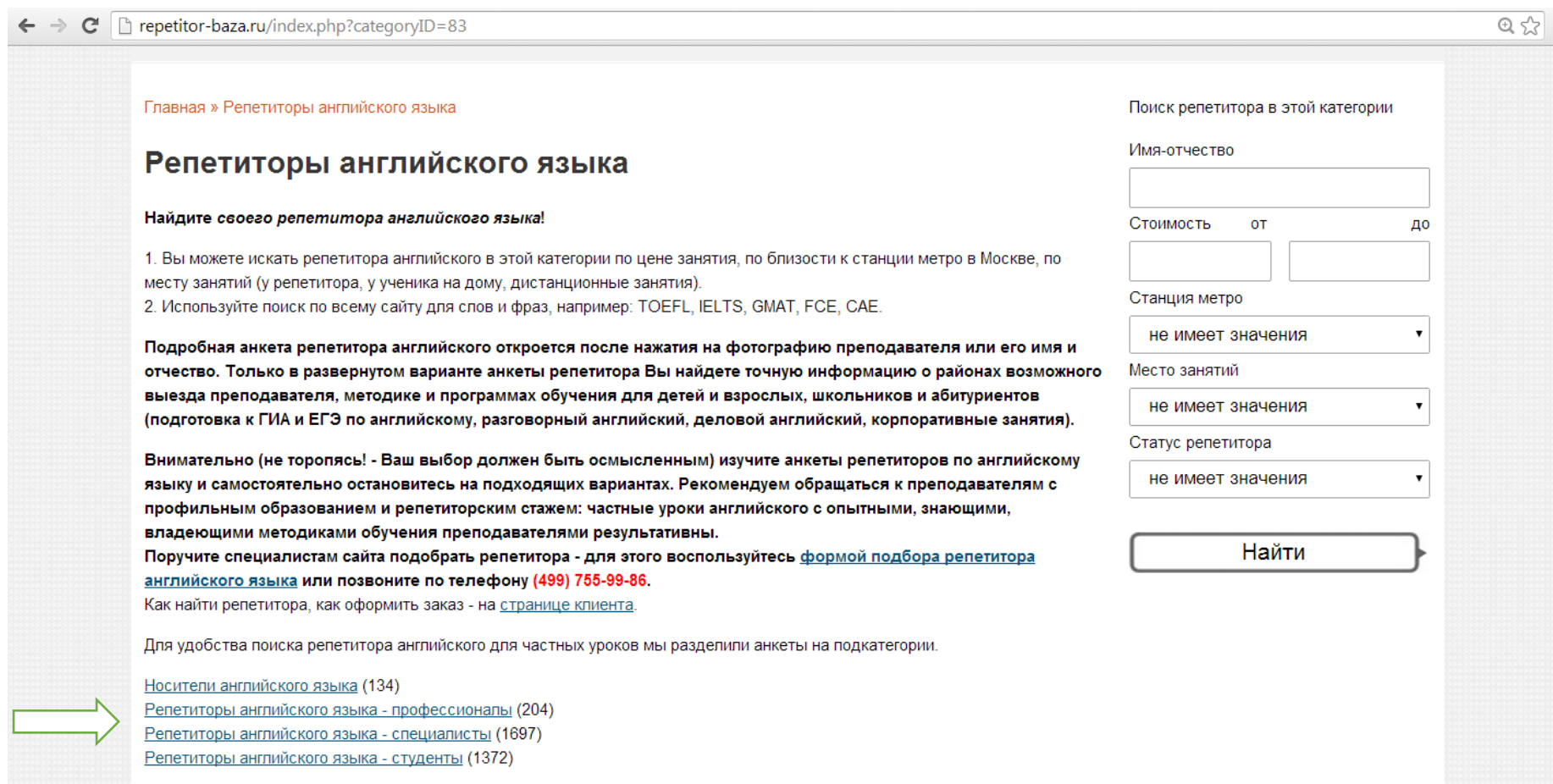
8 (495) 540-56-76
8 (800) 555-56-76

Часы работы:
с 8:00 до 22:00

adm@repetitors.info

<h1>Your Tutor</h1>	<p>You are saying that it is known by every school student?</p> <p>If I knew everything that is known by every school student, I would be able to teach academics.</p> <p>Maxim Zvonarev</p>
<p>Teachers</p> <p>Profiles of the best tutors</p> <p>Find a tutor</p> <p>Fill in the application form and you'll be matched with a suitable tutor</p> <p>About the company</p> <p>"Your tutor" – 100 000 teachers</p> <p>Library</p> <p>Methodology articles, teaching materials, collection of problems</p> <p>Universities</p> <p>Leading Russian universities and their teachers</p> <p>Forum</p> <p>Ask a question to the largest community of tutors</p> <p>Feedback</p> <p>Students' testimonials of the work with tutors</p>	<p>Certification of "Your Tutor" teachers</p> <p>The certification standard has been created by the company "Your Tutor" in conjunction with the Steering Committee of educational organizational and technology-related questions of Russian Parliament.</p> <p>The certification is conducted in the central offices of the company "Your Tutor" by the company's experts. The goal of the certification is to provide every client with the most detailed information about their future tutor.</p> <p>Certification of the 1st level (document verification)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Face-to-face interview - A detailed profile - Up-to-date and high quality photograph of the tutor - Video presentation of the tutor, in which the tutor talks about themselves and tells future students about their education and methodology - Verification of documents (degrees, certificates, etc. The documents are scanned and added to the database). <p>Certification of the 2nd level (subject)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Testing the tutor on the knowledge of the subject (conducted as an in-depth test, close to those exams that the tutor is preparing for (e.g. State Unified Exam; IELTS, TOEFL, GMAT, etc)). <p>Certification of the 3rd level (methodology and pedagogy)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Testing teacher's pedagogical skills. A teacher should not just know their subject, but be able to teach it well. Conducted via specialized tests.

Figure 12.4: Tutors ranking on repetitor-baza.ru



← → ↻ repetitor-baza.ru/index.php?categoryID=83

Главная » Репетиторы английского языка

Репетиторы английского языка

Найдите своего репетитора английского языка!

1. Вы можете искать репетитора английского в этой категории по цене занятия, по близости к станции метро в Москве, по месту занятий (у репетитора, у ученика на дому, дистанционные занятия).
2. Используйте поиск по всему сайту для слов и фраз, например: TOEFL, IELTS, GMAT, FCE, CAE.

Подробная анкета репетитора английского откроется после нажатия на фотографию преподавателя или его имя и отчество. Только в развернутом варианте анкеты репетитора Вы найдете точную информацию о районах возможного выезда преподавателя, методике и программах обучения для детей и взрослых, школьников и абитуриентов (подготовка к ГИА и ЕГЭ по английскому, разговорный английский, деловой английский, корпоративные занятия).

Внимательно (не торопясь! - Ваш выбор должен быть осмысленным) изучите анкеты репетиторов по английскому языку и самостоятельно остановитесь на подходящих вариантах. Рекомендуем обращаться к преподавателям с профильным образованием и репетиторским стажем: частные уроки английского с опытными, знающими, владеющими методиками обучения преподавателями результативны.

Поручите специалистам сайта подобрать репетитора - для этого воспользуйтесь [формой подбора репетитора английского языка](#) или позвоните по телефону **(499) 755-99-86**.

Как найти репетитора, как оформить заказ - на [странице клиента](#).

Для удобства поиска репетитора английского для частных уроков мы разделили анкеты на подкатегории.

[Носители английского языка](#) (134)
[Репетиторы английского языка - профессионалы](#) (204)
[Репетиторы английского языка - специалисты](#) (1697)
[Репетиторы английского языка - студенты](#) (1372)

Поиск репетитора в этой категории

Имя-отчество

Стоимость от до

Станция метро

Место занятий

Статус репетитора

	<p>Main – English tutors</p> <h2>English tutors</h2> <p>Find your English tutor</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. You can search an English tutor in this category based on price, proximity to the metro station in Moscow, based on location (at the student's place; at the tutor's house; distance lessons). 2. You can use the search engine on the whole website and search for specific terms, e.g. TOEFL, IELTS, GMAT, FCE, CAE. <p>A detailed profile of a teacher will open after you click on their photograph or on their name. You can find detailed information on the specific location of lessons and potential of the tutor coming to your place, tutor's methods of teaching children, adults, and university applicants (preparation for State Examinations, spoken English, Business English, corporate lessons).</p> <p>Please study the profiles carefully (without rush – your selection needs to be thought-through) and find the most suitable option. We recommend choosing tutors with specialized education and tutoring experience as one-to-one lessons with experienced., knowledgeable and having good methodological base teachers are effective.</p> <p>You can delegate to our specialists to find you a tutor. To do this, please fill in the application form. Information on how to find a tutor and make an order is on the client's page.</p> <p>In order to make the search more convenient we have selected the tutors into the following categories:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Native speakers (134) - Professional English tutors (204) - English-tutors specialists (1697) - English-tutors students (1372) 	<p>Search of a tutor in this category</p> <p>Name and Patronymic'</p> <input type="text"/> <p>Price from..... to.....</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td><input type="text"/></td> <td><input type="text"/></td> </tr> </table> <p>Metro station</p> <input type="text" value="Not important"/> <p>Place of lessons</p> <input type="text" value="Not important"/> <p>Tutor status</p> <input type="text" value="Not important"/> <p>Find</p>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>			

Figure 12.5: Sample Teachers' profile on repetitors.info/ 24.03.2014

← → ↻
repetitors.info/repetitor/?p=OrlovaSA

Наука не сводится к сумме фактов, как здание не сводится к груде камней.
Анри Пуанкаре

Репетитор Орлова Светлана Андреевна

Чтобы не перелистывать самостоятельно все 34300 анкет, вы можете просто написать, кого вы ищете, и вам посоветуют оптимальный вариант.

← Все репетиторы по английскому языку на м. «ВДНХ» [Связаться с этим репетитором](#)

Орлова Светлана Андреевна
Репетитор по английскому языку.
Кандидат педагогических наук (защита кандидатской диссертации по методике обучения иностранному языку, 2011 г.).
Образование: МГУ им. М.В. Ломоносова, специальность – русский язык как иностранный, квалификация – преподаватель курсов (2012 г.); МГТУ им. М.А. Шолохова (МГОПУ), факультет иностранных языков, квалификация – учитель английского языка (2003 г.); МГЛУ, факультет повышения квалификации преподавателей иностранных языков (6 мес., 2006 г.).
Cambridge University, TKT 3 Modules, Band 4 (высший балл) (2013 г.).
Сертификат CAE (Certificate of Advanced English) (2014 г.).
Автор 9 научных статей по методике обучения лексике.
Постоянное общение с носителями языка.
Опыт преподавания – с 2011 года (преподаватель кафедры английского языка Международного института государственной службы и управления Российской академии народного хозяйства и государственной службы при Президенте РФ).
Приняла участие в семинаре «Edutainment: обучение через компьютерные игры и песни» (2012 г.) и в вебинаре «Основы дистанционного обучения» (2014 г.) компании «Ваш репетитор». Участвовала в серии вебинаров «Подготовка к ЕГЭ по английскому языку» компании «Ваш репетитор» (2014 г.).
Приняла участие в семинаре How to prepare students for IELTS, ведущий – действующий IELTS-экзаменатор и тренер Simon Brooks, KBC International House (2013 г.).
Репетиторская деятельность – с 2000 года.
[Документы об образовании.](#)
Hello!
Я провожу занятия у себя дома, территориально – на пересечении ул. Б. Галушкина и ул. Космонавтов, от метро ходит маршрутка (15 минут) или можно дойти пешком за это же время.
По состоянию на 21.03 есть слоты во вторник и в пятницу утром и днем.
Район: ВДНХ.
Плюс: дистанционные занятия; ЕГЭ, ГИА по английскому языку, бизнес-английский, разговорный английский язык с нуля, KET, PET, FCE, IELTS, интенсивная подготовка к выезду (основные ситуации общения).
3000 руб. / 90 мин.; 3500 руб. / 120 мин.
Утренние занятия: 2700 руб. / 90 мин.
Мини-группы (2 чел.): 2-9 классы – 2500 руб. / 60 мин. (за группу); 10, 11 классы, ЕГЭ – 5000 руб. / 120 мин. (за группу).
Дистанционно (Скайп) – 3000 руб. / 90 мин.; 3500 руб. / 120 мин.

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1314	информатика
604	программирование
2068	химия
1185	биология
3888	русский язык
479	экономика
1454	история
1472	обществознание
1777	литература

рейтинг **5++**
[42 отзыва](#)

Сертификация 1-го уровня

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Орлова Светлана Андреевна (английский язык)

Позитивна и эффективна. Остроумна и профессиональна. С гибким подходом к пожеланиям капризного ученика. Мои наилучшие рекомендации!!

Оценка: 5.

Антон

[4 июня 2013]

Орлова Светлана Андреевна (английский язык)

Я пришел со знаниями, как мне казалось, уровня intermediate и планировал в рекордно короткие сроки (месяца за 3) подготовиться к сертификационному экзамену. Отбор репетиторов был строгий (с моей стороны), Светлана Андреевна его прошла :-). Правда оказалось, с моими знаниями далеко не так хорошо, как я думал вначале.

Мы все учили понемногу английский, но он все время был нужным предметом, но не вдохновлял на изучение. У Светланы Андреевны прекрасно видны системные знания предмета, а опыт работы как со школьниками, так и со взрослыми (мой случай), с учетом всех их проблем - семья, дети, работа, вечно не хватает времени, помогает найти ко всем подход, если, конечно, есть хоть капля интереса в предмете. И интерес появляется, именно он и движет желанием находить время по ночам делать домашние задания... Никогда не думал, что я способен на такое, но ведь интересно!

Все время чувствуется, что у нее в голове четкий план обучения с тобой на ближайшие 3-5 месяцев, при этом объем заданий всегда соответствует цели и реальной возможности заниматься самостоятельно. Разнообразие методик, материалов поражает - выбирай на любой вкус. Если обнаруживается какой-то пробел в знаниях, то в течение 1 минуты (среднее время) будет найден урок грамматики, отсканирован, задано домашнее задание (если тема простая и ее можно изучить самостоятельно) - ответственность за занятия на самом высоком уровне.

Сами занятия проходят в свободной манере, без отвлечений на сторонние темы и высказывания своих теорий, легко, но не отклоняясь от темы. Тем всегда много, они разные и общение со Светланой Андреевной очень непринужденное.

После почти полугодового перерыва я решил возобновить занятия, но в плотном графике не сразу нашлось место. Светлана Андреевна востребованный преподаватель, но оно того стоит! Я с нетерпением ждал "окна" и оно нашлось, чему я был несказанно рад - уверенность, что я сдам необходимый мне экзамен стала реальной. И это при том, что сами занятия очень насыщенные и интересные!


На работе я как-то не заметно обрел статус "знающего английский человека", что подтверждается в общении с иностранными коллегами. Я всегда знаю, что мне есть куда расти, но есть твердая уверенность что я со всем справлюсь.

Могу рекомендовать Светлану Андреевну всем - школьникам, студентам, взрослым (тем кто учил, но когда-то давно, а теперь вдруг понадобился). Изучение английского с ней будет с одной стороны приятным и захватывающим, а с другой стороны принесет ожидаемый результат.

Оценка: 5+.

Алексей

[3 июня 2013]

<h1>Your Tutor</h1>	<p>“Science is built up of facts, as a house is built of stones; but an accumulation of facts is no more a science than a heap of stones is a house.”</p> <p>Henri Poincare</p>
<p>Teachers</p> <p>Profiles of the best tutors</p> <p>Find a tutor</p> <p>Fill in the application form and you'll be matched with a suitable tutor</p> <p>About the company</p> <p>“Your tutor” – 100 000 teachers</p> <p>Library</p> <p>Methodology articles, teaching materials, collection of problems</p> <p>Universities</p> <p>Leading Russian universities and their teachers</p> <p>Forum</p> <p>Ask a question to the largest community of tutors</p> <p>Feedback</p> <p>Students' testimonials of the work with tutors</p> <p>9696 maths</p> <p>4137 physics</p> <p>1314 IT</p> <p>604 Programming</p> <p>2068 Chemistry</p> <p>1185 Biology</p> <p>3888 Russian Language ...</p>	<div>  <div> <p>Orlova Svetlana Andreevna</p> <p>English tutor</p> <p>PhD (thesis: methodology of English teaching; awarded in 2011)</p> <p>Education: Moscow State University, Qualification: Course Teacher; Specialty: Russian as a Foreign Language (2012)</p> <p>Moscow State Open Teacher Training University. Faculty: Foreign Languages; Qualification: English teacher (2003)</p> <p>Moscow State Linguistic University (6-month course of language teacher development)</p> <p>Cambridge University, TKT, 3 modules, Band 4 (top band) (2013)</p> <p>Certificate CAE (Certificate of Advanced English) (2014)</p> <p>Author of 9 scholarly articles about teaching vocabulary</p> <p>Constant communication with native speakers</p> <p>Teaching experience. Since 2011 – an English teacher at International Institute of Public Administration and Management, Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration</p> <p>Took part in ‘Edutainment: teaching via computer games and songs (2012), in webinar “Basics of Distance Education’ (2014), in the series of webinars “USE preparation”, in “How to prepare for IELTS, by Simon Brooks- IELTS examiner, BKC International House (2013)</p> <p>Private tutoring experience: since 2000</p> <p>Educational documents (hyperlink)</p> <p>Hello!</p> <p>I conduct lessons at home. Location: the intersection of Galushkina and Kosmonavtov. There is a mini-bus from the metro station (15 mins) or it is a 15-mins walk from the station. As per 21.03 there are time slots on Tue and Fri morning and on Fri afternoon.</p> <p>Location: VDNH</p> <p>Advantages: distance lessons; USE, Business English, Conversational English; English from ‘zero’; KET, PET, FCE, IELTS, intensive prep for travelling (most common situations).</p> <p>3000 rubles/90 mins; 35000/120 mins; Morning lessons: 2700/90 mins; Mini-groups (2 people): 2-9 grade- 2500 rubles/90 mins; 10-12 grades – SUE – 5000 rubles/120 mins (for the group); Skype lessons: 3000 rubles/90 mins; 3500/120 mins</p> </div> </div> <div> <p>Certification of 1st level</p> <p>Rating: 5++</p> <p>42 testimonials</p> </div>

Orlova Svetlana Andreevna (English language)

Positive and effective. Good sense of humour and professional. Flexible approach to wishes of capricious student. My best recommendations.

Mark: 5

Anton

Orlova Svetlana Andreevna (English language)

I came with knowledge of what I thought was 'intermediate' and planned in record time (3 months) to prepare for an certifying exam. My selection criteria for tutors was very strict and Svetlana Andreevna has passed them)). But as it turned out my knowledge wasn't as good I had expected.

We all learnt English as it has always been a useful subject, but it didn't inspire me. One can see that Svetlana Andreevna has excellent systemic knowledge of the subject and the experience of working with schoolkids and adults (my case), taking into account of all their problems (family, kids, work, chronic shortage of time). All of this can be overcome if there is at least a drop of interest towards the subject and (after lessons with Svetlana) the interest arises and it helps to move you forward and find time on homework in the evening. I'd never think that I could achieve so much, but it is interesting!

I can always feel that she has a clear plan of lessons for the next 3.5 months, but the amount of homework is always proportionate to one's ability to study and one's free time. The variety of methods is amazing: pick any based on your taste. If there is any gap in grammar, then in 1 minute (average time) Svetlana finds a lesson on grammar, makes a photocopy, homework set (if the topic is simple enough for self-study) – the responsibility for lessons is on top level.

The actual lessons are conducted in a free atmosphere, without side-tracking and expressing one's opinion. There are many topics and they are interesting and communicating with Svetlana is always easy.

After almost 6-months break I decided to resume lessons, but there were no slots in Svetlana's tight schedule. It is not surprising – she is in demand, and her lessons are worth it. I was looking forward to opening of some 'windows' and was delighted when these windows got open. I am now confident that I'll pass the required exam. But the lessons are also very interesting and informative.

At work I have earned the status of 'a person who knows English', which is confirmed by communicating with foreign colleagues. I always know that I need to grow, but I have the confidence that I will manage it all.

I can recommend Svetlana Andreevna to schoolkids, students, adults (those who learnt the language a long time ago and now need it). Learning with her will be pleasant and exciting, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, will bring results.

Mark: 5+


Alexey

Figure 12.6: Sample teacher's profile at repetitor-baza.ru//24.03.2014

← → ↺
repetitor-baza.ru/index.php?productID=228
Q ☆ ≡

Главная » Репетиторы английского языка » Репетиторы английского языка - профессионалы

Нэлли Рафаиловна



Идет набор учеников: да

связь с репетитором

Стоимость занятия: 1500руб.

Станция метро: Речной вокзал

Место занятий: выезд к ученику (+ 200руб.)

Продолжительность занятия: 90 минут

Статус репетитора: преподаватель вуза

Цена с учетом выбранных опций: 1700руб.

Число учеников, подготовленных через нашу компанию (долгосрочные занятия): 50.

Репетитор английского языка. Диплом Московский государственного педагогического института им. В.И. Ленина (сейчас МПГУ), квалифицированный преподаватель английского языка - переводчик с двенадцатилетним стажем преподавания в языковой школе по интенсивной методике И.Ю. Шехтера для взрослых и старшеклассников. Международный сертификат TKT (The Teaching Knowledge Test). Обучение английскому языку: подготовка к ГИА и ЕГЭ по английскому языку, разговорный английский для взрослых с любого уровня, индивидуальный подбор курса занятий по британским пособиям, возможен интенсивный курс 3-4 месяца, помощь школьникам в освоении современного английского языка. Опыт работы с корпоративными клиентами.

Вопросы репетитору английского языка

- Кто Вы?
- Я преподаватель вуза
- Ваше образование?
- Московский государственный педагогический институт им. В.И. Ленина (сейчас МПГУ), факультет английского языка, специальность - английский и французский языки, 1978 (год окончания вуза). Международный сертификат TKT (The Teaching Knowledge Test).
- Когда Вы начали заниматься репетиторством?
- 1990.
- Число учеников, подготовленных Вами?
- Более 100.
- Есть ли письменные отзывы о Вашей репетиторской деятельности?
- Да.
- Используете ли Вы собственные учебные пособия для обучения английскому языку?
- Нет.
- Каковы особенности Вашей методики обучения английскому языку?
- Одновременное освоение всех аспектов языка (разговорные, лексические и грамматические конструкции, восприятие на слух), использование ролевых и грамматических игр, снятие психологического барьера, хороший психологический контакт со обучаемыми.
- Кто может стать Вашим учеником?
- Взрослые, абитуриенты, школьники.

Репетиторы английского языка

- Носители английского языка
- Репетиторы английского языка - профессионалы
- Репетиторы английского языка - специалисты
- Репетиторы английского языка - студенты

Репетиторы по математике

Репетиторы по русскому языку

Литература

История

Обществознание

Физика

Информатика

Химия

Биология

География

Экономика

Немецкий язык

Французский язык

Испанский язык

Итальянский язык

Китайский язык

Японский язык

Дошкольникам

Начальная школа

Психологи

Логопеды и дефектологи

Музыка

Рисование

Актерское мастерство

Репетиторы других предметов

Репетиторы Подмоскovie

Дистанционное обучение


Main-English Tutors- Professional English tutors			English tutors
<div> <div>Nelly Rafailovna</div>  </div>	Lesson price	1500 rub	Native speakers
	Metro station	Rechnoi Voksal	Professional English tutors
	Location of lessons	Going to the students' location (+200 rubles)	English-tutors specialists
	Duration	90 mins	English-tutors students
	Status	University teacher	Maths tutors
Accepting new students? Yes	The final price	1700 rubles	Russian language tutors
Contact the tutor			Literature
Number of students taught via our company (long-term lessons): 50			History
English tutor. The degree from Moscow State Teacher Training University called after Lenin (currently: MGPU), qualified teacher of English with 20+ years teaching experience in a language school using the intensive method of Shehtera for teaching adults and high-school students. International certification TKT (Teacher Knowledge Test). English teaching: preparing for GIA and USE, conversational English, teaching adults of any level, curriculum design for any student using British textbooks, intensive 3-4 course, helping schoolkids in learning modern English, working with corporate customers.			Sociology
Questions for the tutor			Physics
Who are you?			IT
I am a university teacher			Chemistry
When did you start tutoring?			Biology
In 1990			Geography
How many students have you taught?			Economics
Over 100			German
Do you have any written testimonials about your teaching?			French
Yes			Spanish
Do you use your own materials for teaching English?			Italian
No			Chinese
What is your methodology of teaching English?			Japanese
Work on all aspects of the language simultaneously (speaking, vocabulary, grammar, listening), using role and grammar games, eliminating the psychological barrier, good rapport with students.			Pre-school...

Figure 12.7: 20 most commonly offered subjects for private tutoring in Moscow, based on the analysis of two largest tutor-listing websites

Website A		Website B	
Subject	Number of tutors	Subject	Number of tutors
English (language)	7705	English (language)	1811
Maths	6474	Maths	1310
Russian (language)	2909	Russian	558
Physics	2849	Physics	526
French(language)	1579	Music	419
German(language)	1433	French language	373
Chemistry	1388	German language	285
Literature	1230	Chemistry	259
History	937	Literature	239
Music	929	Social science	208
Social science	896	IT	199
IT	857	History	195
Primary school	836	Spanish (language)	195
Spanish(language)	822	School preparation	179
School preparation	734	Primary school	172
Biology	724	Drawing	147
Programming	419	Biology	142
Chinese(language)	400	Chinese	104
Italian(language)	349	Italian language	101
Economics	344	Economics	82

12.3. Sample websites of private online English tutoring providers (Chapters 3, 5)

Figure 12.8: Sample website of Private Online Language School: Front page

www.english-and-skype.ru

In English

English-and-Skype
Английский по скайп! +7 (495) 646-00-76

Преподаватели Методика Курсы Цены Отзывы О нас

English-and-Skype
Английский по скайп!
[Посмотреть видео](#)

Преподаватель:
• Русскоязычный
• Носитель языка (UK/US)

Курс:
Общий английский

Индивидуальный урок:
45 минут 600 Р
60 минут 800 Р

ПРОБНЫЙ УРОК!

... или пройди тестирование и получи 5% скидку!

Английский по скайпу это:

Индивидуальное обучение
Вы занимаетесь с личным преподавателем по индивидуальной программе. Вы в Москве, а Ваш личный преподаватель - в Нью-Йорке. Здорово?!

Профессиональные преподаватели
К нам на работу попадает 1 из 100 кандидатов, т.е. только самые лучшие. Изучайте английский по скайпу с теми, кто умеет и любит преподавать!

Полноценное обучение
Обучение ведется по индивидуальной программе, с использованием учебников, материалов для аудирования, тестов. Все серьезно.

Иван Зверев
преподаватель: Екатерина С.
Подарите себе время!

Маргарита Орлова
преподаватель: Ирина Д.
Цена. Она не может не радовать!

Илья Смоляров
преподаватель: Valerie
Я стал получать сплошные пятерки по английскому!

Нравится 171 Твитнуть 13 8+ 14 Like 70

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ПРОЙДИ ТЕСТ ЧТОБЫ ПОЛУЧИТЬ 5% СКИДКУ



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Watch this video

Teacher:

Russian

Native speaker (UK/US)

Course : General English

One-to-One lesson

45 mins

600 Rub

60 mins

800 Rub

TRIAL LESSON

Or pass a test and get 5% discount

English via Skype is:






One-to-One teaching	Professional teacher	Robust Education
You study with a personal teacher using a customized program. You are in Moscow and your teacher is in New York. Isn't it cool?	We only accept 1 in a 100 teachers= we accept the best. Learn English via Skype with those who is able to teach and loves teaching.	Teaching is done using a customized program using textbooks, listening materials, tests. Everything is very serious.
 Ivan Zverev. Teacher: Ekaterina C. Give yourself a gift of time!	 Margarita Orlova, Teacher: Irina D. The price can't help but make you smile!	 Ilya Smolyarov, Teacher: Valerie I started getting straight As at school !

Figure 12.9: Sample website of Private Online Language schools, Teachers' page

[←](#) [→](#) [↺](#) [www.english-and-skype.ru/native-speakers/](#) [🔍](#) [☆](#) [☰](#)


English-and-Skype
 Английский по скайпу!

+7 (495) 646-00-76
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[Отзывы](#)
[О нас](#)


In English 

Как это работает?

- Общий английский
- Разговорный английский
- Разговорная практика
- Бизнес-английский
- Английский для работы
- Подготовка к собеседованию
- Международные экзамены
- Подготовка к ЕГЭ
- Английский для детей

Носители английского языка

Rachel (США), возможно, Ваш будущий преподаватель английского:



Здравствуйте, меня зовут Рейчел. Я родилась и живу в Порт-Артуре в штате Нью-Йорк, откуда родом и герой романа «Белый слон».

- Занимайтесь индивидуально английским с носителем языка из США или Великобритании. Ваш преподаватель в Нью-Йорке, а Вы - в Москве. Здорово?! Это реально! Полное погружение в языковую среду, прямо из дома по скайпу!


- Платите в 2-3 раза меньше, чем репетитору - носителю английского в Москве (700 р вместо 1500-2000 р за 45 мин)!

- Будьте уверены, что Ваш преподаватель - **настоящий преподаватель**, а не **обычный иностранец**! Все наши репетиторы имеют сертификаты CELTA, TEFL или TESOL - эти документы подтверждают, что человек имеет педагогическое образование в области преподавания английского языка.

А вот и другие наши носители языка

Stephanie T [Запишитесь на пробный урок!](#)

Носитель языка: (США). Education: California State University, Chico, Bachelor of Arts in Spanish Language and Literature. TEFL Certificate. Teaching English Grammar Certificate. Stephanie is a native English speaker from the US with more than 10 years teaching experience including classroom teaching, one on one tutoring, **Business English**, TOEFL and IELTS test preparation. She has taught ESL to students from China, Central and South America, Taiwan, Spain and Eastern Europe. She is currently living in Mexico and teaching English to school children as well as working with adults on conversational English, advanced grammar and composition. She loves to teach and to guide students in their efforts to improve their English skills. Stephanie can work with all different levels and will design lessons based on each student's needs and goals. She looks forward to working with you!




Что подарить на Новый год?

СЕРТИФИКАТ 5 УРОКОВ!

АНГЛИЙСКИЙ — ЛУЧШИЙ ПОДАРОК!

[ПОДАРИТЬ!](#)

ПРОЙДИ ТЕСТ чтобы получить 5% скидку

 English and Skype + 7 (495) 646 00 76	Teachers Method Courses Prices Testimonils About us
<p>How does it work?</p> <p>General English</p> <p>Conversational English</p> <p>Conversational Practice</p> <p>Business English</p> <p>English for work</p> <p>Job interview preparation</p> <p>International exams</p> <p>Preparation for USE</p> <p>English for kids</p> <p>Unsure what to give for New Year?</p> <p>English is the best present!</p>	<p>Native English Speakers</p> <p>Rachel (USA). Possibly your future English teacher:</p> <p>Have individual lessons with native speakers from USA or UK. Your teacher is in New York and you are in Moscow, isn't it cool? It is possible! The total emersion in English environment from home via Skype.</p> <p>Pay 2-3 times less than to a native speaker tutor in Moscow (700 rubles instead of 1500-2000 rubles for 45 mins)!</p> <p>Be confident that your teacher is a real teacher, and not just an average foreigner! All ouf teahers have CELTA, TEFL or TESOL certification. These documents certify that a person has teacher-training in the area of language teaching.</p> <p>And here are some of our other native speakers.</p> <p>Stephanie T</p> <p>Native speaker (USA). Education: California State University, Chico, Bachelor of Arts in Spanish Language and Literature. TEFL Certificate. Teaching English Grammar Certificate. Stephanie is a native English speaker from the US with more than 10 years of teaching experience including classroom teaching, one on one tutoring, Business English, TOEFL and IETLS test preparation. She has taught ESL to students in China, Central and Southh Amreica, Wiwan, Spain and Eastern Europe. She is currently living in Mexico and teaching English to school children as well as working with adults on conversational English, advanced grammar and composition. She loves to teacher and to guide students in their efforts to improve their English skills. Stephanie can work with all different levels and will design lessonis based on each student's needs and goals. She looks forwrad to working with you!</p>

12.4. Sample article about ‘Language Barrier’ (Chapter 4)

Countries	Home- All news- News Views: 2154	Other news on this topic
Australia Austria Bulgaria Great Britain Germany Greece Spain Canada Cyprus Latvia Malta New Zealand Poland Slovakia USA France...	<p>“I’ve been learning English for several years. I understand everything, read and translate freely, but as soon as I found myself abroad, I couldn’t say a single word. I even can’t tell the address to the taxi driver. I freeze up!” Sounds familiar, doesn’t it? Many of us face challenges when we need to switch from reading and writing with a dictionary to free communication in the foreign language. Why does the notorious language barrier come from and how can one overcome it?</p> <p>It is natural to have difficulties with language when one starts learning. This is just the lack of practice. The concept of language barrier however becomes relevant after 1-2 years of regular lessons when even having a large vocabulary, an ability to read and understand text, you still can’t start communicating in the foreign language.</p> <p>IS IT ALL DUE TO MEMORIES?</p> <p>One of the key reasons of the ‘language barrier’ lies unpleasant memories of the first experience of learning the foreign language. Usually, it is learning at school. I think you’ll agree that standing in front of the class and squeezing out of yourself something along the lines of “London is the capital of Great Britain” accompanied by the laughter of other kids and sarcastic comments from the teacher is not very fun. It is precisely due to the lack of confidence and fears, acquired at school that many people tend to give up learning the language when the time comes to move from grammar and reading to a conversation.</p> <p>Overcoming the influence of such negative experience can be very difficult. If you had similar experience in the past then the most effective way to help yourself to overcome this would be seeing a psychologist or a lingua-psychologist. When the traumatic experience from the past is understood and worked on, you’ll be able to start communicating in this language without a fear to look funny or ignorant.</p> <p>WE WERE NOT TAUGHT LIKE THIS</p> <p>Another, an equally common reason for the appearance of the language barrier is the habit to learn in a particular way: to thoroughly understand everything, systematize, and only then start speaking. This practice (based on a traditional methodology) is deeply rooted in language teaching in Russian schools and tertiary level. But it doesn’t bear any resemblance to how we learn our first language. Children first learn how to speak by repeating after adults and only at the age of 7-8 they start learning grammar.</p> <p>Communicative English teaching methodology that is used in modern language schools is designed to, first and foremost, promote the active use of conversational phrases, rather than on a passive understanding of texts.</p>	<p>Study abroad: the trap or a hook?</p> <p>The mass desire to leave the country is not just the fashion for many Ukrainians, but the ultimate goal.... Read more...</p>

Figure 12.10: Frequency of the term 'English barrier' on websites of different private online language schools, comparison of Russian language and English language categories

Russian websites	Number of words	Frequency of the phrase 'language barrier'	English websites	Number of words	Frequency of the phrase 'language barrier'
http://www.english-and-skype.ru/	25012	14	http://www.ilatc.com/	13648	1
http://englishgrad.ru/	16028	5	http://www.livelingua.com/	11968	0
http://elf-english.ru/	10862	5	http://skype-englishschool.com/	6874	0
http://www.skype-study.ru/	10351	6	http://www.englishtutoronline.com/	5390	0
http://www.skype-study.ru/	10351	6	http://english.englishinternacional.com/	4735	0
http://www.englishdom.com/ru/	10178	17	http://www.phoneboxlanguage.com/	4567	0
http://skyeng.ru/	9282	8	http://www.avatarlanguages.com	4306	0
http://online-teacher.ru/english-skype	8966	8	http://www.englishclassesonskype.com	4249	0
http://skype-language.ru/	8508	10	http://www.talktocanada.com/	3539	0
http://www.skyenglish.ru/	6140	7	http://skype-lessons.com/	3430	0
http://www.english-by-skype.ru/	5848	3	http://www.skypeenglishclasses.com/	2482	0
http://www.melene.ru/	5736	4	http://www.conversationclass.co.uk	2204	0
http://skypelesson.ru/	4221	2	http://www.englishskypelessons.co.uk/	2013	0
http://engliden.ru/	3872	5	http://www.myskypelessons.com/	1707	0
http://your-english.ru/	2324	6	http://www.easyenglishonskype.com	1517	0
Total :	137679	106	Total:	72629	1
Normalized frequency (frequency per 1000 words)	0.769906812		Normalized frequency (frequency per 1000 words)	0.013768605	

12.5. Sample coding of students' application forms (Chapter Six)

Previous experience	Previous experience Translation	Previous experience: 1- institutional; 2-language courses	Learning Goals	Learning Goals Translation	Learning Goals: 1- Traveling 2- Personal communication 3- Jon	Ideal teacher qualities	Ideal teacher qualities Translation	T-qualities Coding 1(controlling)	T-qualities 2(responsive)	T- qualities Coding: 3(result-provider)	T-qualities 4(attractive personality)	Age	Age	1-under 20; 2--in their 20s;	Gender 1- Male
Уровень intermediate. Изучала английский с репетитором и месяц в Англии на курсах.	Intermediate level, studied with a tutor and during one month in England at language courses	2,3	Сдача экзамена IELTS	Passing IELTS	4	Требовательный! Желательно женщина	Demanding! Preferably a female	1	0	0	1	23	2		2
6 лет в школе	6 years at school	1	для разговоров с друзьями	Speaking with friends	2	Терпение, умение подстраиваться под ученика.	Patience, ability to adjust to the student	0	1	0	0	13	1		1

В школе изучала немецкий, поэтому английский начала учить на первом курсе университета (5 лет назад), после года изучения поступила на дополнительное образование по английскому. Три года доп.образования, закончила успешно. Разные курсы посещала, но нерегулярно.	I studied German at school, that's why I started learning English in my first year in the university (5 years ago). After that I enrolled in an additional degree in English I successfully finished 3 years of this additional degree. I attended various language courses, but it was irregular. Studied a lot with tutors. I attended IELTS preparation courses for 3 months and then tried to pass	1, 2,3	сдача экзамена (IELTS)	Passing IELTS	4	Активный и целеустремленный. Умеющий доходчиво объяснять.	Active and goal-oriented Able to explain well.	0	0	1	1	21	2	2
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<p>Много</p> <p>занималась с репетиторами.</p> <p>3 месяца</p> <p>ходила на курсы</p> <p>подготовки к IELTS около полугода</p> <p>назад. Затем была попытка</p> <p>сдачи IELTS (академический модуль), но</p> <p>не набрала требуемый</p> <p>результат по письменной и</p> <p>разговорной части.</p>	IELTS														
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Английский язык начинала учить в школе. Занималась на протяжении двух лет с преподавателем, три раза в неделю по три часа. После этого еще год училась на курсах с англоговорящим преподавателем, уровень upper-intermediate. Потом начала учить второй язык и вот уже как четыре года не	I started learning English at school. I studies for two years with a tutor, three times a week for three hours. After that I studies in language courses with a native speaker, my level is upper-intermediate. Then I started learning another language and it has been four years since I haven't studied English at all.	1,3,2	Экзамен IELTS	Passing IELTS	4	Хотелось бы заниматься с преподавателем с достаточным опытом преподавания, строгим, требовательным, давать много самостоятельной работы.	I would like to study with a tutor who has enough experience, strict, demanding, who will give me a lot of homework	1	0	1	0	21	2	2
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занималась английским совсем.														
Получила базовые знания в школе и институте,хож у на курсы.	I received basic knowledge at school.I am also attending language courses.	1,2	Работа	Job-related	3	Способный достичь результата, Наличие опыта преподавания английского	Able to get results, posessing teaching experience	0	1	1	0	27	2	2
10 лет в школе и 2 года в университете. уровень	10 years at school, 2 years at university. Level intermediate	1	Путешеств ия	Travelling	1	25-35 лет, желательно преподающий американский	25-35 years old, preferably teaching American English	0	0	0	1	25	2	2

intermediate						английский								
5 лет на разных курсах	5 years, on different language courses	2	Работа	Job-related	3	Это должна быть сногсшибательна я блондинка с нормальным опытом преподавания. Шутка. Просто должен быть адекватный дружелюбный человек, который может достичь необходимого результата.	A gorgeous blond with acceptable teaching experience. A joke. It just needs to be an adequate friendly person, who can achieve the necessary result.	0	1	1	0	27	2	1
в школе, институте, на курсах	school, university, language courses	1, 2	Для себя	For myself	6	дружелюбный, добрый преподаватель	Friendly and kind teacher	0	1	0	0	29	2	1

12.6. Sample coding of lessons transcripts (Chapter Eight)

			Translation from L1	Exchange	Moves	Acts
Greeting	S:	Hello Hello		Nuclear	Initiation	Salutation
	T:	Hello *** (S:'s name)			Initiation	Salutation
		How are you doing today?			Initiation	Elicitation
	S:	I m fine thank you very much			Response	Reply
Student's holiday	T:	Ok Um Let's talk about your weekend.		Nuclear	Initiation	Elicitation
		What did you do last weekend?			Initiation	Elicitation
	S:	Erm..I			Response	Reply (start)
	T:	Did you go to have some shish kebab?			Initiation	Elicitation

	S:	No, I stay stayed at home and (.) erm.. we(.) went to a park			Response	Reply
	T:	Uhum			Follow-up	Acceptance
	S:	And we went a lot of time			Response	Reply (cont)
	T:	Мы долго гуляли или много раз?	Did we walk for a long time or many times?	Bound	Initiation	Elicitation
	S:	Uhum и много раз и долго гуляли Laughs	many times and for a long time		Response	Reply
		Ok			Follow-up	Acceptance
	T:	тогда Erm we walked если мы гуляли да?	then..erm...if we walked, yes?	Bound	Initiation	Elicitation

	S:	Uhum			Response	Acceptance
	T:	We walked there for a long time			Response	Reply
	T:	And many times we can say			Initiation	Elicitation
	S:	Erm.. we walked there(.) for a long time		Bound	Response	Reply
	T:	Много раз	Many times	Bound	Initiation	Elicitation
	S:	Many.. many time?			Response	Reply
	T:	S			Follow-up	Rejection
	S:	Times			Response	Reply
	T:	Yeah, потому что раз и много раз	because one time and many times		Initiation	Informing
		Uhum		Bound	Response	acknowledgement
	S:	Uhum			Follow-up	Acceptance

	T:	What was the weather like?		Nuclear	Initiation	Elicitation
Weather	S:	The weather was (.) erm nice and there many people outside		Nuclear Bound	Response	Reply
	T:	В прошедшем			Initiation	Direction
	S:	were		Bound	Response	Reaction
	T:	Uhum			Follow-up	Acceptance
	T:	В парке было много людей		Bound	Initiation	Direction
		Can you say it again please?		Bound	Initiation	Direction
	S:	Erm..(.)			Response	Reaction
		Erm, a lot of people (.) erm (.)			Response	Reaction

		was? Were			Initiation	Elicitation
	T:	Uhum			Response	Reply
	S:	In the park			Response	Reply
	T:	In the park можно и так сказать	you can say like that		Follow-up	Acceptance
		а если использовать конструкцию, которая означает что-то где-то находится?	And what if you use a construction that means something's located somewhere?	Bound	Initiation	Direction
	S:	There are		Bound	Response	Reaction
	T:	А в прошедшем		Nuclear	Initiation	Direction
	S:	There was erm there were			Response	Reaction
	T:	Uhum			Follow-up	Acceptance
	S:	many people in the park			Response	Reply

	T:	In the park.Uhum			Follow-up	Acceptance
	T	Do you like this area?			Initiation	Elicitation
Living near the park	S	Erm, yes, it is very, it is very beautiful area		Nuclear	Response	Reply
	T	Это очень симпатичный район can we say it again?		Bound	Initiation	Elicitation
	S	it is A very beautiful area		Bound	Response	Reply
	T	Uhum.		Bound	Follow-up	Accept
	T	Did you want to add anything?			Initiation	Elicitation
	S	Add?			Initiation	Elicitation
	T	Вы добавить еще хотели?	Do you want to add anything?	Bound	Response	Reply

S	A .. Mmm because erm, there is mmm a lot of mmmm not a lot of erm A a lot of erm erm parks .. Little and two big parks		Nuclear	Response	Reply
T	A. Uhum. I see.		Nuclear	Follow-up	Accept
T	Yes, it is really cool I think		Nuclear	Initiation	Informing
S	Uhum			Response	Acknowledge
T	Especially in the big city			Initiation	Informing
S	Yes			Response	Reply
T	Living near a park. Right. Uhum .			Initiation	Informing
	So your May holidays were quite relaxing?			Initiation	Elicitation

Going out of the city	S	Laughs		Nuclear	Response	Reply
	T	Weren't they?		Bound	Initiation	Elicitation
	S	My holiday? Yes			Response	Reply
	T	Yes			Follow-up	Accept
	S	Erm , my holiday was erm relax..			Response	Reply
	T	relaxing		Bound	Initiation	Informing
	S	was relaxing?		Bound	Initiation	Elicitation
	T	Yeah, uhum. А лучше сказать my holidays, да?			Initiation	Elicitation
	T	Потому что holiday это все-таки либо отпуск			Initiation	Informing
	S	Uhum			Response	Accept

	T	Или праздник			Initiation	Informing
	S	My holidays was relaxing			Response	Reply
	T	Uhum			Follow-up	Accept
	T	Correct Сами ошибку поправьте	Correct your mistake yourself		Initiation	Direction
	S	Erm my holidays		Bound	Response	React
	T	My holidayS		Nuclear	Initiation	Informing
	S	were relaxing			Response	React
	T	Uhum . Relaxing, yeah .			Follow-up	Accept
	T	Do you plan to have the same relaxing holidays erm			Initiation	Elicitation
	S	Erm		Nuclear	Response (start)	
	T	This week?		Nuclear	Initiation	Elicitation

	S	Erm This week? Erm maybe			Response	Reply
	T	Uhum			Follow-up	Accept
	S	we ll go to ..eat шиш кйбаб			Response	Reply
	T	A (laughing) Nice .			Follow-up	Accept
	T	Are you going to do it in your park?			Initiation	Elicitation
	S	No		Nuclear	Response	Reply
	T	That is close to your house			Initiation	Elicitation
	S	I don't like this idea (laughs)			Response	Reply

12.7. Sample Conversation Analysis Coding (Chapter Nine)

12.7.1. Dyad 1 (Extract 1)

1. T: what were they doing?
2. S: (H)s
3. T: just walking around? or playing (.) sports gam/es?/
4. S: / (H) /
5. T: or?
6. S: (heh)
7. T: some picnic@cs? or what?
8. S: some people:, erm (.) went to bicycle. (2.3) erm
9. T: were **riding** bicycles uhum
10. S: /riding?/
11. T: /кататься/ на велосипеде будет < **ride** >
12. S: *uhum*
13. T: *the bicycle /uhum/*
14. S: / (H) / ride (.) bicycles, (0.7)
15. T: /uhum /
16. S: / mmm:/ some people walked (0.7) (H) erm (1.0) *s:ome: people: (H) erm. (1.7)*
have a tone? (2.0) загорали.
17. T :what?
18. S: <have a tone>? (heh) to
19. T: ah: were (.) sunbathing. (0.6)
20. S: erm sun

21. T: загорать будет *sunbathe* (5.1) то есть дословно будет принимать солнечные ванны, да?
22. S: uhum
23. T: загорать
24. S: (H) erm
25. T: uhum (0.8)
26. S: s:ome people sun sun bathe (1.8) /ED/
27. T: /в прошедшем тогда /
28. S: sunbathed
29. T: uhum
30. S: (H)
31. T: /okay/
32. S: /erm / a:nd (1.2) mmm: some people, erm (2.8) как будет (1.4) ну кормить ? (2.2)
33. T: feed
34. S: feed
35. T: а в прошедшем fed
36. S: *and some people fed ducks. (1.6)*
37. T: *Ah*, are there ducks in your park?

12.7.2. Dyad 1 (Extract 2)

1. S: erm when we uh (.) turn turn up erm at home? T(.) tturn? /turnt?/
2. T: /came back/
3. S: came came back at home,HH erm we erm saw (1.0) am (.) герб, наверное так и будет герб? (1.5)

4. T: No:, nuh-huh . герб <есть (.) отдельное слово> um.. just a second (2.7) coat of arms /называется *unclear*/
5. S:
/oj/ heh heh
6. T: *coat (0.9) тут* все слова знакомые не пугайтесь *сейчас напишу coat of arms (4.5)* /can you see it? Вы видите?/
7. S:
/па пальто армии?/ Heh heh
8. T: heh heh no, nuh-huh (0.9), но arms это еще оружие, да?
9. S: Uhum (1.6)
10. T: Вот. A coat of arms (.) это эм coat это еще покрытие переводится, т.е изображение оружия да? что Вы видите на гербе изображается (1.2) вот, чаще всего (0.9) ну в некоторых случаях какое-то оружие
11. S: uhum
12. T: да?
13. S: erm
14. T: and then?
15. S: and we saw(.) erm (0.9) a coat of arms? (1.1) um (1.0) that erm area er which we live (1.7) erm where /where/
16. T:
/Uhum/
17. S: we live

12.7.3. Dyad 2 (Extract 1)

1. T: have you had dinner?
2. S: yes, i have.

3. T: Yes? and what did you have for dinner.
4. S: erm i had (2.9) каша
5. T: porridge
6. S: porridge?
7. T: uhum
8. S: **with erm (3.1)** ((click)) pu pumpkin pumpkins
9. T: ok pumpkin.
10. S: pumpkin
11. T: fine. and who cooked the porridge?
12. S: i don't know (he he)
13. T: (he he)
14. S: it erm <i went to erm restaurant but i i don't like to call> this place restaurant. it
15. T: uhum
16. S: Столовая (he he)
17. T: a canteen . a canteen. **a cafe. (5.1) okay? (4.5). okay** fine
18. S: a canteen (quietly)
19. T: uhum and who did you have dinner with?

12.7.4. Dyad 2 (Extract 2)

1. T: okay,< and what does your father LOOK LIKE. > (1.4) what does he look like.
как он выглядит вопрос WHAT DOES HE LOOK LIKE касается больше
ВНЕШНОСТИ.(1.4)
2. S: erm, (0.7)
3. T: is he TALL?
4. S: yes, my father is tall, erm
5. T: uhum (2.6)

6. S: I thi:nk he is very, (1.8)
7. T: well-built? (0.8)
8. S: **unclear**
9. T: *well-built?*
10. S: oh, no heh heh
11. T: okay he used to be
12. S: he used to be heh heh erm (2.1)
13. T: uhum,
14. S: **unclear**
15. T: yes.
16. S: well-built,
17. T: well-built. he used to be well-built, uhum, okay, a:nd erm (H) what is the
color(.) of his hair? what (1.2)
18. S: His hair is
19. T: hair
20. S: is
21. T: is
22. S: erm, (1.6) dark. or I think, dark(.) brown, (1.4)
23. T: oka:y? (1.5) fine and erm what does your mother look like. Is she slim? (1.8)
24. S: erm
25. T: is she SLIM?
26. S: Y:-ye@h I understand. no,
27. T: uhum
28. S: she <used to>

29. T: she used to she used to be
30. S: slim
31. T: slim
32. S: *but now not very well not very (2.0)*
33. T: uhum, not not very slim. and < what is your father LIKE.> (1.3) вопрос < WHAT IS HE LIKE> erm when we ask about erm characteristic (1.6) one's characteristic. So what is he like? What (.) erm character traits does he have (0.8)
34. S: Erm
35. T: Is he kind, clever, intelligent,
S: my father is very very (.) kind, erm
36. T: uhum (1.1)
37. S: erm (1.4) all children very (1.1) like and love him because: he like likes to talk with him with their with them. (1.1)
38. T: them uhum,
39. S: erm /he likes/
40. T: / okay/
41. S: to play, with them (0.8) /he very likes/
42. T: / uhum/
43. S: chi children. Mmm.
44. T: he likes children very much /yes?/
45. S: / he likes /
46. T: and the children I think the children he plays with like him too.
47. S: yes and father
48. T: uhum

49. S: my father (0.7) erm (1.2) mmm (3.1) *unclear* is very (1.7) заботится *unclear*
заботливый (1.2)
50. T: <caring> erm caring
51. S: caring (1.5)
52. T: uhum (2.9) uhum? Okay what is your mother like (1.0).
53. S: erm my mother (0.8) erm is very (2.8) is talkative erm
54. T: uhum
55. S: she (4.0) mmm she
56. T: hardworking?
57. S: yes she is hard-working, erm (6.1) s/he /
58. T: /uhum /
59. S: is caring too erm
60. T: uhum
61. S: как за нами for us ?
62. T: erm <she: takes good care of us> she takes (18.9)
63. S: uhum
64. T: (H) okay erm is she serious?
65. S: sometimes

12.7.5. Dyad 3

1. TEACHER: so are you <enjoying , being (3.0)> , in uk[raine]
2. 2 STUDENT: [So] (2.0) um
(2.0) as you know (1.5) we used train.
3. TEACHER: >we took the *train* <
4. STUDENT: *yeah we >took the train <to to (3.0)* to get (2.0) here

5. TEACHER: yeah.
6. STUDENT: and uh (2) erm it took us (1.6) about twenty two hours ((click)) but
(1.5) um you know
7. it is much safer((click)) than *to to use airplanes*.
8. TEACHER: *yes. yes it is? oh, so *unclear** <do you EAT on the train?(.) AND
sleep,
9. ((click)) and all this.
10. STUDENT: yeah. so. train (1.5) uh started his way *at eight pm, so. (1.5) um and
and and*
11. we had bought uh some food.
12. TEACHER: uh-huh.
13. STUDENT: an a:nd, so. what we DID we *ATE and then we had a sleep*
14. TEACHER: *oh, okay*. so, we had we had brought some FOOD with us.
15. STUDENT: yes.
16. TEACHER: right. we brought some food *with us. or you can say ALONG or with
us*
17. and then you had supper and then < so what did you bring.>((click))
18. STUDENT: mm actually actually ((click)) i don't remember. (huh huh). because,
19. TEACHER: okay.
20. STUDENT: mmm ((click)) because I like ((click)) everything . and, so ((click))
21. it was ((click)) mmm , (2.5) no. i don't remember.
22. TEACHER: uhum. <nothing special. just whatever you bought. >
23. STUDENT:mm-hmm, yeah.
24. S: so, and after that er the train had some stops [and]
25. T: [made]

26. S: *we we bought some food (1.4) on that stops*
27. T: *yeah. at the stops, at those station actually*
28. S: *that's right. Mm-hmm.*
29. T: So, how LONG were each of these stops. (2.1)
30. S: actually, it it it depended on a stop
31. T: it dep
32. S: *because um (2.7) yeah. they var'eyed*
33. T: varied
34. S: mm-hmm. *so um (2.9) there were little stops about five ten minutes (1.2)*
35. T: okay.
36. S: and of course, when we passed (3.2) the border between russia and ukraine, the
stop was was about ((click)) an hour.
37. T: oh?
38. S: mm-hmm ((click))
39. T: an hour at the border. <so, was there like a problem? um> (4.0)
40. S: no so, the train is, ((click)) was ((click)) very long and lots of people were
((click)) in the train.
41. T: were on the train, *okay ((click))*
42. S: *yeah, yes (2.2).*
43. T: oh, so then (1.3) did you have to get OUT?
44. S: no. (1.5)
45. T: oh?
46. S: so
47. T: okay.
48. S: um each person should uh (1.5)

49. T: *had to*
50. S: *had to be* – had to (4.1)
51. T: yeah, each person had to?
52. S: had to be uh in the [train]
53. T: [on]
54. S: inside the train.
55. T: okay. yeah, *no one could leave*.
56. S: *mm-hmm*. (2.1)
57. T: *no one could leave the train okay .everyone *unclear* (7.1)*
58. S: mm-hmm
59. T: everyone has to stay put. don't get up? (1.8) then the< officer? (1.2) came
through the train?>
60. S: yes. (1.9)
61. T: okay.
62. T: And you needed (1.6) your passport? and was that it or did you need more papers
(1.2)
- 63.
64. S: No, just the passport.
65. T: Just passport. [oh, cool.]
66. S: [Mm-hmm.]
- 67.