THE PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH

Master's thesis
Annika Vesanto

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoitus oli selvittää englannin kielen opettajien identiteettiä erilaisten roolien valossa. Koska kielenopettajien identiteettiä on tutkittu hyvin vähän, tutkimuksen tarkoitus oli määritellä kielenopettajuuteen kuuluvia rooleja tarkemmin ja lisäksi tukea aikaisempia tuloksia aiheesta. Tutkimuksessa tutkittiin kielenopettajuutta opettajien näkökulmasta sekä sitä, miten työvuodet vaikuttivat opettajuuden muuttumiseen.

Tutkimuksen viitekehyksenä käytettiin teorioita identiteetistä, rooleista ja ammatti-identiteetistä sekä aikaisempien tutkimuksien tuloksia aiheesta. Aikaisempiin tutkimustuloksiin perustuen voitiin keskittyä kolmen roolin, kasvattajan, kielenopettajan sekä kulttuurinopettajan, tutkintaan. Lisäksi tutkimus tutki kielenopettajuutta mahdollisten muiden, opettajien itsensä esiintuomien roolien kautta. Roolit nähtiin tutkimuksessa sisäisen opettajuuden sekä ammatti-identiteetin ilmentäjinä.

Aineisto kerättiin vuoden 2010 loppupuolella sekä vuoden 2011 alussa Helsingin alueella. Tutkimuksen aineisto koostui seitsemästä englanninopettajan teemahaastattelusta. Analyysimetodina käytettiin sisällön analyysiä.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittivat, että kielenopettajien ammatti-identiteetti rakentui diskursiivisen teorian mukaisesti, jossa identiteettiä muokattiin ja rakennettiin jatkuvasti sosiaalisten tilanteiden sanelemana. Identiteetti koostui erilaisista rooleista, jotka olivat myös hyvin kontekstisidonnaisia. Kunkin roolin korostus riippui opettajan omasta persoonasta, omista tavoitteista kuin myös koulun toiminnasta sekä oppilaista. Kielenopettajien identiteetti nähtiin kuitenkin kokonaisuudessaan koostuvan kasvattajan, kielen opettajan, kulttuurin opettajan sekä yhteisöllisten roolien yhteistyöstä.

Asiasanat – Keywords identity, professional identity, language teachers, roles

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1 INTRODUCTION

It is possible to consider that being a teacher is evident since most of us have spent years at school observing it. However, it is not that straightforward since there are issues that remain totally invisible to students. Despite this, one's own schooling experiences guide some people to choose the profession of a teacher. Teacher education finally introduces several other issues involved in teaching, such as pedagogy, human development, psychology of learning and so on. One imagines one is able to teach elaborately in a quiet classroom full of eager learners and concentrate on the teaching input and thus to make the most out of the learning situation and teaching. Nevertheless, there is much more to it. Even though pedagogical studies and teacher training involve practising teaching, it is a scratch on the surface since it is simply impossible to grasp the overall role of the teacher without doing the job. The picture is left unclear and by the time one finally ends up in the classroom and in the profession, the fact that there are much more issues to handle in addition to teaching and mastering one's subject, may come as a surprise.

There is a great deal of research about beginning teachers whose expectations of the work and themselves as teachers have been challenged or even completely overturned when encountering the work at school (see. e.g. Bullough, Knowles and Crow 1991, Britzman 1991, Virta et al. 1998, Tsui 2003: 79-135). The first year of teaching has been called a "reality shock" (Veenman 1984 as quoted by Farrell 2006: 211) or a period full of surprising challenges (see e.g. Fantilli & McDougall 2009). Beginning teachers feel they do not possess the required skills, expertise and knowledge that the school as a community requires. In addition, they are not sure of their roles although they are seeking them. They do not know whether they should act more like mothers, nurturers, experts, or even police officers (Bullough et al. 1991). An unrealistic picture of the profession and wrecked expectations can hold teachers back for years, causing problems. In the worst of cases, teachers end up changing profession.

To avoid misunderstandings and unrealistic dreams of teaching, this study was conducted to give a more detailed picture of the language teacher profession. There seems to be studies about the identity of primary school teachers (e.g. Syrjäläinen 1990, Virtanen & Vuorinen 2000, Rauhala & Rinne 2002, Weber 2005) but only a

few about language teachers who only teach one or two subjects. Therefore, there is apparently a gap in this area although research is needed in order to understand better and wholly the responsibilities of language teachers as well.

The present study aims to define the professional identity of English teachers in terms of roles. Every profession hides certain roles and representations that one needs to acquire in order to act as a qualified and successful member of the profession (see e.g. Brown, Kirpal and Rauner 2007). When practising one's profession one can neither ignore the roles nor exaggerate them. To be a plausible representative, one has to acquire the roles, social behaviour, values and habits of a certain profession. Knowing a job description is an important issue because if it is left unspecific, it can cause role conflicts and discontent with oneself or distort one's professional identity. The language teachers' role can sometimes be misunderstood as they are considered only experts of the subject but this study considers them to be responsible for more. In addition to subject teaching, this study will research also other roles of language teachers.

Roles can be considered to cover the functional side of being a teacher and identity to mean inner beliefs and feelings of being a teacher, as Mayer (1999) has done. According to her, teacher education should concentrate more on building the inner image of being a teacher, i.e. identity and core beliefs rather than just providing ways of performing the roles of a teacher. I agree with her that one's own perception of being a teacher as well as beliefs and values related to the profession count a lot. They form a vital part of being a teacher and that is why they should not be underestimated. However, in the light of my own experiences, I feel that developing the inner teacher identity (i.e. forming teaching philosophies, acknowledging the impact of one's own experiences and values and so on) is stressed in many ways when educating future teachers, whereas there is only little talk about the functions of a language teacher. In addition, the functionality has been researched narrowly although it is part of one's identity as well. Therefore, I choose to concentrate on it in this study. Despite the fact that I deal with identity and consider it to be an inner issue, this paper focuses on the roles and conceives those to be functions in which one's inner teacher identity become shown. Thus, roles are used as descriptive tools.

I will first start the thesis by introducing the framework of being a language teacher in Finland. Second, the theories of identity and roles will be presented as well as the previous studies done on teacher identity. The fourth chapter introduces the methodology used in the study as well as characterizes the data. The fifth chapter presents the findings of the present study and in the sixth chapter the results will be discussed in the light of previous findings and theories. Last, I will conclude the study by looking critically back at it and evaluate its achievements.

2 TEACHERHOOD IN FINLAND

Among many others, being a teacher is claimed to be culture-related (Luukkainen 2005: 17). Since the present study explores Finnish teachers of English, I will start by defining what it is to be a language teacher in Finland. I consider 'being a teacher' to be somewhat different from the one I want to mean in this context and, because there is no English equivalent for the Finnish term 'opettajuus', I will also use the term 'teacherhood', following Aaltonen and Uusi-Rajasalo (2008). They considered it to mean both, teacher identity and being a teacher. Nevertheless, teacherhood can be portrayed in multiple ways. It is a wide term that can mean everything related to the profession, work, position, characteristics, expectations, requirements and experiences of teachers (Komonen 2008: 27). In addition to these suggestions by Komonen (2008), I will use it to cover particularly the roles, responsibilities and work / tasks that being a teacher, i.e. teacherhood, incorporates. Language teacherhood will be used to specify the particular teacherhood of language teachers. In this chapter, I will shortly define the situation where teachers in Finland are in order to understand their position and that way also the construction of their professional identity better. I will first discuss their educational background and professional requirements and then, turn to discussing language teacherhood in Finland.

2.1 Education and qualification

This chapter introduces the education of Finnish language teachers as well as the regulations that teachers have to follow and obey while doing their work. In Finland, the teaching profession is regulated, which means that it has a quality requirement adjusted by the Finnish law. The requirement is a specific degree or studies (Opetushallitus 2011). For the teacher profession this means to have an upper university degree (MA/300 ECTS), including subject studies and at least 60 study points of pedagogical studies (Finlex 986/1998). Since teachers in Finland have a long education, they are thought to have high-quality knowledge and skills to work as teachers at any school level. Teacher training programmes are highly developed and research based, where subject knowledge, pedagogy and practice become

interwoven (see e.g. Niemi and Jakku-Sihvonen 2006b). Training programmes (of class and subject teachers) include pedagogical psychology, - philosophy and pedagogy. Themes like inclusive teaching, multicultural pedagogy, exploratory teaching, assessment of learning and teaching, diverse co-operation within school, responsibility, ethnicity as well as developing and enhancing a qualified education and school system are emphasized as aims in the function manual of Department of Teacher Education (OKL).

Teacher education has one of the most significant roles in building teacher identities. Becoming a teacher is often considered a constantly moving and developing process, just as teacher identity is (among others see e.g. Luukkainen 2005, Goodson 2008, Virta et al. 1998, Aaltonen and Uusi-Rajasalo 2010). This means that teacher identity is often seen to be an everlasting process; one needs to develop constantly and adapt to new situations, development and changes in the area of education. Already in teacher training student teachers need to form their teaching philosophies in order to be conscious of the values they will later transmit and on which their teaching strongly relies on. Also worldview, culture's impact and one's educational aims influence the way one is a teacher and the way one teaches.

In their profession, teachers have to obey the policies and guidelines of the national core curriculum. The national core curriculum (2004) outlines values, duties and structures of basic education. It gives frames for teaching: issues that are supposed to be covered in every class level and course are listed. As long as the issues mentioned become covered, teachers can decide what to teach, on which lesson and how, still, within the frames of the national core curriculum. The great autonomy that Finnish teachers have has been claimed to create the positive school environment and atmosphere noticed in Finnish schools (Niemi and Jakku-Sihvonen 2006a: 13, 9). Moreover, the high work ethic and commitment of Finnish teachers has also been noticed and valued by school principals and the possibilities of retraining teachers enable to maintain good teaching knowledge and skills (Niemi and Jakku-Sihvonen 2006a: 13, 9).

2.2 Teaching languages in Finland

This section concentrates on the issues that are involved when being a language teacher. Particularly issues that are often discussed generally in the area of language learning and teaching will be introduced.

Attitudes towards languages and along those also language education have changed over the years in Finland. Today, English can be seen as an important and valued language in Finland (Pöyhönen 2009: 147-8, Leppänen et al. 2009). Language education is defined and organized through different policies and structures and particularly, the membership in the European Union has had strong influences (Pöyhönen 2009: 149-50). Language education has developed positively over the past decades; language learning is started earlier, immersion and CLIL methods have been developed as the functional part of language has become highlighted, international exchange and foreign language learning have attained popularity and their importance is now acknowledged (Pöyhönen 2009: 150).

Usually, Finnish students start their first obligatory foreign language in the third grade of basic education. It is often English as it is considered to be already a familiar language and thus, easier to learn, or since English has a world-language reputation, it is conceived a useful language or, it can be the only option that the school has to offer (Pöyhönen 2009: 159). English is often studied as an A1-language, which means that one will study it from primary education till the end of secondary education, i.e. six years altogether. In primary education, primary school teachers can be specialized in languages or languages can be taught by subject teachers. On secondary level, each subject is often taught by a different subject teacher.

The national core curriculum for basic education (2004), states that primary education has an instructional and educational task as its responsibility. Therefore, teachers are given the role of a teacher and of an educator right away. Yet, it does not specify what is meant by an educator as it does by giving the frames for teaching issues. The following extract shows how the first foreign language teaching is defined:

> Foreign-language instruction must give the pupils capabilities for functioning in foreign-language communication situations. The tasks of the instruction are to accustom the pupils to using their language skills and to educate them in understanding and valuing how people live in other cultures, too. The pupils also learn that a language, as a skill subject and means of communication, requires long-term and diversified practice with communication. As an academic subject, a foreign language is a cultural and skill subject. (National core curriculum 2004: 138)

Concerning English as a foreign language from the 3rd grade till the end of upper comprehensive school, the 9th grade, its teaching objectives focus on developing language proficiency, cultural skills and learning strategies (National core curriculum 2004: 139). Practising is first mainly oral and gradually written communication becomes involved. Developing effective study habits is also one of the aims during the first years of study. Language proficiency involves being able to speak about everyday life and the pupils' immediate surroundings as well as to understand and produce short texts related to those. Cultural skills mean getting to know the target culture and comparing it to the Finnish one. The pupils should also learn about different language learning strategies, how to search information elsewhere and to recognize their own skills. In upper comprehensive school levels, the themes, grammar and communication situations expand and the pupils are expected to use several learning methods and strategies as their linguistic development demands it.

According to Skinnari (2004: 159-60), school education differs from home education. School education can be considered to mean taking care of civilization and providing stimuli for emotional growth. Schools educate via knowledge and skills and teach one to think, feel and work. Teaching and educating go hand in hand, but some issues are claimed to be mainly the responsibility of homes, for instance teaching good manners (Skinnari 2004: 159-60). Moilanen (2001: 40) views the teacher to be, in addition to a specialist of a certain subject, also "a specialist of learning"; the teacher decides what issues are crucial and guides pupils to find them. In order to do this, the teacher needs to be noble, responsible and able to assess situations; when someone needs to be leaded by the teacher and when one can manage on one's own.

As representatives of society, teachers can be considered models of citizens (Ahonen 2006). In 1920, a person who adopted the idea of life-long learning/education, belonged to associations as an active member, was involved with local government and activities and possessed the characters of equality, nobleness, piousness, loyalty,

diligence and blamelessness, was considered a paragon of a teacher (Rantala 2003: 252, 262). Today, the expectations of teachers are not that strict any more but some similarities still occur. The national core curriculum (2004: 38) expects teachers to promote and take active citizenship into account regardless of their subject.

According to Nissilä et al. (2006: 263-4), teachers are appreciated in Finland, although they are much more equal with their pupils than in some countries. Teachers are not very authoritative, nowadays they are much more open and closer to their pupils which can be seen positive but in my opinion, may also cause problems in some cases. Anyhow, in Finnish schools the autonomy and independence of a teacher is claimed to be huge (Numminen 1993). Although the national core curriculum defines the main issues to teach for every level and term, at the end, the teacher has the liberty to decide what s/he teaches and how. Even the books are chosen by teachers themselves (Numminen 1993: 34). In 1993, Numminen (1993: 35) has suggested that because of the growing responsibility and independence of a teaching profession, also the appreciation of teachers would increase in Finnish society. Because of the huge autonomy, also the responsibility of different issues is left for teachers to decide and handle, for instance, allowance to keep hats indoors, dealing with swearing and so on. Schools may have general rules defined by teachers working there but at the end of the day, it is an individual teacher's job to stick to it and decide how to do it.

3 PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

The professional identity of language teachers is mostly an undiscovered area of research. Nevertheless, there are studies about identity, professional identity and even a few about teacher identity. Since professional identity, particularly teachers', has been conceived to consist of different roles (e.g. Syrjäläinen 1990, Kalaja and Dufva 1997, Pöyhönen 2004), this study will also define professional identity in terms of roles. This way, it is possible to describe the practical functions of language teachers in the best way. In this chapter, the concept of identity will first be introduced. I will also focus on roles and present how they relate to identity in the present study. I will then move on to present different definitions of professional identity by which I mean the identity that derives from the profession one is working in. Professional identity in this study is used to cover the development of one's professional identity from the beginning of a career choice, through education and becoming a teacher until being a teacher. The second part of this chapter narrows the view to the professional identity of language teachers. It introduces several studies done in that research area as well as defines the three main roles that have been found out.

3.1 Identity

Identity is a complex and varied concept (see e.g. Wenger 1998, Block 2007) but this section draws together some issues that are involved in identity construction in general. Identity has been studied thoroughly and there are multiple characterizations which depend on the way one is looking it. Identity is a wide term and over time it has acquired sub-branches. It is possible to distinguish for example personal identity, social identity, professional identity, national identity and cultural identity. Since this study concentrates on professional identity, I will not discuss the others much further. It is worth mentioning though, that there are several identities that construct the identity of an individual. Neither can it be thought that, for instance, professional identity would work on its own. Each branch of identity affects others. Only in specific situations are some identities more visible than others but they all influence constantly at the background. I will next present a few conceptions that are crucial in

the construction of identity and which also affect the construction of professional identity.

When dealing with identity, one cannot overlook the impacts of one's history and past. History is inevitably somehow present in the formulation of identity. Block (2006: 28, 39) has studied identities of individuals living in London and summarizes that

> ...they construct identities which are neither the sum of the new and the old, nor half of what they were and half of what they are; rather their stories seem more result of the negotiation of difference cited above, as their past and present interact and transform each other.

In his study, he also draws the conclusion that by using various items, identity constructs an individual's general sense of self. The importance of time is highlighted;

> Identities are about negotiating new subject positions at the crossroads of the past, present and future. Individuals are shaped by their sociohistories but they also shape their sociohistories as life goes on (Block 2007: 27).

What seems to be common to many researchers is that identity formation is a continuous and socialized process (see e.g. Komonen 2008, Hall 1999, Block 2007, Brown et al. 2007). Among others, Wenger (1998: 145-63), views identity as showing social, cultural and historical aspects of a person. She stresses the role of social settings; through our attendance in social situations, we construct our identities and learn to understand ourselves, our actions and our mind. Identities are therefore temporary, constructed/developed in social settings, constantly in process, containing historical, present and future experiences of a person. This is exactly what Hall (1999: 39) also suggests. He states that identity is never completed, it develops continuously during time, although unconsciously.

Other major issues constructing identity are the self-image one has and the culture one is living in. One's own perceptions of oneself in different situations as well as one's own beliefs mould the identities one has. In many ways, one's identities are products of the culture that one is born into or one's identities can be considered to exemplify cultural aspects (Wenger 1998: 145-63). Since culture is often considered to define, for instance the way one is a human being as well as values, moral, ideals,

the right and wrong conception and so on, it no doubt affects strongly also the way the identity is being built (see e.g. Valsiner 2000, Hofstede 2001). For this reason, I introduced Finnish schooling system and language teachers' position in Finland already in chapter 2. In order to understand the identity of Finnish teachers of English, it is important to first understand their position as language teachers and how their profession is defined. To view their identity construction, one needs to know what their education includes and what kind of language teaching the national core curriculum requires and thus, why they possibly emphasize some roles or teaching aspects more than others.

3.1.1 Roles

Roles are often considered to be constructions of identity and particularly professional identity (see Pöyhönen 2004, Kalaja and Dufva 1997, Syrjäläinen 1990, Wright 1987, Rintala and Elovainio 1997). Role is a concept through which it is easier to conceive the items that identity is built of. This study considers teacherhood to be constructed of different roles that can vary according to the teacher's own perceptions and thoughts of teacherhood. Roles and their emphasis vary also according to the school level (e.g. Förbom 2003: 62, Lyytinen and Vuori 1993). Teachers can have various roles simultaneously but each situation highlights a different role. For instance, in upper comprehensive school, the roles of discipline keeper and authority become emphasized, while in adult education, the teacher's professionalism and expertise are more in focus (Förbom 2003: 62). I will next define the concept of roles more profoundly.

Fulfilling the professional roles of teachers has been compared with roles that actors perform (Arikoski 1999: 194). Arikoski (1999) and Kalaja & Dufva (1997) deal with these roles as 'performed' and 'acted'. Yet, Arikoski claims that actors do not perform their roles, but rather live, empathize and internalize them, as teachers do as well. These roles and their reliability are also constantly under watching eyes and assessment. According to Arikoski (1999: 194), psychologically, roles are defined by and based on the position one happens to be in a community or a group. The position sets specific expectations e.g. for behaviour. Individuals also naturally tend to change their roles according to place, people and group because different roles are to facilitate interplay among people (Arikoski 1999: 195). Thus, it is possible to expect

that teachers have different roles even inside the school building. For instance, when they are in front of the class, talking individually with parents or a student or when with colleagues.

Syrjäläinen (1990: 29-30) defines roles to be expectations related to a specific profession. The way one acts while fulfilling the profession is defined by the role expectations related to that profession. Role expectations can be generally acknowledged norms of society. In the teacher profession, students can be seen as complementary role partners and e.g. headmasters, parents and other teachers as role partners. All role partners have expectations towards each other, for example how others should behave. If their expectations differ or one's own perceptions differ from the real picture, role pressures occur. For example, if some teacher does not punish pupils of the same offence that the others do, teachers may consider the one to be irresponsible in his/her duty because everyone expects each teacher to hold on to the same rules. Furthermore, Syrjäläinen (1990: 33) notices that role contradictions can also appear for instance when teachers are supposed to be close to their students but at the same time also keep a certain distance. Her study revealed that being a teacher was considered different according to the school level, students, expertise area, the amount of teaching experience, education and gender.

Similarly, Wright (1987: 3,7) defines roles to be social. They are constructed of factors that together produce certain social behaviour. Some roles can be avoided, some fall on us randomly and some are chosen, i.e. profession. According to Wright (1987: 9), contradictions appear if

- the teacher is not certain of the role behaviour expected from her/he,

- the teacher's own expectations differ from other people's,

- the teacher's other roles are overlapping,

- the teacher's personality does not fit into the role or,

- the teacher simply does not believe in what s/he is conveying.

Factors that may cause role contradictions can also arise from (teacher) education, society, colleagues and one's own personality (Rintala and Elovainio 1997: 31-2). One may also feel inadequacy with the roles confronted due to one's own

knowledge, skills or personality (Keskinen 1990: 44-5 as quoted by Rintala and Elovainio 1997: 33). Roles in identity construction are therefore strongly person and personality dependent and that is why it is not possible to compile an all-inclusive characterization of them. However, it seems that many of these factors influencing problems could be avoided if more were known about the role behaviour expected from teachers as well as other people's expectations. Knowing more about the expectations involved in the teacher profession would diminish the collision with one's own expectations. Furthermore, one would feel more confident with the roles that one would already have been introduced to.

3.1.2 Interpretations of professional identity

Without underestimating the importance and effects of other parts of identity, I will now concentrate on the construction of professional identity. When defining professional identity, I will lean on the study of Pöyhönen (2004), who studied the professional identity of Finnish language teachers in Russia. Pöyhönen (2004: 132-57) distinguishes four different interpretations of professional identity; psychosocial, discursive, narrative and dialogue-based. In order to grasp an overall picture of what professional identity can be, I will next shortly summarize the main ideas of each of these theories as well as a couple of others and criticize them along the way.

In *psychosocial theory,* professional identity is seen to be 'developed and internalized gradually', being also a part of one's individual development (Pöyhönen 2004: 135-6). Thus, personality plays a huge part in one's identity formulation, e.g. the choice of profession is seen as an expression of one's personality. According to Holland (1985 as quoted by Pöyhönen 2004: 136), personalities can be divided into six different types which seek into professions that best suit their characteristics and requirements. If the environment of a specific profession does not match with one's personality, conflicts will occur. Billet (2007) also highlights that work expresses and correlates with identity. People do need to have the possibility to 'exercise their sense of self' in their work (Billet 2007: 205). In addition, Viljanen (1977 as quoted by Virta et al 1998: 40) considers that a certain profession is chosen after comparing one's skills and qualifications with the requirements of several professions. All in all, it can be concluded that parts of identity are made through work situations and parts of identity can only be practised through work.

The psychosocial interpretation considers professional growth to build at the same time as one's personality grows (Super 1957: 40-1 as quoted by Pöyhönen 2004: 136). Thus, for instance during the age from 45 to 65 one should be ready as far as personality and professionalism are concerned. Identity is considered to be shaped of intrinsic, biological and societal roles that an individual has during different ages (Kroger 2000: 23-4). Nevertheless, in the psychosocial point of view identity formulation is restricted to time and age. This suggests that e.g. culture, environment, family and society would not have any impact on an individual's choices (Pöyhönen 2004: 139).

When considering language teacher identity, I think the psychosocial theory overemphasizes the role of personality. Nevertheless, I believe that the choice of profession is strongly related to personality and the choices one makes of how to fulfil the roles of each profession, are personal choices. Each teacher's personality can affect the way they perform, the issues they emphasize in their teaching, and the way they feel their roles and what roles they consider important for a teacher to perform in the first place. However, there are many other issues that have to be taken into account, for example the environment, one's personal past experiences, each school, class and pupils separately, culture, and the requirements that society sets. It seems simply impossible that the roles of a teacher would just depend on one's personality.

The discursive interpretation has been used in other similar studies of language teacher identity as well (see e.g. Kalaja & Dufva 1997, Clarke 2008). *The discursive theory* considers identity to be 'under constant reformulation' (Galperyn 1995: 163 as quoted by Pöyhönen 2004: 140). One's past, present and future have important roles and they together affect the formation of identity. Pöyhönen (2004: 141) states that professional identity is constantly in process, it is 'socially constructed and moulded by interactive situations'. In the discursive theory identities are seen to be born in social contexts and thus also reformed according to them (Pöyhönen 2004: 140-1). Attention is also paid to the way and tone one speaks and elaborates issues.

The discursive theory brings out many important issues. It takes into account the past experiences that significantly affect teachers' way to be teachers and also what they consider their roles to be. One's own schooling experiences entail the base for what it

is to be a teacher, what teachers are like, what they do, how they act and speak and so on. The discursive theory also highlights interactivity and sociality. The roles that the teacher profession entails are no doubt born in social situations between people. The roles need social contexts to be born and to be performed. No-one can be a teacher without interactive relationships. It is also true that because these social situations vary and the people involved differ, identities as well as the roles born in these situations are remoulded.

From the point of view of *the narrative approach,* professional identity is comprised of life stories that are born in interactional settings. These stories have a plot that remains the same even though the stories change due to time and place. Thus, there is 'a strive for cohesion' (Pöyhönen 2004: 144). Connelly and Clandinin (1999) have studied teacher identities from a narrative point of view. They stress that identities and stories depend on the life situation and social situation one happens to be in. Thus, there are multiple identities that appear in different situations, e.g. at work, home, with friends and relatives and so on. Identities are considered to be fairly fixed but in case of tensions or conflicts can change. The narrative approach has similarities with the structural stage approach. There have been multiple ways of analysing structural stage approach of identity but the main thing remains the same; identity is considered to develop through stages over time (Kroger 2000: 17). These stages change and develop but the basic structure remains.

The narrative theory of professional identity consists of the aspect of cohesion but still highlights the fact that identity depends on the situation and can be remoulded. It also notices that one may have different identities, i.e. roles between different people. One can perform a different identity at home and at work but there are similarities in them, i.e. the base. Although, all this is partly plausible, I still believe that one is able to remould the identities whenever and the change is thus not restricted to time stages. I believe it is possible to reject parts of old identities wholly, if new situations, growing, and developing insist or need that.

The dialogical approach has similarities with the socio-cultural approach. The dialogical approach emphasizes the role of oneself and others in interactional situations; identity is constructed in dialogues (Pöyhönen 2004: 149-54). It also acknowledges that history and culture have effects on it. The socio-cultural approach

emphasizes the role of language and actions in identity formation (Kroger 2000: 19). Identity is viewed to form in social situations, particularly in interaction with others. Feedback and other's responses frame conceptions of oneself and according to those people mould their future identity (Mead 1934 as quoted by Kroger 2000: 20). Kalaja and Dufva (1997) used the dialogical approach to study English teacher identities. They found out that professional identity consists of profession-related roles. Those roles are context related, which means that they vary according to recipient.

This approach also notifies the effects of past, culture and social settings. Since it stresses the role of dialogues, I consider it rather abstract. However, just as discursive theory, this one also emphasizes the role of other people which is important in teacher identity. Teachers are involved with many people who have expectations towards them. In addition, they have to mould their role depending on who they are working at times with. An interesting point is that language is considered to have an effect on identity. Thus, it is worth finding out how English is involved in the construction of English language teachers' identity and what kind of role does the language have in it.

It has also been claimed that individuals grow more social through "socialization processes" (Leithäuser and Volmberg 1988 as quoted by Fame Consortium 2007: 18-9). This means that during education, one already acquires certain roles that professional world later demands. Thus, it is easier to adopt the roles of a profession if one is already familiar with them and has acknowledged them. However, professions never determine individuals' identities wholly; "...work shapes the individual, but at the same time the individual shapes work processes and structures." (Fame Consortium 2007: 40). Thus, professional roles and expectations are restricted to individuals. Their stability is dependent on individuals' choices and identity formations. Therefore, there is also a chance for change (Fame Consortium 2007: 21-2). There is also a concept of collectivism; identity is formed to either differentiate or unite members of the same occupation. This can be seen to apply particularly to teachers as identity was often formed on the basis of teacher's room discussions (Kalaja and Dufva 2007).

The most suitable theory when considering the identity formulation of language teachers seems to be the discursive theory. It has a wider perspective than the others

and it manages to take into account several important issues such as past, social settings, sociality, interactive relationships and the possibility of reformation. I believe those aspects are crucial in the identity construction and therefore suits for the present study best.

3.2 The identity of language teachers

This section introduces previous studies that have examined the professional identity of teachers. Some of the studies have focused more on the identity development of beginning teachers while others have studied professional roles and their relation to identity. After presenting the previous studies, I will define what being a teacher seems to involve according to the previous findings.

According to Bullough et al. (1991), during the early years of teaching, beginning teachers all have to ponder and figure out their roles as a teacher. As the study focused on beginning teachers and their development, it was found out that they faced role expectations, discipline problems, feelings and expertise which they were not prepared for (Bullough et al. 1991: 79). Beginning teachers were simply unable to be teachers in the way it was required and they themselves would have wanted and all this because they were uncertain of their roles. Anyhow, they were trying different roles to be able to find the most suitable for them. However, although it is perhaps a matter of personality, I think it can be also a matter of skills. One may feel more proficient while acquiring the role of a couch, while the other may feel more comfortable in the role of a culture guide. All in all, as a teacher one cannot adopt only one role as there are different situations that require to be approached differently. That is why absorbing several roles for teacherhood may feel challenging even for those who believe they already have the innate attitude and skills for being a teacher.

A study made by Virta et al. (1998) examined the development of subject teachers' professional identity. The study focused on student teachers' views of teacherhood, teacher development and what kind of professional identity the students possessed. The data was gathered by questionnaires filled in by different subject teachers, i.e.

religion, history and civics, biology and geography, mother language, languages and mathematical subjects. Virta et al. (1998: 27) point out that developing as a teacher and thus, becoming a teacher is more a matter of development in the areas of skills, knowledge and personality. One has to be become conscious of the relations between the profession and oneself, i.e. how and why one is a teacher. As far as professional identity is concerned, students brought out characteristics related to personality requirements, such as toughness, perseverance, dignity, self-confidence. They also highlighted developmental skills, abilities to interact and knowledge of human nature (ihmistuntemus). Most of all they considered teachers' job to be teaching and taking care of the classroom situations and no challenges in the field of work community or societal roles were mentioned. Issues they longed for were practical matters, concrete guidelines and patterns, managing with problematic pupils, and guidance for assessment and exam composing. (Virta et al. 1998: 116, 157, 158).

Kalaja and Dufva (1997) studied English teacher identity and considered identity to be constructed of different roles. They found out that the professional identity can be viewed differently; some teachers had emphasis on the language (i.e. English culture and literature), while others on the educational side (i.e. teaching and working with children and young people). It was also found out that English teachers conceived themselves to belong somehow beneath other teachers in school hierarchy (Kalaja and Dufva 1997: 215). In their case study, roles such as educator/teacher, colleague, representative of the subject (i.e. English), representative of teacher profession and participant of society were listed. Teacherhood can thus be constructed in different ways and roles that teachers play vary according to place and other people.

Pöyhönen (2004) studied Russian Finnish teachers' identity also with respect to roles and according to teachers' own perceptions. Pöyhönen (2004: 194, 196, 198) found out that the teachers emphasized teacher centred teaching strategies and methods in which the teacher chooses, guides and is responsible for learning. The teachers viewed themselves as information hunters and -providers (though they had to make all material themselves because they did not have e.g. books). Other roles found out were a civilized expert, organizer, planner, instructor, orientator of interest, motivation evoker, encouraging person, partner, peace officer, educator, professional and language learner in a way that they were able to identify themselves with

learners. In these responses, it is noticeable that the Russian teachers seem to emphasize practical roles that relate to working as a teacher, pedagogical skills and interactional skills.

Mayer (1999) used the concepts of 'teaching role' and 'teaching identity' when she studied preservice teachers. Mayer considers that

> A teaching role encapsulates the things the teacher does in performing the functions required of her/him as a teacher, whereas a teaching identity is a more personal thing and indicates how one identifies with being a teacher and how one feels as a teacher. (Mayer 1999, no page numbers)

She found out that the most influencing factors when constructing one's own teacher identity are schooling experiences from one's past. If one had experienced a teacher who succeeded in strengthening one's self-esteem, one also wanted to be a similar kind of teacher. Similarly, if one had experienced negative characteristics of a teacher, one avoided to be similar in any way. It was also found out that the majority believed that teachers are *born to be teachers* and thus, education and theories were considered useless. Being a teacher was considered to be an innate talent. Mayer (1999) summarized that according to her research, a good teacher was considered to have a particular teaching personality, to be capable of organising and controlling learners and transmitting information efficiently.

Previous studies seem to have considered teacher identity to be constructed of different roles. In the light of those, I will specify three main roles that have risen from the studies. Since the roles have appeared in many studies made in the field of teacher identity, I believe them to be the most relevant as well as challenging ones when constructing language teacher identity. Language teachers seem to concentrate more either on education or on the subject (i.e. language and culture which is defined in the national core curriculum 2004). Therefore, it can be concluded that there are the roles of an educator and a subject teacher. In addition to those, since cultural teaching is nowadays often emphasized as a part of language teaching, there might also be a role of a culture teacher. Therefore, this study will separate those three roles of teacherhood and examine them in more detail. I will next show how these roles could be defined and what issues they might enclose. Each of them will be discussed in more detail according to literature and previous studies in their fields.

3.2.1 The role of an educator

Defining education and an educator is a multifaceted issue. An educator's role can be defined in various ways but here, I try to present and intertwine the issues involved when educating children as a professional and thus, to specify what the role of a professional educator may entail. It is a well-established fact that being a teacher involves strongly being an educator (see e.g. Aho 1994, Skinnari 2004, Numminen 1993). By an educator, I mean a person who rears children, teaches manners, values, social skills, behaviour and so on. I use the word educator instead of child-rearer, because it indicates the formal aspect of being a teacher educator more specifically and therefore, suits this context better. Whether the roles really differ will be discussed later.

The teacher's role as an educator is visible already in teacher training. A teacher can be seen guiding pupils through their growing processes, while at the same time having the pedagogical and educational goals in mind (Aho 1994: 5). In order for this to succeed, the teacher has to have knowledge about educational psychology, i.e. about the characteristics of a pupil, human development and about educational procedures. Teacher training makes efforts in preparing beginning teachers to confront the pedagogical and educational challenges but it is still not enough. The issues that arise in practice may not be issues that are related to teaching pedagogy, they may be issues that are more related to rearing children and taking care of them. Being an educator depends also largely on the person; personality, identity, world-view, values, experiences and thoughts. An educator's role cannot perhaps be learned, but one can prepare for the different duties that the role incorporates.

Lyytinen and Vuori (1993: 17-8) studied and compared work satisfaction among English teachers in the upper comprehensive school and adult education. Teachers of upper comprehensive schools were not satisfied with their work when it came to big group sizes, criticism, relationships with pupils, discipline and education problems. Teachers had noticed a change in the role of the teacher; earlier teachers were information providers but now the requirements had widened. Teachers have to develop learners' personalities by individually planned exercises and stimuli. The teacher's role was seen to include an educator and an informant, the emphasis of which varied according to the teaching level. In cases where homes were not capable

of rearing their child, teachers were occasionally expected to be wholly responsible for the student's education, teaching manners and moral values. Other studies have also revealed that today's teachers emphasize the role of an educator above others (see e.g. Syrjäläinen 1990, Kalaja and Dufva 1997)

One factor that influences the way one performs the role of an educator is the idea of a human being (ihmiskäsitys in Finnish). The idea of a human being is thought to determine one's educative actions and intentions (Aho 1994, Perttula 1999, Veenkivi 1998, Wilenius 1987) It has said to be "a philosophical production of conscious pondering and discussion or an unpredictable collage of thoughtlessness" as Varto (2001: 13) expresses it. According to Perttula (1999: 41) it is a personal experience of what one considers to be human. Weather the idea of a human being is conscious or not, teachers base their work on it and it defines how one does his work and what one's aspirations are (Perttula 1999: 23). Since the idea of a human being leads the way teachers work and teach, it is a vital component of their profession and their teacher identity. Already in teacher trainings, students are required to ponder and write down their own ideas of a human being. As becoming teachers, they need to consider also what kind of educational philosophy they possess. As teachers in the field they also have to think what issues they stress in their educational touch.

Educators have to be aware that educating always has an impact on the development and growth of a human being. There has to be a guiding line, which prevents jumping off the paths and which guides towards the set purpose. There are a number of factors that educators have to take into account when educating. Wilenius (1987: 70-2) characterizes points that the educator or child-rearer must acknowledge. First, one has to know about the growth processes of individuals. Individuals develop differently and some may struggle longer or need more support with some issues than others. Second, one has to acknowledge how the societal and cultural circumstances and the environment of the growing up process affect the education. Educators also have to be in line with society and culture. Third, the individual development background of the learner has to be realized. Educators have to be aware of the potentiality and available possibilities of each learner. Not everyone becomes a doctor, some may not even want to. Fourth, one has to have knowledge

of educational actions and their suitability for each occasion. Educators have to know how to educate in different situations and what actions educate and in what way.

Moilanen (2001: 47-50) characterizes education on the basis of different relations. He points out that there are three compulsory relations that educators have; relation, power and direction. This means that e.g. as a teacher one always has a special relationship with the pupil and educating cannot proceed without this relationship. Power is a strong but inevitable concept in education. Educators have power and since they have to use it, they must know how to use it correctly, responsibly and equally. Power is also related to the high status of the teacher and affects social distance between a teacher and a pupil. The teacher has power and right over pupils and s/he must be capable of maintaining it; if power is abandoned, also the educator's role is abandoned. Direction is also a necessary concept in education. Without it, education is pointless. Nevertheless, direction means that educators have to strive for what they consider to be human and a way of good life. Moilanen (2001: 49-59) claims that, for instance, honesty, diligence, criticism and independence are today's values in Finland. Nevertheless, the representation of good people and a good way of life is actually left to be a matter of teachers' own preferences. As a result, this implies that teachers should have a clear impression of a good life, because they are expected to teach their pupils to strive for that. This is similar to what Varto (2001) ponders. He points out that if educating means educating towards adulthood, today's adults are being examples of good adults to which youngsters should strive for, but are they?

One aim of education is to educate children to obey the values, behaviour codes and rules of community (Moilanen 2001: 44, 46, 51-2). Education can be seen as protecting a child but also protecting the community from a child. Moilanen claims that also the continuity of culture is protected by educating youngsters to obey the common procedures and habits although their importance may sometimes be hard to explain. Also developing and maintaining civilization can be seen to belong to a teacher educator's responsibilities (Luukkainen 2005: 77). It could be claimed that everything that is done in schools is educating. For instance, Syrjäläinen (1990: 248-9) points out that teachers educate learners through socializing, equality, democracy, civilization and eliminating competition.

Discipline can be seen as the oldest means of educators. To be able to handle a group of children or people, it is absolutely necessary to keep discipline. For learning to succeed, discipline and peace have major roles. The teacher must supervise that the rules and conditions of school behaviour defined by the national core curriculum and the school's own principles do not become violated (Förbom 2003). If they do, teachers have power as well as responsibility to punish according to the penalties of the national core curriculum. Förbom (2003: 67) names the penalties to be the following; excluding the class, maximum of two hours detention, written notice or expelling from school. Penalties may also vary a little according to each school's customs. Discipline relates to the teacher's authority which depends on various factors. Authority can be an innate talent or a product derived from self-confidence, strong self-valuation, open attitude, expertise or one's competence with other people. (Förbom 2003: 69).

Since I consider the educator's role to involve also love and sympathy, I want to define their meaning here as well. By love, I mean here rather like caring, nurturing, motherhood kind of love. Skinnari (2004) defines love and caring performed by teachers to be pedagogical love. According to Skinnari (2004: 22, 25), the core of teacherhood will be found in a real interest and love in pupils. The teacher has to believe that every pupil has potentiality and respect that each of them is perfect in one's own unique way. Love shows out through one's actions and being. The teacher cannot teach if one does not love one's students and wish the best for them. The teacher has to care about others' well-being, skills, efforts and the future of his/hers students to be able to be beneficial and helping for them. Skinnari (2004: 179-180) points out that the teacher's job should not be considered only as transferring information, it should be also arousing learners to notice what their potential is. He compares teachers with gardeners; teachers have to trust that growing is happening even though it is not always visible.

3.2.2 The role of a language teacher

Language teachers are of course supposed to have a good mastery of the subject. Knowing the language, its structures and characteristics profoundly is one aspect of this mastery. In addition, culture can be considered one aspect and also relating to language and its use but in this study, I present and define them separately because I

aim to study them in detail. In the role of a language professional, teachers' expertise and professionalism in the subject becomes emphasized. Language teachers are required to know the subject language profoundly (subject knowledge) and also how to teach it (pedagogical knowledge). The language as a grammatical and social construction is in focus. Since they are specialists, language teachers are expected to have excellent knowledge of the language structure and in addition, to keep up with its changes.

Language learning is a diverse process and therefore, in order to teach a new language, one has to know what issues there are to learn. I will next specify the areas of foreign language learning and teaching according to Johnson (2001: 16-37), which in my opinion, strongly belong to the role of a professional language teacher. He presents systemic-, sociolinguistic- and strategic competences to be the areas one has to learn in order to become a competent language speaker and -user. By systemic competence he covers the areas of pronunciation, grammar and semantics. Pronunciation includes both phonetics and phonology. They are about how words are pronounced, where an intonation or a stress in a word is, how different letter combinations influence the pronunciation of a word and so on. Grammar means morphology, syntax and vocabulary. Morphology distinguishes small units of words; endings (suffixes) and prefixes which all are meaningful. Syntax is the structure of a sentence or word order. Vocabulary does not only mean words but also their sub-meanings, collocations and conventions.

The last two competences deal with more abstract issues. Sociolinguistic competence as a cover term comprises the rules of language use and discourse. The first means the appropriate use of words, phrases and sentences according to a situation and cultural habits. For instance, one needs to learn that not everything can be taken literally. These rules of use are often culture related and that is why they are also hard to learn. In contrast, the rules of discourse are often learned already when acquiring the first language. They are the rules for how even the smallest conversation can be kept together. Therefore, they are the cohesion rules. Strategic competence means communication strategies, for instance risk-taking, that foreign language learners need to go through in order to become competent in that foreign language. It is a means by which one manages to compensate errors, missing words,

misunderstandings and elaborate and still become understood. As these are the basic concepts of language use in short, teachers have to be aware of them as well as observant all the time when teaching foreign languages.

In addition to the above mentioned areas of language competences, teaching still means much more than mastering the language itself. Language teachers also have to be aware of different teaching methods, learning strategies, assessment as well as take into account different learners and their needs. Teaching methods are strongly up to the teacher him- or herself but taking the national core curriculum into account. The cognitive-constructive learning concept is said to be the acknowledged learning concept in Finnish schools (Jaakkola 2000: 149). Cognitive refers to teaching and learning knowledge and information, whereas constructive means teaching and learning skills. Both are vital when considering language learning. One has to have knowledge before it is possible to construct skills related to that knowledge. In basic education, the goals and issues of teaching are clearly listed in the national core curriculum (2004: 139-140). Areas that have to be covered in teaching, such as immediate environment, school, friends, family, leisure time and living, as well as grammatical structures and learning and communication strategies are mentioned. Skills for spoken language and interaction are emphasized in an elementary level.

Schools are expected to provide a versatile learning environment. Therefore, teachers have to organize diverse teaching and learning methods as well as develop pupils' own learning strategies and styles when teaching (National core curriculum 2004: 16-8). Teachers are thus obliged to provide information about different learning strategies and provide different tasks that each individual learner has a chance to practise in a way that best suits her/his needs. All this develops pupils' learning and enriches their learning environment.

Assessment is one of the trickiest issues in the teacher profession. In order for assessment to be equal, the Finnish national core curriculum uses the Common European Framework (CEF) for Language Learning and Teaching. Proficiency levels A1-2 and B1-2 are specified into sub scales and used to assess learners' writing, speaking, listening comprehension and reading comprehension. The highest level (C) is not used within the basic education as it is considered too advanced to reach (Pöyhönen 2009: 156).

Myllymäki (1992) studied English teachers' conceptions of language and language use. The understanding of language teaching was assumed to relate strongly to the teachers' conceptions of the basic nature of language (Myllymäki 1992: 63-71). It was also found out that the teachers viewed language as a grammatical system but also as a social construction by which social relationships are created and maintained. This relates to Johnson's (2001) model that was presented earlier. According to Myllymäki, the teachers highlighted the fact, that language is "a means of spoken communication" (p. 65). In the study, the teachers emphasized the role of authentic situations in teaching and learning and conceived that the teacher's responsibility is to maintain learning and doing, take responsibility of the learning as well as maintain motivation and supportive atmosphere in class. Some teachers also considered that the teacher should have full control of the class but overall the teachers stressed that there should be also room for students' own initiatives.

Edmonson (2000: 23) lists the following principles among others for successful language teaching:

- encouraging and enabling risk-taking,
- self-monitoring and using different learning strategies,
- promoting active participation but not insisting it,
- organizing lessons but leaving space for spontaneous issues to come up and
- being practical and explaining each topic's relevance.

If following these principles is thought to produce effective language learning, it suggests that language teachers should apply them. As a result, it leads us to conclude that the role of a language teacher includes at least the following characteristics; encouraging behaviour, being versatile in teaching strategies, being flexible during the lessons and being clear with aims. Compared to previous studies about language teacher that I have mentioned earlier, it seems that they all have similar results of what is embedded in the role of a language teacher.

3.2.3 The role of a culture teacher

First, it is worth mentioning that although I believe language to be part of culture and that through language one is able to learn culture as well, I have still differentiated

them here. The reason for the division is that I want to specify in detail the different concepts and tasks of which some are more related to language teaching and others to culture teaching. Since the present study examines current language teachers, it is not worth describing how culture teaching *should be*, rather how it *is* and which roles teachers' have in it. I think today's language teaching is still concentrated more on language than on culture. Already in 1992, English teachers were reported to know relatively little about the relation between culture and language (Myllymäki 1992: 65). Language teaching does not derive from culture teaching rather, culture is conceived to derive from language as a side product. Thus, culture teaching is used here to mean getting to know the country, its people and a way of life although it can be criticized to be just transmitting information (see Kramsch 1993: 205-10). As mentioned above, the cultural aspects of language use, i.e. the sociolinguistic competence in 3.2.2, was considered to belong to language teaching.

Culture can mean different issues in different concepts and for different people. I will now continue to describe culture only to the extent it is taught and considered at schools. At schools, it also covers a huge range of issues. Yli-Renko (1994: 150) summarizes culture introduced in schools to mean issues such as a lifestyle, physical and social environment, technology, science, art, living circumstances, habits, customs, values, attitudes, language, common view of life and behaviour codes. These are issues language lessons often try to cover. Study books introduce different aspects of culture using language, sound and pictures. However, the aspects can still be left on a quite artificial level. Behaviour, attitudes and values become introduced but to which they base on, is not explained. Kaikkonen (1994: 72) names this behaviouristic definition of culture, which has often been applied in schools because of its clarity. It tries only to describe the habits, customs and behaviour of a certain culture but does not study the reasons under them. Teachers can be seen as information providers in this respect. They provide pupils with information, situations and exercises where they can get acquainted with the target culture.

The concept of culture is seen vital in education. Approving multiculturalism is one of the values of the national core curriculum (2004: 14) and supporting pupils' cultural identity one of its tasks. In the field of learning languages, the national core curriculum emphasizes that a foreign language as a subject is a skill and culture

issue; the aims of foreign language learning are to acquire skills for acting in foreign language situations, to prepare pupils to use their language skills and to teach to appreciate other cultures and lifestyles (2004: 138). Pupils are taught that cultures can be different but that does not mean that they are unequal. Culture is not specifically defined but areas of teaching and the goals for cultural skills are listed. In lower comprehensive schools, pupils are expected to learn cultural issues of the target culture and to be able to compare those with Finnish ones. Also learning skills to interact appropriately in everyday situations is being listed as a cultural aim (The national core curriculum 2004: 139).

According to Yli-Renko (1994: 149) cultural interaction has been the focus of language teaching already since 1990's. She lists globalization, increased co-operation between nations, cross-cultural business and European integration to be the key factors why language skills have become more and more vital and valued. Cultural knowledge and multilingualism are important issues in today's world. Cultural interaction emphasizes oral skills, open attitudes, internationality and competent behaviour in cross-cultural interaction. In Yli-Renko's point of view, language, culture, communication and their relations are the concepts of cultural interaction.

Yli-Renko (1994: 150) claims that widening the world view of learners is the aim of intercultural teaching. This is made possible when pupils first become aware of the norms, behaviour, attitudes and customs of their own culture. First, they have to know their own culture well, before they can notice similarities and differences in others. They grow to be more tolerant, when they notice that each culture has its own mechanisms, to which people are born unconsciously. Later, they are able to compare cultures and thus, also understand the differences in them. According to Yli-Renko (1994: 158-9), intercultural communication means basic language skills, skills for human relationships and the knowledge of Finnish cultural identity. Intercultural teaching means therefore to teach learners to acknowledge and notice the subtle differences and details that cultures have. It is important to notice that one's own culture can seem as different to others as do other cultures in one's own point of view. Comparing the habits of different cultures is vital in order to

understand that failures and mistakes do happen because cultures differ but they just have to be tolerated.

The role of a culture teacher is vital in many ways. The teacher's own attitude, enthusiasm and values have impacts on the way pupils learn and grow towards internationality and foreign cultures. The teacher's actions can even help pupils to build healthy self-confidence in cultural point of view but in this respect, the teacher has to be encouraging, supportive and reliable (Yli-Renko 1994: 162). Consciousness of one's own cultural issues is primary, only then one is able to start noticing as well as understanding other cultures. Kaikkonen (1994: 68, 121, 146) emphasizes that culture is always learned through interaction with other people and that education can affect the way people meet other cultures and people. Teachers can provide information but their responsibility is also to expose pupils to situations and cultural stimuli in a classroom. Kaikkonen (1994) suggests possibilities to meet cultures in real life; teachers should try to get visitors of the target culture to the classroom or organize (slightly more demanding but efficient) study trips, student exchanges or camp schools that have been proved to be beneficial methods.

I have now introduced the three main roles of teachers that previous studies have found out or that are otherwise often emphasized in the field of language teaching. Those roles will form the framework for the present study. The three roles and what they include will be studied in more detail from the point of view of language teachers. In addition, any other roles brought out by the teachers will be taken into a closer look. I will now move on to present the present study.

4 RESEARCH DESIGN

Since there is evidence showing that teachers may have different roles while working, this thesis aims at studying a phenomenon called language teacherhood and particularly the roles that language teachers have in it. The purpose is to get natural and authentic perceptions of teacherhood and to use interpretive analysis in order to yield a better understanding of the phenomenon. Therefore, a qualitative research method is considered more profound and rewarding because the aim is not to get generalizable results. The aim is rather to give language teachers an opportunity to bring out their views and individual understandings of their professional roles and trough those, to understand and interpret their teacherhood more profoundly.

The study searches for roles of which language teacherhood is comprised. In addition, there are three specific roles and their relations that the study aims to examine. Thus, the research questions are as follows:

1. Has the picture of language teacherhood changed during the teachers' work years?

2. Which roles is their language teacherhood comprised of?

3. Do they recognize the role of an educator, language teacher and culture teacher in their teacherhood? What do the roles include?

The study began by focusing on the individual perceptions of language teacher identity. The teachers were allowed to speak about roles they feel belong to their teacher identity. The impact of past was not forgotten and therefore the study was started by pondering what kind of a picture of teacherhood the teachers had when they studied to become teachers and how has it changed. Along the way, the teachers were able to reflect on their feelings and changes in identity from the present to what it has been in the past. The teachers' own views were in focus but also others' expectations of them were under the looking glass. The teachers were able to tell what expectations they felt they had in the whole school community. From the feelings and conceptions of the teachers, it became possible to draw conclusions about what kinds of roles are embedded in their professional identity.

In this chapter, I will next introduce the methodology of the study. I will discuss and explain why the focused interview was chosen for a research method and the thematic analysis as a method of analysis. The second section introduces the data in detail. I will present how the interviewees were gathered and how the interviews were constructed.

4.1 Methodology

Other similar studies of teacher's professional identity and roles (see e.g. Pöyhönen 2004, Kalaja and Dufva 1997, Syrjäläinen 1990, Goodson 2008) have been qualitative in their nature as well and because of the small number of these kinds of studies, I wanted this study to complement earlier work on professional identity. Qualitative studies often use one of the following methods for gathering data: interviews, questionnaires, observation or info based on different documents (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 73) Interview, also used by similar previous studies, was chosen for plenty of reasons, some of which are also presented by Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002: 7-77). Interview is very flexible; one is able to repeat, sharpen and expand questions if necessary, straighten up misunderstandings and have a discussion with the interviewee. By interviewing, the focus is to get as much information about the issue as possible. Interviewing was therefore valued to be more a fertile method when studying teachers' identity which can only be researched through their perceptions and own thoughts.

There are three acknowledged interview types; an open interview, a questionnaire interview and a focused interview (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 1982: 28-36, see also Merton et al 1965). The questionnaire interview was left out because of its rigid and structured nature, the open interview because of its extreme openness which could have resulted in teachers talking about issues that were not relevant to this study, and therefore, the semi-structured focused interview was left to use. To be able to express ideas, feelings, conclusions and impressions in the way the teachers wanted, in their own language and as informally and personally as they wanted to, a focused interview seemed the most appropriate one.

4.1.1 Focused interview as a method of gathering the data

The focused interview (= teemahaastattelu in Finnish, see Hirsjärvi and Hurme 1982, 2000 and Merton et al. 1956) focuses on themes that are decided beforehand. It emphasizes individual interpretations, meanings and how meanings relate to social interaction (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2002: 77). Interaction becomes emphasized in a discussion-like situation and perhaps therefore, the focused interview has been applied to and considered appropriate for long in behaviour and social research (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 1982: 7). Moreover, it is a method that makes natural and spontaneous reactions made by the interviewees possible. Otherwise, a discussion-like situation and deep pondering of topics would be hard to carry out. In addition, because the interviewer is present, possible misunderstandings or talk beside the point can be inhibited. However, the interviewer's presence has to be taken into account also from the point of view of affecting the answers.

The main requirements of the focused interview are to have a specific phenomenon where interviewees are known to take part in (Merton et al 1956: 3). In the present study, this phenomenon was language teacherhood. According to the findings of previous studies, teachers are considered to have many roles in their work and now the task was to find out how language teachers perceive and refine the roles that have been found out and do they bring out any other roles.

The place where the interviews are carried out can influence the interviewee and thus, has to be carefully chosen (for more see Eskola and Vastamaki 2001). Because my interviewees consisted of teachers only, I decided to suggest that the interview could take place at the school they were working in. Being in their school or even in their classrooms enabled the teachers to be in their work status during the interview and thus, to make the recognizing of the roles and responsibilities as well as discussing their teacherhood easier. Their own workplace was also believed to be the most comfortable place for the teachers. It was easy to organize a quiet classroom for the interviewing and to prevent all other stimulus unrelated to the study from disturbing.

Language has a major role in interviews since it is the means of interaction and giving meanings (see e.g. Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000: 48-53). Since Finnish was the

mother language of all participants, I decided to interview them in Finnish. Although, English could have been a possible language as well since they all taught English and could have been considered proficient enough to use it. However, two native Finnish people discussing in English could also have made the situation abnormal. Thus, to avoid possible misunderstandings, extra stress, and discomfort that using a foreign language might still cause, discussing in one's mother language was reasoned to be the most suitable option. Hence, one is able to verbalize oneself with the closest and the most familiar words one chooses to use and there is no extra stress caused or extra energy required for the verbalization; one can focus only on the topic and how one feels about it.

The most important character of a focused interview is that it does not have a specific question list, but it concentrates on themes (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000: 48). These themes are topics that the interviewer has decided beforehand and during the interview assures that each theme will be discussed. This study had the following themes (see also Appendix):

Language teacherhood (What kind of image of language teacherhood they had when they educated themselves to be teachers, has it changed during the years?)

Roles of teacherhood (Can they name any roles that they feel they have to identify themselves with while working? What do the roles include?)

The role of a language teacher (What does this role include?)

The role of a culture teacher (What does this role include?)

The role of an educator (What does this role include?)

Since the present study aimed at presenting the teacher's own views, the interviews were started by giving the teachers a possibility to first tell their own views about language teacherhood and about the roles they conceived there to be. After these were discussed, the interview continued by asking more specific questions about the roles they had named. In addition, there were three roles for which the study searched elaboration and thus they formed the next themes. If the teachers themselves did not name these roles, they were asked whether they recognized the

role of an educator, language teacher or culture teacher at all. Then more specific questions were presented according to each teacher's answers and discussion.

The ordering of the themes can vary which allows the unstructured flow of ideas but the nature is still semi-structured because the themes remain the same for all interviewees (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000: 48). There are interview questions that are carefully formed but they are rather to guide interviewees towards the themes leaving space for their own ideas, opinions and emphasis (see Appendix). These guiding questions can also vary a bit on each occasion or it may not even be necessary to pose all of them. Whenever there were, for instance other roles that the teachers brought up, clarifying questions were also posed for those ones. Thus, the study remained open for whatever the teachers wanted to bring out and for other issues or roles that had not even been realized to be relevant by the researcher. Anyhow, the interviewer takes care that every theme becomes covered with each participant.

4.1.2 The method of analysis: Thematic analysis

Since the interviews of the present study were constructed around themes, the findings were analyzed by using the thematic analysis (see e.g. Aronson 1994, Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2000: 141-2, 173). In the thematic analysis, after the interviews are all transcribed into text, the researcher next studies each transcription with respect to the themes of the study. Each participant's answers will be grouped under each theme and thus, every theme becomes rounded by several answers. This way, it is easy to analyze each theme separately by taking each answer into account.

The strength of the semi-structured interview is that also new aspects can be taken into a closer consideration. On the other hand, information that is not relevant can also be ignored unless there is an aspect that is repeated in several answers and becomes emphasized or that otherwise raises an important and interesting issue. The semi-structural nature enables arousing new aspects brought out by the participants and thus creating also new themes. However, every study has its limits, and that is why there are research questions that guide the focus. In the present study, new aspects were paid attention to as far as the roles of language teachers were concerned and also generally in the field of language teacherhood. After grouping the answers, themes were then studied by paying attention to similarities, differences, overlaps,

impressions and feelings gained from the answers. On the basis of them, conclusions were drawn and possible reasons under them were also suggested. In this study, the focus was mostly on what was said about the themes and what new aspects were announced. When analyzing the findings, the results of previous research as well as the theories and literature on the subject were intertwined. Thus, it became possible to notice whether the results supported the previous ones and what new aspects the present study brought out in the field.

4.2 Data

This section introduces the interviewees, who they were and why they were chosen, where and when the interviewing took place and why these places were chosen. In addition, the themes and interviews will be described; whether they included open interaction or a more structural approach.

The data were collected during the autumn 2010 and winter 2011 by contacting English teachers by email. Common comprehensive schools around Helsinki were selected randomly and since it was possible to gather English teachers' email addresses from the schools' web pages, it enabled me to contact teachers directly. In total 83 English teachers were sent email of whom 9 replied to be voluntary to participate. The only restriction was that the participants could not be primary school teachers or rectors because it might have major differences in the roles and responsibilities of their teacher identity. This aspect was already mentioned in the first email and in addition, none of the primary school teachers who were found to teach also English were not even contacted. However, two of the respondents were rejected and thus, seven teachers were interviewed.

The place and time of the interview were organized by email or phone and in all cases the interviewing took place at the teachers' workplace. The schools were proposed to be the interview places because they were considered requiring the least effort from the teachers and also to be the most familiar and therefore comfortable for them to meet. Therefore, all teachers were interviewed in their own school. Three teachers were interviewed in their own classroom, one at the school's library, two in

other small rooms and one in the school lobby. Each interview was recorded and lasted for approximately one hour.

The seven interviewed teachers were all subject teachers of English in comprehensive schools in Helsinki. Three were teachers of lower comprehensive schools, three worked in upper comprehensive schools and one in both. Four taught only English and three taught also Swedish. None of them had primary school teacher qualification but the ones who worked on upper comprehensive schools were also form teachers which affected slightly their role as will be presented later. All the teachers were females and their teaching experience varied from two years to a little over ten. It was found out that the majority of these teachers had not studied aiming to be teachers rather most of them had realized the teaching opportunity later and complemented their degree with pedagogical studies. At least six of the teachers had also worked on other levels of education before the present time and thus, had knowledge of what it takes to teach people of different age groups.

5 FINDINGS: TEACHERHOOD AND ROLES

This chapter will present the findings of the present study. The picture of teacherhood will be presented first and I will then move on to present the different roles of language teachers that were found out. The extracts from the interviews that will be shown are rough translations from the original Finnish transcriptions and therefore, it has not been possible to keep all the nuances of the teachers' speeches.

The teachers were asked to name roles which they recognized to belong to their teacherhood and which they felt they possessed while working. Roles that were related to teaching as well as roles that were carried out widely within the whole school community were brought to light. The overall finding among these teachers was that there are several roles and variation among them due to each class and even group. The fact that teachers have also other roles than roles related to pupils was brought up in every interview.

The educational role of teachers was usually named first. It involved educating and being another mother. Other roles that these language teachers felt being responsible for in respect to educating and teaching pupils were the following;

> discipline keeper, supervisor of all pupils in the school, motivator, subject informant, leader of learning, justice distributor, culture educator, a kind of team teacher, manner and custom educator, prejudice advisor/ broker, form teacher.

Since all of these relate more or less to the roles of educator, language teacher and cultural teacher they will be presented in more detail in sections 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4. A kind of team teacher that one of the participants reported to be, will be discussed under the section 5.5 of communal roles since it did not derive from language teaching rather, on the different policies of the school. Form teachers' role will be under the looking glass separately in section 5.6.

5.1 Language teacherhood

The interviews were started by discussing teacherhood. The teachers were asked what kind of an image of teacherhood they had when they studied to become

teachers and whether the picture had changed during their careers and work years. It became clear at this point that five out of seven had not actually studied to be teachers at all. They had studied to be language professionals and had hoped to find other than teaching jobs. The reasons why they after all turned to the teaching profession varied; one had worked as a consultant and had got fed up with business life, some had not found other jobs at all, one mentioned that the recession in the early 90's affected the decision to stop searching work elsewhere and some had changed from adult education to teach at basic levels because day-time work suited better their current life situation. Some teachers had already somehow been involved in language teaching by substituting teachers or teaching their own children. Thus, they discovered the possibility to teach language afterwards and complemented their degree with teacher's pedagogical studies.

Most of the teachers said that the image and the expectations of being a teacher based on their own school experiences or experiences of being a substitute teacher. However, being substitute teachers and the practical training during pedagogical studies had most influenced the picture of teacherhood by giving the basic information of what it is to be a teacher and forming teachers' own sense of being a teacher. Two teachers who had done a great deal of substituting before and during their pedagogical studies emphasized that their own teacherhood, their teaching philosophies (i.e. the way they wanted to teach) had already been formed then and therefore, the pedagogical studies did not give anything much new to them. They felt they already knew a lot about the practice of teaching. Nevertheless, the work itself and being an official teacher was still mentioned to educate and teach one the most since there are duties and responsibilities invisible to substitute teachers. Learning to be a teacher was compared to be an apprenticeship training where one constantly develops while working and where the actual teaching studies and book knowledge does not actually give much.

Consequently, the first year seemed to be the worst but also teaching the most as the following extract shows;

Example 1.

O3:…sen ensimmäisen vuoden aikana tuli sitte vastaan kaikki ne yllätykset, sellaset mitä mä en osannut odottaa.. ja sen jälkeen suunta on ollut mun mielestä parempi koska mulla on sitä kokemusta tullut ja mul on nyt sitten niitä tapauksia on ollu niin paljon et kun tulee uus vähän

vastaava tilanne ni sitten tietää, se ei oo mikään yllätys enää ja siin osaa toimia ihan toisel tavalla…

T3: ….during that first year every surprising issue came across, those that I did not know to expect.. and after that the direction has been better in my opinion because I have gained experience and I have had so many of those cases that when a new, kind of a similar situation comes, you know, it is not a surprise anymore and you know how to act in a very different way…

<div align="right">(O3= Opettaja 3, T3= Teacher3)</div>

After receiving an official position as a language teacher, the seriousness and being in charge as well as having pupils' learning on one's responsibility became involved in the picture of teacherhood. The amount of actual work and paper work, the amount of responsibilities, the amount of educating children, the lack of respect from some pupils, the tediousness of educational work, special education pupils, individual learning curricula (HOJKS in Finnish), violent behaviour, clearing quarrels and fights as well as the extent, the diversity and the demanding nature of the teacher's job were mentioned to have surprised some of the teachers. Those were also the issues that had changed in their view of language teacherhood. Although the educative part was of course partly known, its great workload and how much one's feelings got involved surprised some teachers as can be seen in the next extracts:

Example 2.

O4: …se kasvatustyö, et miten pitkä piimäistä se voikin olla et joudut jatkuvasti sanomaan samoista asioista, et tavallaan sä oot tietyssä mielessä äiti tai isä.. et… et se kasvattajan rooli toi ehkä eniten sellasta totuttautumista itselle

T4: …that eductaing task, that how tedious it really can be that you constantly have to say about the same issues, that in a certain way you are a mother or a father.. that… that the role of an educator perhaps required most adaptation from myself

Example 3.

O6: …et miten paljon se on enemmin kasvattamista, ja miten paljon enemmin ikään kuin, ainakin miulla, ni on tunteetki mukana siinä vaikka niitä yrittäis pitää vähän poissa ni miten paljon tuntuu et enemmin joutuu olee välillä äitinä tai isänä tai jonkinlaisena sosiaalikasvattajana kuin se että opettais vaan sitä tiettyä ainetta, ja yrittää paljon enemmän opettaa myös sitä ihan oppimista ja sitä itsensä arvostusta ja oppimiskykyä tai tämmöstä opiskelukykyä.. semmost on paljon enemmin ja siihen liittyy paljon enemmän muutakin kun vaan se kieli

T6: …that how much more it is educating, and how much more your, at least mine, feelings get involved in it although you try to keep them a little bit away and how much more it feels that you sometimes have to be as a mother or a father or as a some kind of a social educator rather than just teaching the certain subject, and you try to teach a lot more also just learning and self-appreciation and learning abilities or kind of study abilities.. it is much more of those and there is much more related to that than just the language

Particularly those who had worked in adult education before were surprised by the fact that teaching on basic levels includes considerably more educating as well as teaching the pupils how to learn and study a language.

The teachers were asked if they had noticed any changes in the overall language teacherhood, in teaching philosophies and learning conceptions during their work years. When they compared today's teacherhood to their own experiences and the picture they had when they were studying, they felt there had been a major change. One teacher pondered that today's children are very different in good and in bad; pupils are talented and their technical knowledge is high but their respect towards teachers is diminishing. Pupils demand more from teachers and school which reflects also families' attitudes. She also mentioned that the teaching technology one is able to use has also developed. High technology such as a video projector, a document camera and an interactive white board support one's work but also affect what kind of lessons one is able to organize.

In the field of teaching philosophies and learning conceptions, all of the teachers mentioned differentiated instruction and learning (eriyttäminen in Finnish, later referred as differentiation meaning both) to be the most challenging and the newest change that affects their teacherhood:

Example 4.

O4: …miten valtavasti sä joudut kuitenkin eriyttämään ja miettimään kunkin yksilön ja ryhmän kohdalla niitä tehokkaita opiskelumenetelmiä… et et siinä mielessä ehkä..sanotaanko et käytäntö on kyl opettanut tosi paljon ja… ehkä on todennut sen et vaan tavallaan kokeilemalla ja tutustumalla ryhmään ja yksilöön löytää sen parhaimman tavan, et ei oo olemassakaan vaan sitä yhtä ainoota tai tiettyä, tietynlaista tapaa tai menetelmää..

T4: …how enormously you must differentiate and ponder effective learning methods for each individual and group in turn… that in that sense maybe.. I would say that the practice has taught really much and… maybe I have noticed that in a way only by trying and getting to know each group and individual you find the best way, that there exists no one and only or a specific way or a method..

Differentiation included confronting pupils as individuals, having tools for learning problems, being able to vary teaching and learning methods, making individual learning syllabi and practising same aspect differently due to different learners. One of the teachers praised communication strategies in language teaching and considered communicational aspect to be much more emphasized today than they have ever been. Communicational methods were also the reasons why she now felt

content with teaching languages and why she had not wanted to become a teacher before.

Concerning teacherhood, the teachers conceived that being a teacher had changed dramatically from their own school times. The first year brought out all the surprising issues and aspects that the teachers had not realized before, for instance that the teacher's position did not naturally bring the authority today, one had to earn it and make efforts for it. Also teaching included new aspects such as differentiation and emphasizing oral skills. The teachers' conception of the educational work had also experienced a change. I will next present what kind of work being an educator demanded.

5.2 Educator

The role of an educator or the responsibility to educate in addition to teaching was immediately mentioned by all teachers. The width and demanding nature of education work had surprised some language teachers in their early work years. Some of the teachers considered educating to be primary, while others considered it to be a secondary issue in their work. The following example shows how one teacher explains the relation between the roles of culture and education.

Example 5.

O3: …se kulttuuripuolihan on toki hirveen tärkee osa tässä vieraan kielen opetuksessa… mut aina se ei valitettavasti sitte se ykkösasia että tän ikäisten kanssa ni.. hyvin iso rooli on myös siinä kasvattamisessa…. että kyllä ihan päivittäin, vaikka en oo luokanopettaja, ni silti ihan päivittäin joudun jotakin.. useimmiten ne on aika pieniäkin juttuja mut välillä vähän isompiakin juttuja selvittämään ja ..ja oppilaiden kanssa keskustelemaan et mitä voi tehdä ja mitä ei voi tehdä ja.. ja miksi et kyllä se kasvatuspuoli on siinä hyvin suuressa merkityksessä….. ja.. ja sitten osalle on tietysti joukossa niitäkin joilla valitettavasti kotona ei välttämättä ole aina niillä aikuisilla riittävästi aikaa niin tuntuu et välillä sitä on vähän niin kun äidinkin korvikkeena..

T3: …the cultural side is surely a very important part in foreign language teaching… but unfortunately it is not always the priority because with children this old.. educating plays a huge role…. that daily, although I am not a primary school teacher, even though, daily I have to solve… most often quite small issues but sometimes a bit bigger issues and.. and to discuss with the pupils about things they can do and cannot and.. and why that surely the educative side has a major meaning ….. and for some pupils there are those who unfortunately do not get enough time from the adults at home so it feels that sometimes you are a bit like a substitute for a mother

Thus, the level of pupils as well as their family backgrounds affected weather the emphasis was on teaching or on educating. Some teachers said themselves to be more educators than teachers, while others emphasized teaching to be a more important responsibility. As one of the teachers brought up, she would have wanted to teach the language more but unfortunately working in a lower comprehensive school forced teaching to give space for educating.

The quality of the educator's role was considered to be a personality issue. The reasons for assimilating this role above others varied; some adopted maternal roles more easily because they were mothers themselves, some were interested in children's personality development, some of the teachers' personality suited for being another mother or because some of them just wanted to. The following examples demonstrate this:

Example 6.

O1: ni ehkä mä oon sit tietyllä tavalla jollaki tavalla äidillinen..semmmonen kanaemo, joka sit toisaalta oikeesti… et se on ihan oikeesti ok tiettyyn rajaan asti must se on ihan hyväki et voi vaikuttaa hyvällä että…. mä tykkään kyllä näist teini-ikäsist tämmösist… yläkoululaisista, et kunhan… se ei oo niinku semmosta jatkuvaa että ei päästä asiaan, et se vaan jatkuu se kasvatus liikaa…

T1: maybe I am in one or a certain way maternal.. a kind of a mother hen, who on the other hand really… that it is really ok to a certain limit I think it is quite good that you can influence in a good way that.. I surely like these teenagers… upper-secondaries, that as long as…it is not continuous that we cannot get into the point, that the educating just continuous too much…

Example 7.

O2: sanotaan että ensin on äiti, ja sitten on luokanopettaja ja sitten on jo aineenopettaja, ainakin sellanen aineenopettaja joka sen roolin mielellään sieltä ottaa et kyl mää uskon et on olemassa ala-asteen aineenopettajia jotka pysyvät kaukaisempina ja… ja opettavat vain sitä ainettaan..mut mä oon nyt semmonen luonne et oon kovasti kiinnostunut sen lapsen kokonaispersoonallisuuden kasvamisesta ja.. ja oon paljon vanhempien kanssa… niin kun…. kirjeen vaihdossa tai ..tai lähettelen viestejä ja et mä en niinku vaan pistä sillai et ' okei, ei tee läksyjä, piste, ..näytän sen numerossa' vaan mä otan kyllä sit härkää sarvista kiinni ja rupeen miettii et millä me saadaan nää asiat niinku kondikseen

T2: I say that first, there is a mother, then there is a primary school teacher and then there is already a subject teacher, at least a kind of a subject teacher who willingly takes that role that I believe that there exists subject teachers of primary school who stay more distant and… and only teach their subject.. but I have a nature like that that I am truly interested in the overall development of children's personality and.. and I do contact parents… or sent messages and I just do not put it like that that 'okey, does not do homework, a dot, .. will be shown in the grade' but I take the bull by the horns and start thinking that how can we get these things in order

One of the teachers believed that the area where the school was situated affected the fact that the role of an educator became emphasized in her school, whereas two

teachers considered theirs to have an opposite effect. If children's families were balanced and home education in order, it was considered to diminish teacher's educative role to some extent. However, two of the teachers who worked in upper comprehensive schools told that they were not parents to their students, rather they wanted to be educators *with* their parents. The choice was explained by the fact that they are parents at their own homes, they do not want to be that during their work as well and in addition they did not want to have such close relationships with their pupils. All in all, it became clear that teaching involves educating to the extent that some were not even willing to separate them in any way. The next example shows how this teacher had never even thought about it as a separate issue that would not belong to her work. Education was considered to be present in one's teaching all the time:

Example 8.

O7: no en mä joudu kasvattamaan sitä sillä tavalla et mä ajattelen et mä teen tätä kasvatustyötä mutta kylhän mä niin kun omalla esimerkilläni ja tietyillä vaatimuksillani, kyllähän se et sä viet jotain kulttuuritietoa eteenpäin ni sehän on opettamista, kasvattamista, mikä niitten ero on.. et ei tätä työtä voi tehä silleen et mä eriytän nää osa-alueet vaan sehän on yhteen sitoutunutta kaikki.. ja joka ikisellä tunnilla tapahtuu kasvattamista ja opettamista

T7: well I do not need to educate in a way that I think that now I educate but I of course with my own example and with my certain requirements, the way you carry some cultural knowledge forward it is teaching, educating, what is their difference.. you cannot do this work in a way that now I separate these parts rather it is all intertwined.. and in every lesson there happens educating and teaching

Educating was found to vary between classes and groups and even days. Each group might require different attitude from the teacher concerning educating and keeping discipline. With some groups the teachers had to be stricter and start with basic behaviour and manner teaching, while with others the teachers were able to take it easy and concentrate on teaching right away. The teacher's role can thus vary according to the attitude and characteristics of each group. Some teachers believed that one has to be strict first and make sure that the pupils know how one expects them to behave. The teachers estimated that sometimes keeping discipline can take 5 minutes from the start, sometimes 10 minutes between exercises, in whole one third or one fourth of a lesson or in worst cases even half of the lesson. All in all, spending a lot of time on educative issues was only occasional and many of the teachers were not very worried about it.

When the language teachers were asked which they considered to be their educational responsibility or aim, several issues were mentioned. Firstly, roles that they named which can be considered to be directly related to the responsibility of educating were the following; discipline keeper, supervisor of all pupils in the school, motivator, justice distributor, manner and custom educator, prejudice advisor/ broker. Many of the teachers brought out that their responsibility as language teachers is the same that all teachers in a school have. Thus, the educative responsibility was claimed to be a shared responsibility: the whole school educates every child. The teachers felt responsible for intervening whenever they saw something inappropriate or against the school rules, not just with pupils they taught as can be noticed in the next extract:

Example 9.

O4: ..se on iso osa työtä, mut tavallaan sen myöskin ymmärtää, koska me ollaan peruskoulussa… se tuntuu kuitenkin tietenkin luonnolliselta osalta tätä työtä… kyllä se näkyy sekä tunneilla että välitunneilla että valvonnoissa, koko sen päivän ajan kun täällä koulussa on… et sä joudut puuttumaan kyl jatkuvasti johonkin, mut taas toisaalta se kun kaikki puuttuu jatkuvasti johonkin, näki sitten mitä tahansa vaikka ei ois edes oma oppilas tietenkään, tai opetustunti meneillään vaan kävelet vaikka ohi jossakin tilanteessa ni se et jos aina vaivautuu puuttumaan siihen pieneenkin tilanteeseen ni sillon ei ikinä pääse tulemaan sellasia suuria ristiriitoja tai kehittymään sellasta tilannetta jossa oppilaat ajattelee, et okei, ei tääl kukaan kuitenkaan puutu mihinkään

T4: it is a big part of the work, but in a way you understand it, because we are at a basic education school… of course it feels a natural part of this work… it shows up both on lessons and during recess and supervisions, during the whole day that you are here at school… that you really have to intervene constantly on something, but on the other hand when everyone constantly intervenes, whatever you see or of course even if it was not even your own pupil in question, or your lesson going on or if you just happen to pass some situation, but if you always bother to intervene even on that small issue then there will never be huge conflicts or a situation where pupils think that, okey, nobody intervenes on anything anyway

As far as the teachers' own lessons and their educational aims were concerned, the teachers emphasized that basic educational issues have to be in order first before teaching is effective. Therefore, sometimes one has to start by basic manner education, issues such as how pupils have to behave during the classes, speaking one at a time, listening to others, being quiet, not wearing hats or jackets inside, not using phones or ipods during the lesson, appropriate use of language, not lifting feet on tables and greeting. Educating was considered to take place more at the beginning of the semester and during the first lessons. Then one has to pose the rules and demands and if it succeeds, the education part will gradually diminish and one has more space for teaching.

According to these teachers' answers, language teachers have to educate pupils in almost every respect. Educating at schools involves many issues, also ones that might be considered to belong under home education as the next example implies:

Example 10.

O5: …mitä kieltenopettajan työssä itse asiassa yllättäen, ni tervehtimistä joutuu opettaa, että ku tunnin alussa sanoo, niinku tervehtii, että hyvää huomenta ja mitä kuuluu, ni osa ei vastaa siihen ollenkaan, et se on varmaan isoin mikä mua ärsyttää se että ei niinku sanota, mut nää on murrosikäsiä ja osa tekee sen tosi tahallaan..

T5: actually in a language teacher's work surprisingly, you have to teach greeting that when you greet or say good morning and how are you in the beginning of the lesson, some pupils do not respond in any way, I think it is probably the biggest that annoys me that they do not greet, but they are teenagers and some of them really do it in purpose..

Issues that teachers considered that they have to educate pupils in were as follows; eating manners, queuing manners, coming in the school -manners, how to behave on corridor-manners, doing homework, being responsible, being hardworking, believing in and valuing one's own talents, the purpose of rules and that life is sometimes unfair. One of the teachers had taken part in a pupil's psychiatrist visit because the pupil's parents had asked her to. This shows how diverse the role of an educator can be. In addition, two of teachers who worked in upper comprehensive schools considered promoting multiculturalism and teaching cultural manners to belong to their educational duties as well:

Example 11.

O5: …no kasvatuksellisesti sanotaan.. mä niinku koen sillä tavalla et kieltenopettajalla on tärkee rooli tämmösessä monikulttuurisuuden edistämisessä.. että mä en tiedä onks se- no se on kasvatustehtävä, et meillä on esimerkiks sellanen globaalikasvatuksen teemaviikko, nyt viime vuonna oli eka kerta, ni mä koen tavallaan semmosen silmien aukasemisen ulkomaailmalle

T5: … well educationally I would say.. that I feel that a language teacher has an important role in enhancing multiculturalism.. that I do not know if it is-well it is an educational task, that we have for example a theme week of global education, last year was the first time, so in a way I feel a kind of opening eyes to outside world

Example 12.

O7: …tota opetussuunnitelmathan velvottaa opettamaan.. siis se on se kielen opetus mutta se on myös se kulttuurinopetus, ja ehkä voi ajatella että se kulttuurinopetus tässä on nyt sitä kasvattamista

T7: … well the national core curricula obliges to teach.. well it is the language teaching but it is also the culture teaching, and maybe it is possible to consider the culture teaching to be educating here

They felt cultural issues were related to education because they taught educational issues related to English and particularly emphasized opening pupils' eyes to world, other customs and politeness. As one of the teachers pointed out, language teacher's responsibility with respect to education and English could be called cultural manner education.

The means by which the teachers educated pupils were also diverse but similar between the teachers. Although some of the teachers mentioned that teachers' hands are quite bound when faced with big problems, they all shared similar procedures. Educational discussions were often mentioned to have been used. Putting misbehaving pupil outside the class or to another class, sending a message home immediately or changing seating arrangement were described to be the most used methods. Most of the teachers felt themselves to be strict teachers and they also mentioned that they contact homes quite easily. In most of the cases it was said to help. Keeping the same rules always and being extremely consistent was emphasized to be the most important issue when educating. Some teachers also emphasized that if something happened on their lesson, it was important to take care of the problems oneself and not to push it on e.g. primary school teacher's shoulders. Creating sanctions and maintaining follow-up reports were mentioned to belong to the educator's tools and at the end, there were the rector's addresses and detentions.

Authority was thought to be extremely important in the role of the teacher and educator. It was believed to belong to personality to a great extent and it had not experienced much change during the teachers' work years. One teacher felt that she had herself changed her own attitude towards it. She felt she had grown to strive for the authority position more strictly and demanding more from pupils. However, some teachers felt that pupils have become more restless and they respect authorities less than before. Some pupils were not controlled by any adult and they might have no respect towards adults and older people. The teachers felt that authority becomes naturally and if not, one has to learn how to acquire it. The impact of other people was also seen to effect as the following extract brings out:

Example 13.

O6: ..täällä sen auktoriteetin joutuu ansaitsemaan, ei tuu niin kun annettuna.. et osaavat niinku kokeilla et sen auktoriteetin joutuu hankkimaan.. ja tärkee se ois mut siihen tarvitaan myös kodin tukea ja sitte myös muiden opettajien tukea…

T6: ..here you have to earn the authority, it does not come as given.. they know how to try it so you have to acquire it.. and it would be important but it needs also support from homes and also from other teachers…

Hence, the teachers considered that every teacher has to earn their own authority, pupils test it immediately and one has to stay strict to a certain limit. After earning the authority, one can loosen sometimes a bit but still maintain the respect.

All in all, the educator's role depended on one's personal choice but also on the character of the school and the pupil material. Educating was considered to be a bit different in lower comprehensive schools but it was claimed to be continuous work at all school levels. The most important means of getting order was contacting homes as soon as problems occurred. The educative responsibilities covered diverse issues but as language teachers, also cultural manner education was brought out as one aspect.

5.3 Language teacher

To find out what the teachers thought about the role of a language teacher, they were asked issues related to their professionalism in the area of English language teaching. This part of the interview tried to find out what the role of a language teacher or subject informant/leader of learning, as the teachers brought it out, meant. What is the teaching responsibility of a language teacher and what is the most important in it? Could they work only as subject informants and do they feel responsible for school's overall language knowledge or international atmosphere? This section of the interviews concentrated on the pedagogical side and focused on the teaching responsibilities and aims that language teachers have. First of all, an important aspect was stressed by a few teachers; when working in basic education, one should remember and have time for maintaining one's own English language skills as well as developing the skills all the time. Then, one is able to feel confident in the subject and transfer information effectively to pupils.

When the teachers were asked which aspects they considered first, belonging to their teaching responsibility and secondly, the most important in their teaching responsibility, they had mostly far-reaching aims. Three teachers mentioned the

requirements of the national core curriculum and going through the specific amount of information that the curriculum orders. Some emphasized otherwise knowledge and skills. In addition, many of the teachers highlighted basic skills as well as the courage to speak foreign languages. The teachers felt giving pupils a strong base on which they can start learning also other languages in the future as one of the most important issues to achieve as the next example shows;

Example 14.

O2: …opettajan tärkein tehtävä ala-asteella on opettaa oppilaalle kaunis ääntäminen…. ja.. sit semmonen rento suhtautuminen siihen kieleen, semmonen stressitön suhtautuminen siihen kieleen, että he pelottomasti kuuntelee vaikka eivät ymmärrä, semmonen niinku universaali kielen käsite, että he ei eivät niin kun kramppisesti ajattele et apua mä en ymmärtänyt tota sanaa ja sit menee niinku kaikki ohi..eli se että he niin kun uskaltavat ymmärtää vaikka ymmärtävät tosi vähän… eivät pelästy sitä, että heille puhutaan vierasta kieltä, hyväksyvät sen että ymmärtää vaan sanan sieltä ja täältä ja arvaa loput, se on yks tavoite. Toinen tavoite on se että äänteet menee kaikki kohdalleen, et heil on niin kun pelimerkit, mistä he sit alkaa jatkaa.. ja sitte on se jatkuvan työskentelyn oppiminen…

T2: … the most important task of the teacher at a lower comprehensive school is to teach a beautiful pronunciation…. and.. then a kind of a relaxed attitude to the language, a kind of a stressless attitude, that they fearlessly listen even they do not understand, a kind of a universal concept of language, that they do not get cramps and think that help I did not understand that word and then everything goes pass.. that they dare to understand even they understand very little… that they are not scared when they are spoken a foreign language, that they accept that they understand only a word from here and there and guess the rest, that is one aim. Another aim is that every sound goes right, that they have basic tokens from which they can continue.. and then there is this learning continuous working…

Particularly the teachers of lower comprehensive schools viewed learning to learn languages to be the priority issue in their teaching. In addition, some of the teachers emphasized the importance of arousing a positive curiosity for languages and enabling a relaxed attitude towards foreign languages and language learning.

The teachers perceived their teaching to include several issues. One of them was the ability to teach pupils to learn in diverse ways:

Example 15.

O6: …löytää sieltä semmosia vihjeitä niinku mahollisimman monenlaisia et miten niitä voi oppia et onko se sitten esimerkkilauseen kanssa vai kannattaisko niitä laulaa niitä asioita et jääkö ne sillai mieleen vai kirjottaa.. erilaisia niitä oppimistapoja pitäis osata löytää ja sitte tosiaan ne asiat selittää mahollisimman yksinkertaisesti mut sit kuitenkin monipuolisesti..ja sitte ohjata sen tietolähteen äärelle…

T6: … to find kinds of clues, as various as possible that how one can learn those that is it with an example sentence or should one sing those issues that do they stay in one's mind that way or by writing them.. one should find different ways of learning and then again to explain the issues in the simplest way possible but anyway with diverse ways..and to lead near the sources of information

In their teaching, the teachers pinpointed that today they also have to remember to test different areas of language learning. Oral skills are nowadays much more in focus than before. Hence, they have to teach with different methods and teach pupils to learn with different styles but afterwards, they also have to test different skill areas in order to perceive the different skills of different learners. Therefore, teachers are information- but also method informants. They guide learners to find information. One important responsibility was that since schools are obliged to provide special support for pupils who have problems in keeping the same pace as others, teachers are under the obligation to notice these kinds of pupils and advise and help them in the matter.

Providing language as a practical tool was also one of the aims of language teaching as the example beneath exemplifies.

Example 16.

O5: …et pystyis antaa niille sellasia välineitä että ne pystyy hyödyntämään niitä niinku tulevassa elämässä, joko siellä vapaa-ajalla tai työssä, tavallaan se…. kielitaito semmosena välineenä, et sitä oikeesti pystyy käyttämään et sitä ei tarvii vaan käyttää pelkästään paperilla vaan et sitä voi käyttää elävässä elämässä, et varmaan se kaikkein isoiten ja semmonen toivottavasti semmonen rohkeus ja uskallus puhua….

T5: … that you could give them kind of tools of which they can benefit in the future life, either on free-time or at work, in a way that…. language knowledge as a sort of a tool, that one really can use that it does not have to be used only on paper but one can use it in a real life, I think that is the most biggest and hopefully a sort of courage and dare to speak…

Some teachers valued language as a tool for future and wanted their pupils to understand the importance of languages in work life. These teachers wanted to give their pupils practical means for coping in the future via language. However, prompting pupils to speak fearlessly and encourage trying was considered the most important aims of language teaching.

The teachers were asked how much they can work only as subject informants in other words, concentrating only on the language but at the basic levels it was considered impossible. Many of the teachers considered it possible in high school or at an adult education section but not at lower or upper comprehensive schools. Two teachers pondered that being only a subject teacher could perhaps be possible in an elite school where pupils have been chosen and they are all on the same line. A few of the teachers mentioned that they had considered changing to a level where education would not dominate this much and that this change might soon become

topical. However, many of the teachers also considered education to belong to a school and they were not very eager to separate it in any way. They considered that the education responsibility is always present at schools. Even if there would not be any disorders, teachers still have to educate in other fields. In addition, the educative part of the work was considered to be rewarding;

Example 17.

O1: …mä tykkään tästä työstä, mä tykkään olla nuorten kanssa, mä tykkään myös siitä kasvatusosasta, vaik se välillä tympiikin, välillä tuntuu et taas samasta asiasta sanoo, mut sit toisaalt se on myös palkitsevaa, koska jos onnistuu siinä työssä ja HUOMAA ne tulokset ja hedelmän siitä… siitä hiestä ja kyyneleistä, et välillä tuntuu et lyö päätä seinään joidenkin kohdalla mut sitte se et se on niin palkitsevaa just se kasvatusosa siinä

T1: … I like this job, I like to be with these youngsters, I like also the educating part of it, although it sometimes annoys, sometimes it feels that again you are saying about the same issue, but on the contrary it is also rewarding, because if you succeed in that work and you NOTICE the results and the fruit you gain… from those sweat and tears, sometimes you feel that you are hitting your head against the wall in some cases but then again especially the educating part is such rewarding

In respect of taking responsibility of whole school's language issues and internationality, those teachers who belonged to the school's internationality team felt stronger responsibility. Some teachers felt they somehow did have a wider responsibility of the school's lingual atmosphere and maintaining internationality. Some teacher did not feel that at all. They felt it was not their duty, particularly not alone. Three of the teachers emphasized that in their school, the responsibility is once again shared between all the language teachers. They did not feel they were responsible for anything alone, some did not feel responsible for these issues even with others. Some schools had also e.g. resource teachers who helped to carry out projects involving internationality with other teachers.

To sum up, what the teachers emphasized in their role as a language teacher were encouraging pupils to speak the foreign language and awaking interest in languages and cultures. What the teachers also stressed were teaching to learn languages and teaching with multiple methods as well as teaching pupils to find different learning styles.

5.4 Culture teacher

Cultural teaching was mentioned in many respects during the interviews. The English language teachers considered teaching culture to play a huge role in language teaching. What they seemed to emphasize was open-mindness towards different languages and cultures in general, not just English-speaking countries. One teacher pointed out that since America is often already well-known by teenagers, culture teaching is also bringing forth other English-speaking countries and cultures than the American.

All of the teachers recognized the role of a culture teacher in their teacherhood but some emphasized it more than the others. A few teachers felt that the cultural input that derives from school books is enough and that they do not have to provide much additional information. They valued more educating children and youngsters to be human and considered culture teaching secondary. The next extract exemplifies this in one of their opinion.

Example 18.

O2: …mut mun mielestä se kulttuurin opetus mikä täällä tulee ni se tulee kyllä noitten kirjojen myötä kyllä et Lontoossa on mustia takseja ja…ja Big Ben ei ookaan se torni vaan se kello ja…(part of the talk deleted)…. paljon paljon suurempi vastuu on mun mielestä näitten lasten ihmisenä kasvattaminen ja ruokatapojen kasvattaminen kuin englannin kulttuurin välittäminen

T2: … in my opinion that culture teaching that comes here derives from those study books that in London there are black cabs and.. and that Big Ben is not the tower it is the clock and…(--) … much much bigger responsibility in my opinion is to educate these children as human beings and to educate eating manners than conveying English culture

However, it was evident that each of the teachers did teach some extra issues as well. For instance, many of the teachers brought out the fact that they do tell pupils about issues they have experienced in the target culture or they know about;

Example 19.

O7: …mä kerron niille aina kaikenlaisia juttuja mitä mulle on tapahtunut tai mitä mä oon tehnyt ja se on ihan totta et se elävöittää ja niitten avullahan oppilas muistaa..

T7: … I always tell them different kinds of stories about what has happened to me or what I have done and it is true that it richens and with the help of those the pupil remembers..

Example 20.

O4: …kylhän sit ihan englannin kielen opettajan tehtävä on oikaista niitä semmosia väärinkäsityksiä tai esimerkiks tv:n tai elokuvien tai jopa median välityksellä muodostunutta sellasta tietynlaista kuvaa englanninkielisestä kulttuurista et siihenkin törmää.. ennakkoluuloihinkin joskus.. ehkä sit sellanen tasapainon löytäminen tai myöskin mediakasvatus tietyssä mielessä

T4: …and the responsibility of English teacher is to straighten those kind of misunderstandings or the certain picture of English culture built up by TV or movies or even media that you can come across to that as well.. also prejudice sometimes.. maybe to find a sort of a balance or also media education in a certain way

By telling stories and real life examples, the teachers were transmitting cultural information. Here, it became emphasized how one's own experiences are essential in teacher's work. One is able to enrich lessons by telling real-life experiences and one's own perceptions. The teacher can feel more confident about discussing the issues one has been personally involved with and which one has personally seen. Under the role of a prejudice advisor/ broker, one of the aims was also expressed to be conveying a realistic picture of the target culture as example 20 showed.

According to the interviews, cultural teaching involves first the issues that the national core curriculum defines but secondly, also several others. Following issues were mentioned to be taught and presented; celebrations, English-speaking-countries, different accents, music, national anthems, making of British breakfast, customs, food culture, family and conceptions. Teachers used videos to present different cultural issues as well as media to collect interesting news about the English-speaking world. It was said that often cultural teaching is just comparing different cultures but it opens pupils' eyes and teaches them to be tolerant and open-minded. Some teachers provided practical tips for their pupils on how to behave and what to say in certain situations with foreigners. One had culture impeded in the prize of a contest, for example M&M's chocolate bar, another used school's multiculturalism as a recourse and benefited pupil's different cultural backgrounds in cultural discussions in the class. Some teachers had interviewed their American or British friends to tell pupils about some cultural issue or invited them to visit the school and talk about their culture. One teacher told they had organized tea-nights once a year to their older pupils as the next extract brings out.

Example 21.

O3: meillä on ollut nyt useamman vuoden tämmönen tapa keväällä tän toisen englannin opettajan kanssa niin järjestää meidän koulun kuudesluokkalaisille semmonen teetapahtuma..

ja meil on, se tapahtuu siis niin että koulu tarjoaa teen ja jonkun keksin näille oppilaille ja sitten meillä on vierailija, meil oli ensimmäiset vuodet tämmönen englantilainen mies, joka oli täällä töissä, Suomessa, ja ystävällisesti kävi kertomassa englantilaisesta teekulttuurista näille oppilaille..

T3: for several years we have had this custom in spring with another English teacher to organize a tea event for the 6th graders of our school.. and we have it in a way that the school offers tea and a biscuit for each pupil and then we have a visitor, for the first years we had this English man who was working here, in Finland, and kindly came and told the pupils about English tea culture..

When being asked whether they felt like they represented English-speaking countries somehow in their school, four out of seven thought no. Most of these teachers did not feel that such a representation was needed and in addition, they felt inadequacy in their own experiences. Although all of the teachers mentioned that they had been living abroad for one year or even more, they did not feel they had enough knowledge to represent the countries. Moreover, they were just transferring knowledge. However, all of the teachers had spent years abroad as an exchange student and therefore felt close connection to either America or Britain. Some of them still had personal connections but connections to English speaking countries had also increased because of their work. Six teachers or their schools had participated in a Comenius-project, where a school gets a friendship school abroad. It required international co-operation and creating connections from language teachers particularly.

The teachers were asked how they felt about English as an international language. It was considered to have pros and cons. A few teachers brought out the matter of accents. They believed that it is important for pupils to learn about different accents and to know that there are several ways of speaking English. Different accents were for instance, compared while studying them culturally. Different accents as well as grammatical constructions were also claimed to challenge. The teachers had noticed their own limitedness in cases where pupils knew better than they or used an expression of which the teacher had no idea. Since English is an international language, some teachers were grateful because one does not have to explain the importance of it. Almost every pupil understands it and learns it with a somewhat positive attitude:

Example 22.

O5: no se vaikuttaa sillä tavalla tietysti et ensinnäkin englannin opettaminen on sillä tavalla helppoa että sun ei tarvii perustella sen merkitystä ja sitten ÄÄRIMMÄISEN harvoin tulee vastaan oppilaita joilla on negatiivinen asenne englantia kohtaan

T5: well it affects in a way that of course firstly teaching English is kind of easy that you do not have to rationalize its meaning and then EXTREMELY seldom you meet pupils who have a negative attitude towards English

As being an international language, it has brought out an aspect of easiness to teaching but also concerning learning. Pupils can speak it a little or more already, they know words and phrases and are not afraid to use English. It has caused some pupils even to think they can learn English almost automatically without any effort at all. Pupils have learnt spoken English via music and media and may think it is appropriate use of language also elsewhere. For instance, one teacher claimed that rap-English has influenced pupils skills a lot and not only positively;

Example 23.

O5: …mikä viime aikoina on tullut mun mielestä semmonen uusio on et oppilaat osaa semmosta niinku rap-englantia, tavallaan sellasta fuck you mother fucker- englantia ja sit ne aattelee et ne osaa englantia ku ne osaa Eminemia, lauseita niinku toistaa perässä ja sitte niille tämmösille tyypeille joutuu sanoo, et nii se kuule voi olla että tulee nekkuun tuolla.. jos sä tällee meet puhumaan oikeesti, et tietyillä oppilailla, ne ei pysty hahmottaa sitä, että tää ei oo nyt sitä standardi englantia ja sit kaikki gonnat ja wannat ja sellaset…

T5: … what has appeared recently in my opinion is this kind of a new issue that pupils can speak that kind of rap English, sort of a fuck-you-mother-fucker English and then they think they can speak English when they can speak Eminem, repeating sentences and then for these kind of guys you have to say that it maybe be that you get a knock on your nose out there.. if you really go talking like this, that certain pupils, they cannot realize that this is not the standard English and then all these gonna, wanna and so on…

One additional job that one teacher mentioned was in upper comprehensive schools, where English teachers have to fill in different application forms when pupils apply to exchange programmes. Exchange programmes are often advertised via school and teachers may be the contact persons. As the teacher said, they are not obliged to write recommendations for the pupils but they are after all the only ones who can do it.

In summary, as culture teachers, the teachers brought out aspects of openness towards all English-speaking countries and transferring a realistic picture of those countries. Culture teaching included issues such as the national core curriculum defines but the teachers' own cultural experiences were also valued as wealth to tell pupils about. Despite the teachers had experienced years abroad they did not feel as

representatives of English speaking countries or cultures in any way. The international nature of English was considered to bring out mostly strengths to its teaching.

5.5 Communal roles

According to the findings of the present study, language teacherhood includes also several other roles unrelated to teaching or even pupils. These roles were related to school community, colleagues, school's cooperation with other people, other schools and institutes. The following communal roles were discovered;

> an interpreter, a translator, a school's presenter, a hostess, a vice-responsible for safety, team teacher, care taker of gym storage, a member or a leader of the international team, a member of a management group, a contact teacher for trade union or to friendship schools, an international contact person, a caretaker of a bonus project and an information coordinator.

I will next go through each of the mentioned communal roles separately and explain what these roles meant in practice.

The role of a translator or an interpreter meant that the language teachers were often turned to if someone from the school staff needed to write something in English or if anything needed to be translated into English, e.g. on school's websites. One teacher used the word *välikäsi* 'middleman' to describe the situation where language teachers were used to translate, interpret or communicate whenever there was an item of foreign languages or internationality in the air. Many of the schools that these teachers were working in had friendship schools abroad and then, the language teachers were naturally the contact persons for those ones as well as for other foreign persons. The interpreter's role is close to the responsibility of *a school's presenter*. As the next extract shows, one of the teachers had been performing as a school's presenter whenever they had international guests visiting the school which was actually quite often. Then, the teacher was responsible to present and tell about the school, its functions, values and emphasis for example.

Example 24.

O4: kyllähän sä myöskin joudut toimimaan tulkkina kollegoille, myöskin ihan muille kuin sun omille oppilaille, mä oon joutunut tilanteeseen täällä, meillä tosiaan käy aika paljon kansainvälisiä vieraita ni oon joutunut esittelemään koulua jollekin vierasryhmälle.

O4: and you have to perform as an interpreter to colleagues, and also to other people than just to your own pupils, I have been in a situation here, we are visited quite a lot by many international quests, where I have had to introduce the school to a some visitor group.

Schools seem to be team organizations where shared responsibility is strongly present. There are different teams formed by teachers that are responsible for specific issues. There can be a safety team that familiarizes itself with security issues or an environmental team that takes responsibility for environmental issues and - education in that school. Participating is voluntary, but it became clear that every teacher belongs to at least one team. Five teachers taking part of this study mentioned to *belong to the international team of their school* and some were *leaders* of these teams. These teachers felt that they were responsible for intercultural issues, multiculturalism and language knowledge in their whole school but not alone and because of their language teacherhood but because of their membership in the international team. The team leaders had slightly bigger responsibility because they were responsible for e.g. team meetings, leading discussions and conclusions. Those who were leaders meant that they were also the members of the management group and they were supposed to transmit information between the team and head management. Belonging to an international team was considered to feel natural and bringing depth into their work. It also affected their responsibilities as a cultural teacher as it was discussed in section 5.4.

One teacher did not belong to an international team because she was working in a bilingual school (English-Finnish) where having two languages and cultures hand in hand was an everyday project where everyone took part in. The school perhaps did not even have an international team, because the intercultural aspect was already present all the time. However, this teacher had other responsibilities. She was *a team teacher, a hostess and a vice-responsible for safety*. In her school they had a special teaching method called team teaching where two teachers taught simultaneously. One is the leading teacher, who has the subject knowledge, e.g. science and is thus responsible for the lesson. The other is a helper teacher. This kind of teacher has also been called as the "*monitoring teacher*" because one is "monitoring" pupils' work,

while the leading teacher teaches (Flynn n.d.). Since the interviewee was an English teacher she worked as a monitoring teacher on four other lessons per week than English. She was a second adult in the lessons of first class pupils which included e.g. science, art, and math. Therefore, she had a slightly different role as a teacher during those lessons because she was not performing as an English teacher but still became familiar with the pupils and was still a teacher for them. The role of a hostess meant that whenever there were parties in the teachers' room (old rector leaving, new rector appointed or something like that), she was the one to bake and decorate the room. As a vice-responsible for safety she had had security trainings to know how to act in case of a fire, bomb or other accident and felt responsibility for safety orders at the school.

Some additional roles and responsibilities unrelated to teams were also mentioned. One of the teachers worked as *a contact teacher for trade union,* one was *a caretaker of a bonus project* and *a public communicator*. Contact teacher for trade union meant that the teacher participated two times in a year in a seminar organized by the trade union. The teacher worked then also as an informer between the school's members and the trade union. The responsibilities of a caretaker of a bonus project included taking care of achieving the challenges set by Education Department of Helsinki. Challenges may include for instance, issues related to pupils' well-being or quality development. Predictably, the role of a public communicator was involved whenever one teacher specialized in one issue (e.g. trade union issues, bonus project, safety, internationality, multiculturalism). Naturally, she or he then of course informed other people in the school community about the issues discussed in that field. Whether there was a specific named role of a communicator was left unclear. One teacher mentioned that generally language teachers are responsible of organizing *language evenings*, where different languages are presented and where pupils can choose to study additional languages. She had also voluntarily reported herself to take care of the *gym storage* of the school. At least in this school, the teachers had also a responsibility to take part in the school year's ending either in spring or at Christmas. Taking part meant preparing the programme, decorating, planning seating arrangement or somehow organizing the festival.

In general, all of these additional duties or work and roles related to school as a community were considered positive. The following examples show some reasoning and explaining to that;

> Example 25.
>
> O3: en oo kokenut niitäkään semmosena kauheena rasitteena, tietysti jos sattuu et on just vaikka koeviikot menossa et on hirveesti sitä omaa perustyötä siinä ni sitte saattaa ajatella et noh, ois tää voinu tulla vaikka pari viikkoo myöhemmin..mut ihan.. kivaa, tuo sitä lisää siihen ja varsinkin kun nyt tässä ollaan, opetetaan alakoulussa, ni se englannin tasohan on todellakin niitä perusteita, niin siitä omasta kielitaidosta täytyis hirveesti huolehtii, et mä ainakin itse huomaan et pitäis tosi paljon tehdä sen kans töitä… ja tämmöset lisäprojektit, kotisivut ja kouluesittelyt ja muut englanniks niin nehän on ihan siinäkin mielessä kiva että joutuu sitten astumaan tavallaan aika monta askelta ylemmäs siinä kielellisessä tasossa.
>
> O3: I have not felt them to be like horrible burdens, of course if there happens to be examination weeks going on that you have a lot of your own basic work to do then you may think that this could have come for example a few weeks later.. but quite.. nice, it brings more to your work and especially now when we are, teaching at a lower comprehensive school, and the level is really basic, you should take care of your own language skills in a great deal, that I myself notice that I should work a lot on it… and these kind of extra projects, home pages and school presentations in English are nice in that way as well that you have to take several steps upwards in that linguistic level.
>
> Example 26.
>
> O5: ne on semmosta kivaa puuhastelua joka tuo semmosta mukavasti maustetta tähän hommaan.. et tavallaan, mut kyl se opettajan homma on ehdottomasti suurin siinä.
>
> T5: they are kind of nice chores to potter around with that bring nicely some extra spice on this work..in a way, but surely the teacher's job is the biggest here
>
> Example 27.
>
> O3: …niin kyl niist on enemmän hyötyä, mä oon tosi mielelläni niissä kaikissa mukana… ja se tuo tosiaan myös sitä vaihtelua ja syvyyttä tähän työhön
>
> T3: …yeah they are more of a benefit, I am really taking part in all of them with a pleasure… and it really brings that variation and depth into this work

The communal roles were issues which the teachers themselves brought out. They seemed to be responsibilities they had to take part in but which they did not mind. Some of them did not relate to their subject at all but perhaps on their personal interests. Overall, the additional tasks brought depth and variation to the basic teaching job and were thus not considered burdens.

5.6 Form teacher

One major role that all of the teachers of upper comprehensive schools shared was the role of a form teacher. It means that all subject teachers on upper comprehensive

schools have one class on their responsibility over the pupils' whole time in upper comprehensive school which is three years. During these years the form teacher takes care of different issues concerning the pupils and the class. One teacher considered it to be more as an educational role than related to teaching because then the teacher is responsible for several educational issues related to those pupils and their families.

According to the four teachers working on upper comprehensive schools, being a form teacher included the following issues; organizing excursions or other projects, gathering money, meeting parents, being in contact with parents and informing them, educational work together with school and parents and possible other parts, planning pupil's future and studies, meeting pupils, educational and other discussions, taking care of the pupils' schooling, observing that the pupils stick to the school's rules, having a direct responsibility to punish pupils from offences and creating team spirit among the class. Next extract exemplifies these:

Example 28.

O4: …ni luokanvalvoja on sit se joka aina koordinoi kaikkea ja just..valvoo oppilaan menemisiä ja tulemisia.. mä joudun olemaan se, joka pitää kiinni näistä säännöistä, tällasista säännöistä, koulun käyntiin liittyvistä, säännölliseen koulun käyntiin liittyvistä säännöistä ja läksyjenkin tekoon jne, et tavallaan sä oot se… tärkein tai lähin ohjaaja… luokanvalvojan roolissa

T4: … that the form teacher is the one who coordinates everything and.. keeps an eye on the pupil's comings and goings.. I have to be the one, who sticks to these rules, these kinds of rules, related to schooling, related to regular schooling rules and doing homework etc, that you are in a way… the most important or the closest tutor… in the role of a form teacher

Some of the teachers expressed how they liked to be form teachers. They considered it to be a positive issue; they learnt to know their pupils better, were closer with them and achieved a much better touch to their pupils. As the next example implies, having one's own class brought up team spirit also in the teacher;

Example 29.

O1: ..sä vähän otat ne niinku omakseen et sul on niinku, sä ajattelet et en mä mitenkään niinku suosi, et mä ensin korjaan niiiden kokeet tai jotenki mut et… mut kuitenki on aina se et mun luokka ja mun niinku ne..ne on niinku ne mun… ja sit niinku… jotenki aina pitää huolta.. ja sit tietysti käytävil ni kyl mä niinku tasapuolisesti moikkaan mut kyl aina sit eri tavalla et jos on omaluokkalainen ni pystyy ruveta puhuu niinku niistä MEIDÄN asioista..

T1: ..you kind of take them as your owns that you have like, you think that well I do not favour them in any way, that I would first check their exams or somehow… but it is always that my class and my pupils.. they are like mine.. and then.. you always take care of them.. and then

when at the corridors of course I equally say hello to all but always in a slightly different way
if there is a pupil of your own class then you can start talking about OUR issues..

Therefore, being a form teacher was also valued as an additional task among the upper comprehensive school teachers. It enabled a better contact with the pupils and perhaps helped also on creating a better atmosphere in class.

6 DISCUSSION

This chapter focuses on discussing the findings. I will start by taking a closer look at the data and discuss how it succeeded in answering the earlier posed research questions (see chapter 4). Thus, I will first define how the teachers perceived their teacherhood and how their own perceptions are related to their professional identity. Also an interpretation of the professional identity of language teachers will thus be suggested. Next, in order to answer the second and third research questions which were about the contents of the roles, I will present each of the roles of which the language teachers' professional identity was built of.

One's past has always been thought to have major influences on the identity development (see section 3.2 and Block 2006: 28, 39) Therefore, also this study was started by asking the teachers whether their image of teacherhood had experienced dramatic changes along the way. When discussing how their teacherhood had changed, a common feature of these language teachers' in the beginning of their careers was revealed. They had chosen to become teachers because they did not find other jobs or because they were fed up with them. Thus, *the teacher's profession had not been one of their aspirations* in the first place. Moreover, the language teachers had decided to become teachers by leaning on their own school time experiences of what being a teacher might be. However, by the time they were ready to teach in the field, they confronted a different school life. The picture of teacherhood had experienced major changes and thus, it was not the same to which they had been preparing. There were issues that surprised them, for instance the amount of educating and differentiation. Those changed expectations caused role contradictions and required re-adaptation from the teachers, just as Syrjäläinen (1990) has noted.

Therefore, there are two issues that can be concluded to have affected the changes or surprises that the teachers felt their identities underwent. First, since some of them had not even aimed at being a teacher, their teacher identity may have molded and developed in a totally different way than those who have deliberately become teachers since graduating from high school or even before that. Secondly, since most of the teachers' image of teacherhood was based on their own school-time experiences, their identity was definitely forced to undergo changes because time had gone forward. As it was mentioned, pupils had changed and even the teaching

methods had changed. In addition, it seems that the decision that is based only on one's own school experiences may be the first reason to cause conflicts in the beginning years of teaching. The picture of teacherhood from one's own school time has time to change dramatically by the time one ends up teaching and can thus be misleading.

As a consequence, *the first year of teaching was the most influential* in respect of revealing all the new aspects of teacher profession and molding the teachers' identities as has been found before (see e.g. Bullough et al. 1991, Tsui 2003: 79-135, Farrell 2006, Fantilli & McDougall 2009). Surprising issues caused changes in teacherhoods and therefore, the teachers had to change also their professional identities. They had to become accustomed to being for instance an educator to that extent what the situation in each individual time demanded as well as to include e.g. differentiation as a method to their teaching philosophies and through that to their role of a language teacher. Thus, during the first year, one had to create one's own way of teaching and take a stand on the roles that one is able to perform and chooses to take in. Furthermore, also other kinds of responsibilities were reveled and required adaptation and taking one's position.

According to the findings, the professional identity of language teachers seemed to include several roles inside the school community. However, the findings suggest that *the professional identity of language teachers can be defined in terms of four role groups*; educative roles, teaching roles, culture teaching roles and communal roles. In terms of pupils, the language teachers indentified themselves with the role of an educator, language teacher and culture teacher. These were the roles that the teachers considered to be their main roles and thus the most important ones. On the other hand, in terms of teacher community and school as a work place, the teachers had different communal roles according to each of their interest and depending on the school. Quite often the language teachers were found to be at least members of the international teams.

These roles can be considered to get emphasis because of the requirements of the national core curriculum but also due to other reasons. Firstly, *each school's own policies* may require it. For instance, one of the teachers had the role of a team teacher because it was a teaching method used in her school. The teacher had no

choice of choosing it but it was laid on her as a duty because she was a teacher of that school. Moreover, the teachers of upper comprehensive schools had the role of a form teacher because it is a normal practice in upper comprehensive schools. Thus, there are differences among schools and those affect one's identity.

Secondly, *the pupils* may require it. The teachers were found to modify their teaching, performance and roles constantly according to each class and group. Hence, the roles that teachers bring up are no doubt dependent on social situations and relationships with pupils. The way how one needs to be an educator, language teacher or culture teacher depends on each case and situation independently as it has been noted before (Förbom 2003: 62, Lyytinen and Vuori 1993, Arikoski 1999: 195). When performing roles, reciprocity is the key word (see also Syrjälainen 1990). For instance, as one of the teachers mentioned, if one's pupils are accustomed to travel a great deal and thus, know already much about the world, different cultures and languages, one's role as a culture teacher does not become emphasized at least not in an enlightening way. In contrast, if one's pupils are behaving badly and there are problems in co-operation with home and school, one's role as an educator becomes emphasized. Different aspects of the language teacher's role can also get different emphasis due to varying situations. For instance, whether one has or not special education pupils integrated, educational differentiation needs a different role in teaching.

Thirdly, *the teacher's own personality and aims* were also found to affect strongly which of the roles the teacher brought out more. The choice relates also to one's self-image and one's own perceptions of how one is a teacher. One can concentrate more on educating if one wants to, but in some cases, for example depending on the school, one may not need to because pupils behave and work alright and they rather need to get more cultural information. One's own personality is also the key issue to consider when applying a job either in adult education or in basic education levels. There are differences in the roles and in order to avoid major role contradictions it would be necessary to acknowledge which of the roles one is actually able to acquire and emphasize and which not.

The professional identity of language teachers can be concluded to be in a constant process where teachers change and modify their roles according individual situations.

The finding is in line with previous studies (among others see e.g. Luukkainen 2005, Goodson 2008, Kalaja and Dufva 1997, Virta et al. 1998, Aaltonen and Uusi-Rajasalo 2010). Since the emphasis seems to be on time, contexts and variation, it is also exactly in line with the discursive theory of identity (see section 3.1.2, Pöyhönen 2004: 140-1). In the teacher profession if in some, the identity depends greatly on social situations and is also constructed in and along them. Since the professional identities of language teachers were found out to be constructed of specific roles and in order to answer the research question about what the roles included, I will next summarize the main characteristics of them.

6.1 The role of an educator ─ professional or another mother?

Each of the language teachers found the role of an educator in their teacher identity. It is no wonder, since of course the national core curriculum obliges to be that although it does not specify very profoundly what the role means in practice. Some teachers emphasized the educator's role, while others were keener on focusing on subject teaching. It seemed that some teachers found educating children to become good pupils to be the most important aim in their work. Above all, achieving good atmosphere for learning and getting manners in order before starting the actual teaching was valued.

As already explained, the choice of prioritizing can be considered a personal choice, depending on the level and quality of pupils as well as the school. As a personal choice it can be an issue of what one values and what one chooses to take on as one's responsibility as an educator. A few teachers of upper comprehensive schools had simply refused to accept childish behaviour and whinge from pupils. They did not want to be parents but they were educators in another way. They also did not want to become too close with their pupils. It may be a question of drawing a line somewhere that separates school's educational issues from the ones that belong to the homes. Although it can be extremely difficult sometimes and one has to have a certain dignity and authority to be able to just refuse to some problems. However, some might consider that whatever the case, as a professional educator, the teacher has to help and be there for pupils. There is thus a problem of where the line should be

drawn. Since there is no general policy for this, it is up to teachers themselves and that is why it also varies a lot. It can cause conflicts and role contradictions as teachers negotiate their role in the cross-well of expectations. Furthermore, schools are different and in some schools adults and teachers may have more authority than in others. Therefore, at some schools one may have to adopt a more authoritative role, while in others it does not have to be brought out that often at all. The same applies to different groups and in the end to each individual as well. After all, confronting pupils means confronting different individuals and then, it is also always about personal chemistries.

The teachers of upper comprehensive schools had also the duties of form teachers under their educative roles. They considered it to belong under the educator's role since the duties involved taking care of pupils' schooling issues and intervening on possible problems. It may be due to the fact that since there are only subject teachers at upper comprehensive school levels, form teachers are the only ones who guide pupils and follow that they fulfil their school duties, pass exams and take responsibility on their own matters. At that age pupils are expected to be responsible but they still have one guiding teacher to help them.

The teacher's educational responsibility involved sticking to the rules of schools and keeping up school discipline and appropriate behaviour. Also during one's own lessons, the teachers may had to start from the beginning to make one's own educational requirements and rules clear to the pupils. For instance, one cannot start teaching if pupils do not know how they are supposed to behave during teaching. Thus, the teacher has to teach also how to behave in school, what is expected from pupils and what their responsibilities are. As Moilanen (2001, see chapter 3.2.1) describes it, in a way it is taking the educator's power by setting the limits and requirements, then maintaining them and through that also maintaining the power. Professional educating at schools is teaching to be learners, teaching to be pupils, teaching to co-operate and through all that teaching to be humans. Thus, one has to have a formed impression of all these to know where to target. Underneath every teacher's educational touch there is the idea of a human being and the idea of good in life for which they individually strive in their educating. One particular issue of language teachers was considered to be cultural manner education which meant

promoting and presenting multiculturalism and educating from the cultural point of view.

All though the educational part was considered partly tiring and demanding a great deal from the teachers, it was also considered a rewarding part of the work. It was said to be an understandable part of the work at comprehensive school levels and belonging there. Some teachers liked it. They found it to be a part of their work from which one is able to see the progress and development. They would not even have wanted to teach on other levels where the educational part would be deleted. On the other hand, others were sometimes longing after adult education where they could concentrate only on the language and its teaching.

The role of an educator can be concluded to be a strong component in the language teachers' identity as also previous research has done (e.g. Syrjäläinen 1990, Kalaja and Dufva 1997). The educator's role was found out to be continuously present during the lessons as well as elsewhere at school and playing a permanent part in the teachers' identity. The teachers were responsible for manner and behaviour education of all the pupils in the schools. Education included a range of issues starting from the home's manner rearing till manners of being at school till the cultural manner education that related to their subject. As Lyytinen and Vuori (1993) have also found out, in cases where homes are incapable of rearing their children, homes' child-rearing issues reach schools and teachers find themselves teaching also issues that parents should teach. Thus, it is understandable why the teachers felt themselves to be sometimes substitutes for mothers.

6.2 The role of a language teacher ─ future agent

According to the findings, with respect to language the teacher's role as 'a specialist of learning' became highlighted as Moilanen (2001: 40) also suggests. In addition to the definitions of the national core curriculum of what language teaching should cover and basic skills of the language, i.e. learning basic vocabulary and the order of English sentences, what the language teachers emphasized in the field of language teaching were the aims of teaching to learn, evoking interest in languages, promoting

courage and being able to use different learning and teaching methods. Therefore, the language teachers' role as a specialist in learning was more emphasized than a specialist in the subject. Thus, also the pedagogical knowledge was prior to the subject knowledge.

Teaching pupils to learn how to learn languages was one of the most important issues in the role of a language teacher particularly on lower comprehensive school levels. Since many of Finnish pupils start their second language learning on the third grade of comprehensive school, they have most often never experienced how a language can be consciously learned. Thus, English can be the first learned foreign language and that explains why the teachers felt they were responsible, for instance telling and teaching how languages are different, what one has to bear in mind while learning a foreign language, what aspects one has to take into account, why languages are learned and moreover, conveying practical learning techniques for instance, for vocabulary learning. This upholds the cognitive-constructive learning concept which was earlier mentioned to dominate in Finnish schools (Jaakkola 2000: 149). It concentrates on knowledge and skills but at the primary school level, it rather means basic knowledge of a foreign language and skills how to learn a language.

Encouraging and inspiring language teaching were also valued. The teachers viewed motivating language teaching as a trigger (or not) to learn also other languages in the future. As language teachers they felt their duty was to promote enthusiasm for language learning, encourage pupils to start learning languages and this way to have a positive effect on pupils. Particularly on upper comprehensive levels, the aim of giving language as a tool for the future and getting pupils to understand the importance of knowing other languages were emphasized. Perhaps because of today's emphasis on educational differentiation and each learner's individual needs, different learning and teaching methods were stressed also. However, the same emphasis has been noted already in 1990's, in the study of Lyytinen and Vuori. The teachers felt they had to be able to provide individual learning techniques and teach with versatile methods to enable the learning of different learners and even integrated special education pupils in their classes.

6.3 The role of a culture teacher ─ personal attachment as a strength

According to the findings, these teachers' culture teaching emphasized the same issues as described in section 3.2.3. Culture teaching seemed to be exactly like in the behaviouristic definition by Kaikkonen (1994, see section 3.2.3). The teachers reported to follow the guidelines of the national core curriculum and convey information about English cultures and others. In many ways cultural teaching was mentioned to be often simply comparing cultures between others and Finnish culture but at the end that is what the national core curriculum (2004: 138) also suggests it to be. One of the aims of culture teaching is that pupils become aware of their own culture's and other culture's differences and learn to appreciate them. Another aim of culture teaching was to expose pupils to situations where the language is used or the culture represented (see section 4.4, Kaikkonen 1994). The teachers of the study seemed to practise that part as well. They introduced visitors or organized other events or tasks where pupils were enabled to get acquainted with the target culture and the use of language.

The teachers of the study emphasized the importance of their own experiences of the target culture in the area of culture teaching. They considered one to be more confident and qualified in providing additional cultural information in case of having spent time abroad. Many of the teachers expressed their habit of telling their own real-life experiences from abroad, conflicts or funny coincidences between cultures that have happened to them or to their friends. Telling personal stories was believed to colour the lessons and to help pupils in remembering e.g. issues of politeness. Many of these teachers had spent years abroad and considered to have a somewhat special relationship or personal attachment with the language, culture or some country even. Despite their backgrounds and connection with the target culture, they felt neither as representatives of English culture nor the language, not to mention as models of citizens as Ahonen (2006) claims. The teachers felt that the cultural and linguistic representation was not even needed. It seems that they had not internalized English as a part of their language teacherhood, i.e. professional identity or they did not appreciate it in such a way. Although they somehow considered themselves to be windows to the world, in their opinion, they were just transmitting cultural information. It may be because nowadays, people have possibilities themselves to

visit foreign countries and there are even monolingual families and thus, English teachers are not the only ones having a contact with English speaking countries. Language teachers' role as enlightening people has perhaps decreased as internationality and cross-cultural relationships have increased. Another reason can be that because English has turned to a worldwide language that nearly everyone can nowadays talk, the teachers' own appreciation towards their language skills, backgrounds and experiences as well as cultural knowledge has diminished.

To illustrate this, when it came to English as an international language, the teachers expressed it to facilitate teaching but also to challenge their own skills. As Pöyhönen (2009: 147-8) and Leppänen et al. (2009) state, while internationality has been spreading it has affected learning languages as well. The attitude towards learning English, the international language, has become positive and everyone understands the importance of it. Teachers do not need to explain the reasons any more. In that respect, the world-wide position of English has had a positive effect on teaching the language. However, according to the findings, the broad distribution of English and its diversity caused also challenges: diverse accents as well as dialects of English have to be taken into account in teaching. Teachers' knowledge of the language becomes challenged as pupils explore different uses of English via internet, computer games and the world by themselves. In addition, English as a well-known language has raised new issues that teachers have to correct and teach. For instance, the fame of rap music has distributed spoken as well as slang English across the world. Language teachers have to notice that kind of aspects of language use and emphasize the sociolinguistic competence of language learning: context-related language use.

6.4 Communal roles ─ school as a shared responsibility

The other roles that were found in this study were the roles within the school community. The teachers seemed to be responsible for an array of issues. Some of these other roles of the teachers were not derived from language teacherhood at all. The teachers seemed to have hidden duties inside the school building and each teacher had to volunteer for one task. Anyhow, many of the teachers of the study were members of the international teams in their schools which was considered only

natural because they were language teachers. It seemed to be evident that language teachers are interested in internationality and other cultures and therefore, their membership in an international team was usual.

Although these roles are perhaps never mentioned during teacher education and are seldom practiced by substitute teachers, none of the teachers mentioned to have been surprised by these roles. Most likely these roles were considered such a natural part of keeping up the school that none of them felt them negatively. Among these teachers, these additional roles were valued. The teachers felt that the communal responsibilities brought positive extra and more depth into their work which would otherwise be just teaching and educating. Because some of the duties did not relate to their subject and since they had volunteered for these jobs, it seemed that they were also able to choose the tasks according to their personal interests. Thus, additional duties could be seen as possible ways of carrying out one's personality and one's other interests in one's work.

To sum up, as a supplement to a few previous studies in the field of language teacher identity, this study seems to support their findings. It was found out in the present study as well as earlier (see chapter 4.1, Bullough et al 1991, Kalaja and Dufva 1997) that language teachers have several roles in their teacher identity and that one cannot cope with only one. Since this study focused on the three roles of teacherhood, it was found out that many of these language teachers also identified themselves with the role of an educator, language teacher as well as culture teacher. However, the one they felt more familiar with or the one they emphasized more seemed to depend on their personal choice (just as Virta et al. 1998) but also on the school. Despite many of the corresponding issues, contrary to Mayer (1999), these teachers did not emphasize their innate calling for teacher profession neither did they feel that they were born to be teachers. However, there were a few teachers who had done a substantial amount of substituting and decided to become teachers already during their studies. These teachers had also found teacher studies and theories useless because they had already formed a strong teacher identity before them and therefore, can perhaps be registered to agree with Mayer's claim.

7 CONCLUSION

This study examined the professional identity of English language teachers in terms of roles. First, it focused on what kind of an image of language teacherhood the teachers had and how being a qualified teacher changed it. Secondly, it concentrated on the roles that the language teachers identified themselves with or found in their teacherhood. The used method for data gathering was the focused interview and for analyzing the data, the thematic analysis. According to the results, the professional identity of language teachers is comprised of several roles, the emphasis of which vary according to the teacher's own personality, choice of emphasis, school and pupils. The main roles that were found out to form the professional identity of language teachers were; the role of an educator, the role of a language teacher, the role of a culture teacher and the communal roles. Education was found out to be an inevitable part of being a language teacher in basic education in addition to teaching the subject and cultural issues which also included education such as cultural manner education. The nature of teacherhood seems to be very context-related and thus, the professional identity is constructed according to discursive theory of identity: identities and roles vary according to social situations. Roles and identity depend also on the school, pupils, time and teacher's personality. One has to try and find the right methods, roles, behavior and attitude for each group and pupil. It applies to teaching and learning as well as confronting individual pupils.

The present study succeeded in studying the different roles of language teacherhood and what do they mean in practice viewed by language teachers themselves. The research brought out practical aspects of language teachers' profession and reached an interpretation of language teachers' identity. Since the identity of language teachers has been researched only by a few studies, the present study can be seen to complement research in this field. It supplemented previous research by gaining similar results but also brought out different views on looking at the issue. For instance, it gives a more detailed picture of each of the role studied and presents communal roles as a new finding. Therefore, it can be seen as describing language teacherhood more profoundly as well as presenting a more realistic picture of being a language teacher. In my opinion, the results might be useful in teacher education, where student teachers could be provided with a more detailed description of what

language teacherhood requires or for anyone interested in the professional roles of language teachers.

In addition, the study raises several interesting questions for future research in the field of language teachers. Firstly, since many of the teachers were found out to have drifted to the teacher profession, it would be useful to study how language teachers actually become language teachers. Is there a difference in the roles between teachers who study to become teachers from the beginning of their studies and teachers who drift to the profession later? Secondly, the teachers who had not been substituting before their careers reported more of surprising issues in the work of teachers. Thus, it would be interesting to study how being a substitute teacher influences being a qualified teacher later. Do teachers who have done a great deal of substituting have a more realistic picture of the teacher profession, are they better prepared and do they stay longer in the profession, compared to those who have not substituted? Moreover, maybe substituting should be mandatory for those aiming to be teachers in order to get a more genuine picture of present school life. Thirdly, do student teachers already posses a dominating teaching role which they later perform? And do they have to or are they willing to change it according to a school that one works in? Fourthly, how do the roles of language teachers vary between different education sectors? Or how do they vary between different schools of the same level?

Despite the strengths, there are a few weaknesses that have to be taken into account. Firstly, although this study concentrates on the roles of teacher identity, it does not try to present teacher identity only as a ready-made set of roles that one needs to acquire and is then ready to be a teacher. This study was done to depict the part of professional identity that becomes shown; professional roles. Thus, it does not even try to present teacher identity wholly. Secondly, due to the small amount of participants there is no chance of generalizing the results. Therefore, to achieve a wider impression of the same issue more language teachers should be studied and more research about the professional identity of language teachers is needed. Thirdly, as always with interviews, there is a chance that the answers may have been affected by the interviewer's presence and by the questions posed. Fourthly, in case of identities, there is always the influence of time. Today's language teaching is different from language teaching in the 50's. Thus, the findings are also time-related.

Today, these roles of language teachers may be emphasized but as life goes on and teaching develops, it may be that other issues become more relevant.

As a conclusion it can be claimed that as a language teacher one has to be conscious of the different role expectations and role duties that being a teacher requires. If aiming to become a language teacher, one has to accept the different roles that there exist. By acknowledging the responsibilities of an educator, language teacher, culture teacher and other possible duties inside the school at an early stage, one diminishes the amount of conflicts and surprising issues to appear. Provided that one is more accustomed to the requirements, it will be easier to settle in.

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APPENDIX

HAASTATTELURUNKO / THE INTERVIEW FRAMEWORK

ALKUUN (Opettajuus-käsite) = Miten opettajuus on muuttunut?
Millainen kuva opettajuudesta sinulla oli opiskellessasi? Entä nyt? Luulitko sen olevan erilaista Miten? Onko opetusfilosofiasi tai oppimiskäsityksesi muuttunut?

OPETTAJUUDEN ROOLIT = Mitä rooleja koet opettajuudessasi olevan?
Mikä on tärkein? Mitä korostat?
Korostuuko joku eniten? Mikä? Mistä se johtuu?

1. KASVATTAJAN ROOLI Tunnistaako?

   Mikä on englannin opettajan kasvatustavoite tai –velvollisuus?
   Kuinka tärkeää lasten kasvattaminen työssäsi on ja pidätkö siitä?
   Kuinka suuri osa tunnista/työstäsi on kurinpitoa ja oppilaiden hallitsemista?
   Miten kasvattajan valtasi näkyy / korostuu arjessa?
   Miten kasvatat lapsia työssäsi? Kuinka paljon opetat käyttäytymissääntöjä, normeja, arvoja?
   Miten tärkeäksi koet auktoriteetin? Onko se muuttunut urasi aikana?

2. KIELEN OPETTAJANA, KIELEN EDUSTAJAN ROOLI Tunnistaako?

   Mitä kielenopettajuus on? Mitä rooli sisältää?
   Mikä on englannin opettajan opetusvastuu? Mikä on kielenopettajan roolissa tärkeintä?
   Voisitko työskennellä vain kielen opettajana tai vain opettajana?
   Tunnetko olevasi vastuussa koko koulun kielitietoudesta, -ilmapiiristä, kansainvälisyydestä jne?

3. KULTTUURIN OPETTAJANA, KULTTUURIN JA MAAN EDUSTAJAN ROOLI
   Tunnistaako?

   Mitä kulttuurinopettajan rooli sisältää?
   Mistä asioista tunnet olevasi vastuussa kulttuuriopetuksen saralla?
   Tunnetko edustavasi koulussasi maita ja kulttuuria sekä kieliä ja kansainvälisyyttä?
   Oletko koulussasi kansainvälinen yhdyshenkilö, tulkki tms. lisäresurssi tarvittaessa?
   Tunnetko jotain muuta yhteyttä englanninkielisiin maihin, asukkaisiin tai kulttuuriin?
   Miten suhtaudut englantiin kansainvälisenä kielenä?

MUUTA LISÄTTÄVÄÄ??