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The Potentials that Positioning Theory as an Analytical Framework can Offer to Understand the Professional Identity and Social Engagement of the Expatriate Teacher in the Context of International Schools

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The Potentials that Positioning Theory as an Analytical Framework can Offer to Understand the Professional Identity and Social Engagement of the Expatriate Teacher in the Context of International Schools

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Declaration
Dedication

An intellectual journey is never taken on alone. It is always a work of many and one can only make a poor attempt to bring everybody here who deserves to be on this page. It would be difficult to list everyone involved. In order to not to miss anyone, I will cherish you all in my heart. However, there are two persons who did inspired me and kept me going, my husband, Pierre and my professor Dr. Stables. I am indebted to them both.

To Pierre, I am thankful for accompanying me and keeping me on the path. Your strong determination I truly admire. Thank you for inviting me for this journey to do it with you and not letting me give up.

To Dr. Stables, I am grateful for challenging me always with right questions. You really made me think and think beyond for which I am so indebted. You said just what was needed, few words with much meaning and weight. It was a privilege to have you as a supervisor.

I dedicate this to our three sons, Jean-Pierre, André and Dominique. I wish one day you could experience the kind of blessings and happiness that only a real intellectual journey can offer. My sincere hope is that one day, you too, will take on a similar journey against all odds as your father and I did.

I thank for Gill Brooke-Taylor for her dedication to the program and her kind support. She always made us feel at home at the University. There were times when the only thing kept me going is the thought of coming to Bath to the University. Thanks for the learning Community of the University of Bath who made this encounter intellectually and spiritually up-lifting.

Finally yet importantly, I dedicate this to my family and especially to my mother and the memory of my father.
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ABSTRACT

The present inquiry sets out to explore the self as an expatriate teacher working in international schools, through the lens of positioning. To better understand complex phenomena such as the self and its episodic encounters in the social arena, this study uses positioning theory as an analytical framework. The self is followed as it moves from its private sphere to the social milieu where it takes on its multiplicity, as a social being. The dynamics of positioning is illustrated by the mutually determined triad. Hence, the self is looked at in one of its main social engagements: the recruitment where the social episode is mutually framed by the storylines of the participants, the social force and the position taken on. Illustrations are given to exemplify and extend the use of positioning theory in an international school context. The implications brought up by the results of the present inquiry are applicable not only to the expatriate teacher but also to the wider expatriate community.

(Keywords: positioning theory, self, story line, expatriate teacher, international schools, social episode, mediated or representational positioning.)
I. INTRODUCTION: THE EXPATRIATE INTERNATIONAL TEACHER AND THE EXPATRIATE WORLD

1.1. Focus

1.1.1. Defining the Subject: The “Expatriate International” vs. “International” School Teacher

The exploration of the expatriate international school teacher as a self and his or her own positioning was chosen for the focus of this research inquiry. The rationale to engage in such research was inspired by the lack of full-scale studies of this ilk in the field of international education with such a topic. One major impetus for this exploratory study, however, was the reading of Harré and especially his work on positioning theory. Therefore, this inquiry will explore positioning theory, as an analytical framework, and how it can provide a better understanding of the expatriate international school teacher. It is hoped that the consideration of the expatriate international school teacher’s engagement with international schools as a context can also shed new light on positioning theory and supply new illustrations of this analytical tool while opening a wider view of possible use of the self and its positioning.

The present inquiry looks at the importance of moving away from the general term of “international school teacher/educator” used by previous studies in order to have a deeper understanding of the subject of its investigation. The diversity of the schools that the term “international school” encompasses has been noted in previous literature such as Hayden, Thompson & Walker (2002), Hayden and Thompson (1998 and 2008), Hayden, Levy and Thompson (2007) and is also mentioned in several places (Bates, 2011). These authors lament the difficulties that any generalisation attempt might encounter. The term “international school teacher” represents similar difficulties. Earlier research such as Zilber (2009) uses “international school teacher” interchangeably with “expatriate international school teacher.” Therefore, the present study will use the term “expatriate international school teacher” to overcome this difficulty. The added qualifier “expatriate” will ensure that the term will only refer to the characterized segment of teachers, i.e., “expatriate teachers” who teach in international schools.
The term “expatriate international school teacher” provides novelty, since previous studies have not been focussed entirely on expatriate teachers in international schools. Focussing on the expatriate teacher group is significant for several reasons:

1. The term is useful in order to better ground any forthcoming generalisation which would be impossible under the previously used more general terminology: “international”;
2. The “expatriate” group underlines the existence of what we refer to as international school. (Most international schools are engaged in some kind of educational exportation and it would be a very unlikely phenomenon not to have the relevant persons to deliver it.);
3. The term “expatriate,” when attached to a profession as a signifier, provides a deeper insight into the nature of those who take on or invest in such a profession;
4. Expatriate teachers belong to a wider expatriate community. Focussing on the larger content such as the expatriate community that had been strongly fuelled by globalization can provide a fresh look and a deeper understanding that this study hopes provide.

The aim of this study, as mentioned earlier, is to better understand the expatriate teacher working in international schools through the lens of positioning theory. Previous research targeted mainly the expatriate families and children. The point of view of those studies was geared mainly to their adjustment, but no full-scale study took on the topic under the term “expatriate teacher.” One can find a relatively limited reference to expatriate teachers in studies conducted about international schools and education such as Hayden, Thompson and Walker (2002) and Hayden and Thompson (2008). However, no study has taken on the expatriate teacher as a self. The present investigation aspires to provide a deeper insight to the transient nature and the life of the expatriate teacher around the recruitment cycle. Another justification to engage with the chosen topic is based on its relevance, i.e., the increase of the global markets and the spread of concurrent international education. Although many expatriate international school teachers live the life of the “modern nomad,” it was the children of educators in international schools who gained more attention in studies in relation to the new terminology of the “third culture kids” or “Edkids.” Zilber (2009), while focussing on the children of educators in international schools, gives a descriptive account of the “profile of the international school educators” (p. 43). Here,
the term “international school educators” refers to what the present inquiry will call “expatriate international school educators.” In addition, Zilber confirms the paucity of studies conducted about international school educators while also referring to Matthews who had already pointed this out in 1989 (Zilber, 2009, p. 47).

The signifier “expatriate” added to the earlier term of “international teacher” should ensure that the focus will remain on the chosen group, since this signifier provides a better, more precise reference to the person whom it is signifying in a more relevant context. In order to situate the subject of this study, the expatriate teacher working in international schools, and to give a well-prescribed account of his or her mobility, it is important to look at the expatriate teacher as a self within its natural milieu, i.e. the wider expatriate community. The scope of the term and what it means today has changed from its early stage where companies were sending their managers to mainly developing countries on an assignment, to the other end of the spectrum that the literature refers to as a “self-initiated foreign worker”. It can be argued that it is also important to spend some more time with the expatriate literature in order to map out the newly emerging literature for the sake of refining the notion of “expatriate teacher” for further research. The reason to take on this direction in this paper is due to the immense change of this phenomenon fuelled by the current economic and cultural globalisation and, within it, by the global positional competition. Therefore, this study will attempt to situate the expatriate teacher first in the context of the wider expatriate community.

The topic of globalisation in relation to schooling internationally was also described in Bates (2011). He notes that “for most of us, globalisation of markets is epiphenomenal, a sort of deus ex machina that operates above and beyond our consciousness while it facilitates our everyday behaviour” (p. 11). However, this is not exactly the same for the expatriate teacher who deliberately acts as a real actor with real interest in the expatriation process. The increased number of transnational organisations and companies that appeared as a consequence of globalisation induced the appearance of the self-initiated foreign workers, i.e. those who ventures to work in another country on their own and are not sent abroad by a transnational company. The subject of this study, the expatriate teacher, can identify him- or herself as belonging to this newly emerging category of self-initiated foreign workers.
1.2. The Purpose of the Inquiry

The purpose of this inquiry is not to present a research project in the social science sense but rather to provide an exploration of the expatriate international school teacher through the means of positioning theory. Yet one might ask: “Why positioning?” Looking at the expatriate phenomena means looking at highly individual stories and looking at the self itself as described in those stories. As Walsh (2006) points out: “The processes of transnationalism are bound up in very personal stories and particular geographies” (p. 275). This inquiry, therefore, while focussing on the expatriate international teacher, will also attempt to shed light on the questions of belonging, as well as the specificity and complexity of everyday lives lived through in “bounderyless” careers. Those who are becoming part of and players of transnational projects live their lives in particular geographic areas other than their home country or away from what they consider home. (Third culture generation might have difficulty to relate to home as geography. They might call home something else than the place that their passports designate.) Walsh’s description applies to their situation and is true especially for the highly mobile expatriates. She notes: “In this way, expatriate identities, like mobile identities more generally, are framed by simultaneous, interdependent notions of detachment and attachment” (p. 276). These detachments and attachments are bound up and can become studies in positioning storylines. Therefore, the analytical tool of positioning can reveal the transient nature of expatriates and could contribute to expatriate studies in general. To investigate the complex and transient nature of international expatriate teachers, using a new tool, positioning theory, is important. It can also induce job-related research on topics such as fitting-in or attraction and attachment in relation to the employing organisation, i.e., internationals schools. It is believed that expatriate recruitment (and recruitment in general) can benefit from the application of positioning theory. Thus, this inquiry aims to indicate that research invested in using positioning theory can bear fruit in order to understand the teachers’ recruitment process as well as teachers’ turnovers in a given international school. Hence, the present inquiry will not follow a systematic, single-framed approach but rather aspires to look at the discourses of positioning storylines as they emerge from the teachers discursive positioning.

What can be said about discourse that it uses different modes and different media of communication. Based on this, one can state that discourse is multimodal. Discourse depends on
but, at the same time, transcends literacies. As a consequence, due to diverse modalities, storylines can emerge from blogs, personal communications, interviews, networks, skype, among others. Social media, blogs and web 2.0 technologies are devices to build connections and networking in the transient world of expatriates including the expatriate international teachers who cannot remain static but must, out of necessity, be dynamic and changing in order to manage positioning around their recruitment and for maintaining their jobs. Therefore, in this study the theory will be exemplified by the use of materials from websites, conversations and blogs. The storylines could feed into the following issues:

- The transient nature of expatriate teachers;
- The recruitment of expatriate teacher; and
- The fit-in and the turnovers of the expatriate teachers.

Although the above issues will be discussed in the present inquiry, they offer themselves, per se, topics of further investigation. Next we will consider the teacher who engages him- or herself to work in another country and who consequently will go through the expatriate cycle. However, before anchoring the teacher as an expatriate self, the inquiry has to look at the process of expatriation and the expatriate world itself.

1.3 The Expatriate World

The word expatriation is a compound word: “ex” meaning “out of” and “patriation” relates to “patria” which is “fatherland.” (It could be worthwhile to mention that the same notion of belonging to a country of origin, in other languages such as Russian, is described by the term “motherland”.) This term is closely associated with “exile,” meaning sent away by an authority outside of the native country, or leaving voluntarily on mainly political grounds. Although expatriation has now a very different connotation from its inception, the self and its challenges remain similar, i.e., one has to take on a new role in a new, often discordant environment and perform this new role by continuous adjustment through positioning.

The current understanding of expatriatism encompasses a wide range of functions. In the earlier phases of globalisation, it meant predominantly the exportation of the higher management level skills (business-based exportation), whereas, recently it also implies middle class and knowledge
based exportation (such as teachers, middle-level consultants, nurses, and so forth) along with labour exportation that ensures the maintenance of the infrastructure in a given country. The term “expatriate,” especially in the early years of globalisation, was defined as an “employee of an organisation who is sent on a temporary work assignment in a different country from their home country” (Brewster, 1991, p.19). “Expatriatism” has changed significantly since then. As Connelly (2010) notes: “It has become increasingly difficult to group all expatriates into a single category” (p. 41). The incommensurability of such different types of categories leads to another dilemma that Connelly further explains: “Gaining deeper understanding of these issues will not resolve problems that many international organisations encounter today because whole blocks are under-researched as the landscape of expatriatism is changing”(ibid.). Connelly confirms what the present study will further explain, i.e., the difficulty that researching expatriates poses as the studies of the new breed of expatriates “fall within ‘a blind spot in the literature’”(ibid.).

In spite of the shady area of the connotation of expatriatism, one might come to the conclusion that the displaced self can be either employed or self-employed. This employment occurs under globalised conditions that have two important facets. On the one hand, the expatriate self is benefiting from the economic advantage of globalisation, whereas, on the other hand, he or she will need to give up certain aspects of his or her life both at a professional and personal level, in comparison with other (local) persons who stay in their home country. However, the local self can also benefit from globalisation in the home country by engaging with global production (e.g., working for an international organisation or company in the home country that might yield to a certain self-positioning vis-à-vis by being employed by a local company).

The displacement of the self becomes more relevant when one looks at the increasing speed of globalisation. In the earlier phases, the mother company allowed certain pre-training in terms of language training, skills and adjustment as well as “shadowing” (i.e., to follow the prospective managerial position for a short amount of time before occupying the position itself). Brewster (1991) calls this “shadowing” a “‘Look-see’ visits” (p. 62). The speed translates into today’s world also as an increased demand for the understanding and use of technology with which the non-technologically trained self may not be able to keep up. The speed, therefore, is becoming increasingly important, in general, but above all, from the point of view of the adaptation. The adaptation does not include adaptation to the new country only but also that of the work
environment that is different from the home country. Yu (2011, s. l.) raises an important issue by pointing out “the importance of person-environment (PE) fit to organisational attraction”. Here, again, a blind spot in the literature is pointed out, namely, how little distinct perspective of the PE fit has been taken into account during the recruitment.

The PE relation brings up another issue that became more important for today’s expatriates: networking. To have a personal networking system is crucial for expatriates. Hence, companies also came to the conclusion that it is important to endorse a “buddy-system.” By providing contacts for communication between the current employees and the newly recruited expatriates helps ensuring a smoother transition to the living conditions in the new country, and more importantly, to the organisational life of the company. The buddy system opens up another type of positioning at a dual level: personal and organisational. When the company chooses among the employees who volunteer to be a “buddy” for the newly hired, the company already positions those employees by investing trust in them, and the employees also position themselves by the same trust.

The discourse that will be established from the point of view of hiring until the arrival of the new expatriate will further fuel positioning. New expatriates must “prove” that they “deserve” the new job, and they will do it by adapting a jargon used in the prospective position while e-mailing. The “buddy” employees further position themselves by presenting the position in an attractive way to the newly hired, along with describing a positive image of the organisation itself. A further study would shed more light on how the story lines of the employee and the new expatriate come to the zone of proximity (which will be explained in the Discussion Chapter) in order to support the “fit-in.” These story lines will change after the “100 days of grace period” (or also called “probation time”) is over, and the new employee, as a self, is then considered as “accepted” in the organisational setting.

Due to globalisation, companies that moved to a transnational level find that the demand for complex, diverse and skilled labour that provides expatriate knowledge and service to clientele is greatly increased. Beaverstock (2002) notes that “[F]ar from witnessing The end of Geography (O’Brien, 1992), the need for knowledge ‘intermediaries’ within IFCs [International Financial Centers] is concentrating the spatialisation of knowledge within such spaces. It can be argued that spatialisation of knowledge is embodied within intermediary of expatriate” (p. 528).
Therefore, globalisation continues to spur expatriation. As noted earlier, the demand for expatriates introduced a “new breed” of expatriates which the literature calls “self-directed” or “self-imitated foreign worker,” based on the study of Inkson *et al.* (1997). It might be worthwhile to mention that the expatriate-teacher, as a self-initiated worker, appeared much earlier than the current self-initiated expatriates and entrepreneurs described in the literature. (International schools, in the modern conception, came to life right after World War I, and they required teachers from mainly English speaking countries, hence creating the first pools of self-initiated expatriate workers. This notion is different from that of the teachers offering private tuition to the elite that was happening from the early times of history. The current understanding of the beginning of international schools is referred to the International School of Geneva and that of Yokohama, both in 1921 according to Sylvester (2007, p.18)

1.4 Researching the World of Expatriates

Researching the world of expatriates is quite a challenging task mainly because research, under the term of “expatriate”, remained single and traditional in its focus. On the other hand, the expatriate landscape has changed over the years due to the swift economic and cultural globalisation which is not only moved the multinational organisations to a global and transnational level, but it also initiated and developed a “new breed” of expatriate. Researching the topic under the traditional expatriate leads to an understanding of what Connelly (2010) called “traditional expatriates” and “ambassadors.” Nonetheless, under none of these terms one can find a place for the expatriate teacher. It is important to point out that globalisation initiated and increased mobility. Mobility that initially started with goods and trades soon induced a mobile, transnational labour market. Today’s mobility is considerably different from its earlier phase. It implies not only the two ends of the social scale, i.e., the group of diplomats, executives and that of the migrant workers, but increasingly to the middle class as well. Consequently, the tapestry of the expatriate world has changed significantly.

Globalisation has penetrated into all aspects of our human existence. Our everyday life is rooted in it so much that it is unavoidable not to consider it or not to be aware of it. However, it is only with the help of recent research that our attention can be guided towards the “players” of this process rather than the possible outcome. Economic globalisation and marketisation exert a strong influence, and also stimulate a significant change, because it happens simultaneously.
along with the technological advancement of the current era that has specific effects on the self. This epoch is described by Castells as an “informational economy” (1996, p. 66). One of the main impacts implied here is what Castells refers to the “net effect.” The omnipresent status of the internet and the way it operates has penetrated into most of the aspects of life and changed immensely the way things are done today. The economic globalisation, marketisation, together with the technological advancement, set the direction and prompted the growth of transnational corporations (TNCs). Consequently, the expatriate literature started to appear with relation to TNCs and transnational engagements. However, the focus, and the scope of literature has not changed significantly. Research continued and continues even today to refer to, and take into account the concerns of the transnational companies and their pre-occupation of managing the expatriates. This research is still focussing on the expatriation cycle (“Selection – Training and Performance Management – Repatriation,” as noted by Hollinshead (2010., p. 88)). Another main focus of the traditional expatriate research is the success factor. This continues to be one of the major concerns of the TNCs. Therefore, the majority of the literature continues with the same focus: cross-cultural training, adjustment and acculturation (Hammersland, 2000). An early, yet important contribution of Jun, Gentry and Hyun (2001) illustrates it well. They claim that “the cost of failed expatriate stint is estimated to be between $2 and $2.5 billion” (p. 369). The estimates of failure rates vary and might be reduced due to the fact that many TNCs now follow up on research suggestions and had been doing cross-cultural trainings. Implications of the economic globalisation have affected not only the production, trade or the companies themselves, but they also developed the global labour market in the contemporary sense.

At the dawn of globalisation, it was mainly the top managerial layer who was mobilised. As human mobility fuelled by globalisation increased, more and more non-commercial expatriates and entrepreneurs have engaged themselves in living and working outside of their home country. This was noted by Inkson et al. (1997), who, in their study, recorded and compared two types of expatriate experiences in 1997. They compared those who engaged in what they called “expatriate assignment” to fulfil an organisational career with the new breed of expats who embarked on what they considered as “overseas experience” for the sake of having a borderless career. Their table included here gives a summary of the contrasting qualities.
Table 1. Contrasting qualities of expatriate assignment by Inkson, et al. (1997, p. 352)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiation:</th>
<th>E.A. (Expatriate Assignment)</th>
<th>O.E. (Overseas Experience)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goals:</td>
<td>Company</td>
<td>Individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funding:</td>
<td>Company Projects (specific)</td>
<td>Individual development (diffuse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Type:</td>
<td>Organizational career</td>
<td>Boundaryless career</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Literature:</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the study of Inkson et al., a growing number of researchers started to focus on the individually initiated foreign workers. The very first ones that were inspired by the aforementioned research were Suutari & Brewster (2000), Fu, Shaffer & Harrison (2005), Myers & Pringle (2005), and Richardson & Mallon (2005). All of these studies started to use the new terminology of “self-initiated” or “self-directed” expatriate.

Among the above listed publications, this study will engage first with the research of Suutari & Brewster (2000). It was the “first to present data about the self-initiated foreign work experience in comparison with those on traditional expatriate assignments” (p. 418). Their findings are important and support the view that “SFEs [Self-Initiated Workers] are a heterogeneous group and thus the discussion by Inkson et al. maybe too simplified (p. 434)”. They developed a list containing six subgroups of expatriates: the young opportunist, the jobseekers, the officials, the localised professionals, international professionals and dual career couples. Within the categorisation given by Inkson above, the self-initiated expatriate teacher can belong to four categories such as young opportunists, job seekers, localised professionals or dual career couples.

Although research started to focus more on “self-initiated expatriates,” the field was still neglected in comparison to research that focussed on the traditional expatriates. Being unsatisfied with the categorisation of expatriates, Connelly (2010) introduced his typology for the inclusion of the “new breed of expatriates.” The rationale behind his initiative was: “Much of what we know about expatriatism may not apply to this new breed of expatriates” (p.39). After examining the experiences of 160 expatriates, he proposed this four-quadrant typology based on organisational variables illustrated below.
This typology, however, is still problematic for our subject, the expatriate international teacher, because the organisations that the expatriate teacher joins can be large or small, as well as for profit or non-profit. According to Connelly’s typology, the expatriate teacher might fall under the category of “transnational entrepreneurs” or “worldchanging entrepreneurs”.

So far, based on the literature, what is certain is that the expatriate international teacher belongs to a diverse and increasingly growing group of self-initiated expatriate category. Because the tapestry of self-initiated expatriates woven from many textures and colours and is so diverse, the present inquiry would like to propose to consider a totally different typology based on the expatriate journey or path. Therefore, it would be the collection of signifiers that would identify the kind of expatriates one is referring to. As the categorisation of Connelly confirms, it is very difficult to create a static framework for something as diverse and fluid as the existence and life of expatriates. Included here below is the characterisation of the journey whereby most of the expatriate teacher would be following a path underlined by most of these descriptors in Table 2.
Based on the above table, the expatriate teacher can be described as someone whose expatriate journey is self-initiated in order to perform a “bounderyless career” type whereby taking part in a non-commercial workforce through a contractual employment for either a profit or non-profit organisation. His or her mobility can vary and therefore the career line can adjourn in repatriation or lead to “new-patriation” or dual living. The latter means that apart from working abroad, as an expatriate, the person can marry with someone from the host-country, and by this, develop a working preference or lifestyle applicable to the home as well as to the host country.

After having considered the characteristics and typology of the self-initiated expatriate, the present study shall return to the earlier list of self-initiated expatriates to discuss the work of Fu and her collaborators. Fu, Shaffer and Harrison (2005) studied the proactive socialisation, adjustment and turnover of self-initiated expatriates. Their research is pertinent to the present study not only because “the focus of their investigation is a group of SFEs comprising native English-speaking teachers (NETs)” (IM: L1) but because they were considering adjustment in terms of “fit”. This “fit” will come up at a later stage in this paper with regards to recruitment where the present study will further engage with the work of Fu and her collaborators. But first we shall look at the expatriate teacher in the international school setting.

Table 2. The expatriate journey
1.5 EXPatriate Teachers and International Schools

1.5.1 Teachers of International Schools

Two previous studies made reference to teachers and their categories in international schools. The first was Garton (2000) who notes three distinct categories of teachers working in international schools: “host-country nationals, ‘local hire’ expatriates and ‘overseas hire’ expatriates” (p.87). The other grouping in the literature was done by Cambridge (2002) who refers to the organisational structure and mentions two categories: the “highly paid professional expatriates” and the “local staff hired at lower rates of enumeration” while he adds them to the “administrative core” of the organisation (p. 159). Based on these studies, the present inquiry will take into account two main categories only: the group of host-country nationals, also known as “local teachers” and the group of expatriate teachers, as mentioned by Cambridge. As for the other two categories listed by (Garton, 2000), this study will acknowledge them as subcategories of the expatriate group.

The faculty of most International Schools shows two distinct characteristics in its composition and it is derived from the fact that the school draws its faculty from two pools. One part of the faculty is locally trained, hired locally from the host country and is called the “local teachers”, whereas the other part is trained outside the host country and comes to work and live in the host country. The latter type of teacher falls under the “expat teachers” category. Expatriate teachers are trained mainly in English-speaking countries; mainly, but not exclusively, since there are international schools where the language of instruction is other than English.

There are some cases where the teacher is from the local country but was trained and lived outside of that country for a longer period of time and returns to the home country for seeking employment in an international school. An example would be an alumnus or alumna of an international school who obtained the teaching certificate abroad. Such situations might blur the above-described categories. It is a relatively new phenomenon, and not all International Schools have addressed this issue at a policy level. Therefore, most of the time, inclusion of such teachers into the faculty is handled on an individual basis.¹ They might be included in the

¹ It is something that the International Schools might need to address in the future, if the phenomenon is becoming more widespread.
expatriate teacher category or they might be under the expatriate faculty with some compromise regarding benefits. Since the term “expat” or “expatriate” is not a precise one for their case, we will use a new term that was coined by P. De Levay. He introduced a new term for such a phenomenon: “inpatriates or inpat”. This new term captures exactly the betweenness: “being different from the ‘regular’ and even the local, high-class entities.” (De Levay, 2011, p. 70) In cases as these, some schools require a foreign passport in order to include that teacher into the expatriate teacher group which is also called “international faculty.” The expatriate teachers’ group is often perceived and also treated by the local environment as a more privileged one.

Although the two categories (expatriate and local) are well understood by all members of the faculty, it does not mean that it may not give rise to a certain tension within the school. The differentiated treatment of expatriates and locals is present in each school to a varying degree. However, the poorer the host country is, the bigger the gap becomes. This is confirmed in the literature by Richards (1998) when he notes that “the school treasures expatriate teachers much more than local ones” (p. 180). Although the expatriate group is treated as a more privileged one, some school may give certain privileges to the local teachers (teachers from the host country) in order to maintain a more harmonious faculty. Having these additional benefits what they would not have if they were working in local schools and not international ones brings these teachers closer to the international faculty. The extra benefits could comprise professional development, travelling to international workshops abroad, higher salaries in comparison with local schools, and other bonuses. All these have a cooling effect on the tensions that may still arise from the difference in wages between the local and international hire that exist in many international schools.

1.5.2 The Privileged Position

As discussed earlier, the perception of what one can obtain is that the local environment treats expatriate teachers as more privileged. “Under such circumstances it is hardly surprising that the case study revealed locally-contracted teachers, themselves, perceived that both parents and students preferred expatriate-contracted staff” (Richards, p. 180). I will analyse in which way expatriate teachers are represented as advantageous for the school. We can look at this at two
levels: at a personal level (i.e., what an expatriate teacher can bring to the school), and at an organisational level (i.e., what the school can gain).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>At the personal level:</th>
<th>At the organisational level:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What the expatriate teachers bring to the school</td>
<td>What the school and the student body can gain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Their education and training
   - Expatriate teachers’ education and training represent an organisational marketing tool in the global market for the school.

   Implications: These schools are more likely going to get increased admission and will come out as winners in the competition among international schools in the community.
   - The faculty’s educational and training level is recorded in the accreditation report as well.
   - Their college and university experience can help college counselling and information about studying abroad.
   - Bringing new methodology and curriculum knowledge to the school (International Baccalaureate (IB)- and Western-trained).

2. Language skills (preferably native speakers)
   - Parents are looking for perfect English and other language scenarios to be acquired by their children

3. Their cultural experience
   - The image of “native” or “native-like” assumes
mastering the culture, as well.
(First-hand cultural encounter)

| 4. Teaching experience in other international schools | • Contribute to internationalism, bring cultural diversity to the school
• Prepare for, or link with global citizenship. |

Table 3 How expatriate teachers can contribute to the international school community

This table only lists four aspects, the most obvious ones. Other aspects might serve as a topic that a further study can take on and investigate. Such a detailed investigation is not in the scope of this study; however, in order to show the strong link between what an expatriate teacher can offer and what the school and its student body can gain, we will look at it from the point of view of whether these additional characteristics match with what the parents as clients wish to gain. Teachers, in general, and expatriate teachers specifically, are on the supplying side of what an International School (IS) has offer. This research inquiry will also consider the demand side, which represents the other end of the equation. International schools are operating in the global market, therefore, to look at supply and demand as the backbone of market economy, is important while analysing international teachers at IS.

To look at the demand side, a study will be referred to next. Ezra (2007), based on a survey, ranked statements of parents about factors they considered while enrolling their children in an international school in Israel. Among the top 10 ranking we can find the number one rank which is that the “teachers are highly qualified” (p. 266). This is in line with our number one contribution: “Teachers’ education and training”. In order to make the correlation more valid Mackenzie (2010) should be considered. Mackenzie analyses the same phenomenon in two other countries: Switzerland and Japan. To establish a correlation, the contributing factors are brought together along with the parents’ statements in the table below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expatriate Teacher’s Contributing Factor</th>
<th>Parents’ Ranking Statement</th>
<th>Parents’ five most important enrolment factors</th>
<th>Swiss Survey</th>
<th>Japanese Survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contributing factor No.1 Their Education and training</td>
<td># 1 “The teachers are highly qualified”</td>
<td>Somewhat # 7 “I want my child to be able to enter a university in North America”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributing factor No.2 Language skills (preferably native speakers)</td>
<td># 7 “I wanted my child to learn English”</td>
<td># 1 “I wanted my child to learn English” Somewhat # 7 “I want my child to be able to enter a university in North America”</td>
<td># 1 “A desire for my child(ren) to be educated in English”</td>
<td># 4 “A desire for my child(ren) to be educated in English”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributing factor No.3 Their Cultural experience</td>
<td>Somewhat # 6 “I wanted my child to have an international”</td>
<td>Somewhat # 2 “I wanted my child to have an international”</td>
<td>Somewhat # 5 “ A desire for my child(ren) to have an international”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributing factor</td>
<td>Parents’ Demand</td>
<td>Expatriate Teacher’s Contribution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.4 Teaching experience in other International Schools</td>
<td>Somewhat # 6</td>
<td>Somewhat # 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I wanted my child to have an international education”</td>
<td>“I wanted my child to have an international education”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and # 7</td>
<td>and # 7</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I want my child to be able to enter a university in North America”</td>
<td>“I want my child to be able to enter a university in North America”</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat # 1</td>
<td>Somewhat # 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“A desire for my child(ren) to have an international education”</td>
<td>“A desire for my child(ren) to have an international education”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Possible correlations of parents’ demand and expatriate teacher’s contribution based on my perceptions and of the studies done by Ezra (2007), and Mackenzie (2010)

The correlation confirms that expatriate teachers’ contributions are in demand and, therefore, their privileged position in the host country is understandable. Let us now look at teachers’ recruitment from a wider perspective. What are the factors that make teachers work abroad and teach in an international school and motivate them to stay? This question was raised in several studies, such as Odland and Ruzicka (2009), Evans (2001) and Hardman (2001), who investigated job satisfaction and teacher turnover in international schools.
1.5.3 The Trade-Off

Usually, when teachers decide to move abroad to teach in an international school, it is in most cases a combination of various factors that play a role in their decision making. Nonetheless, it is always a trade-off, things that expatriate teachers are leaving behind in exchange for some other gain. Therefore, when researchers take on a single factor and focus on topics, like “the role of location in the recruitment and retention of teachers” (Chandler, 2010), it seems quite ambitious. At the end of his study, Chandler concluded that “there is no apparent link between location satisfaction and retention” (p. 224).

As we have seen from the previous study, no answer was found to the question of what makes individuals teach abroad in international schools and keeps them there. Research in this area must be multi focused and related to the trade-off. I also think that research should start focussing on why newcomer expatriate teachers decide to leave their own country. That might lead to some common ground. For example, if the home country’s currency is weak, more teachers would seek employment abroad for financial benefits. On the other hand, since most international schools use United States dollar in their salary scheme, and if the currency of their home country is strong, their earning might be similar to what they would receive in their home country, hence the teacher would see no financial motivation to leave. In addition, to find some common ground in this kind of studies, more focus should be given to gender and age.

1.5.4 The Teachers’ School Hunting or Positioning for the Position

Expatriate teachers engage with school hunting in two ways. Firstly, they may choose to look for employment opportunity and apply for a position on their own. Secondly, they may register with one of the recruiting agencies that are assisting teachers and international schools to fill a position. The latter method had been more widely used in the past and probably continues to be for a while. At this stage, what can be observed is that many of the teacher initiated and processed recruitment results more in occupying the earlier mentioned locally hired expatriate position with less benefits. It can be effective; however it requires a good networking system and a great deal of time investments. At the same time it is evident that the rapid technological development provides telecommunication tools that improve the effectiveness of the recruitment regardless of who is in charge of the process. Skype interviews are on the rise in both the
individually initiated as well as the agency-aided recruitments. School heads might use the agencies to take advantage of their databases, but conduct interviews via Skype. It is also more economical for smaller schools. This study will focus on the recruitment process taken on by the expatriate teacher using one of the recruitment agencies.

The engagement with such agencies will start at the registration and this is where the expatriate teacher’s positioning will begin as well. As for the teacher, positioning would start at registration. It is here where the concept described by Wiley (1994) the “Semiotic Self,” can be applied, since with the registration the teacher as self fills out on-line forms, answers questions, etc. It is here, in such a databank of signs and symbols where the self might be “lost [not] only in translation”, but rather “lost in semiotics”.

1.5.5 “Lost in Semiotics”

This inquiry will pause here in order to connect to the self. What was found fascinating is the fact that Wiley calls the self triadic and at the same time Harré’s concept of Person (P) is referring to three components as well (S1, S2 and S3). Both, in a way, consider person as a triadic notion. Let us visualize the triads by creating a diagram to explain how the two authors’ views could be interpreted.

![Diagram of Wiley's self as a dialogical triad](image1)

![Diagram of Harré's Person P={S1, S2, S3}](image2)

Wiley (1994) takes the idea even further by stating that “Humans are a triad of triads” (p. 215). First, he refers to ways humans function in a temporal triad, and then he denotes the self as a structure that is a semiotic triad.
1.5.6 The “Semiotic Self” as Structure

As this study indicated earlier, the term “Semiotic Self” was coined by Wiley (1994). He admits that he wanted to call his book *The Reflexive Self* but ended up calling it the *Semiotic Self*. He notes: “[M]y choice of key theorist shifted from Mead to Peirce, my main concept from reflexivity to semiotic” (p.218). Integrating the two theories formed by Peirce and Mead gave Wiley a hybrid in order to create a more complete model that takes into account what was missing from those theories. In fact, by combining them, Wiley also brought in those elements that can complement each other to make the theory a whole. Therefore, Wiley’s (1994) work is important.

By bringing the two researchers’ models together and merging them into a more inclusive theory, he accomplishes something similar to what Harré does with his theory of the person. It seems that Harré and Wiley offer an aspect of the self and self studies that de-centers the Cartesian self without excluding it in order to overcome the dichotomy. Wiley talks about three conversational poles, making the triad. The triad is made up of the two poles that Mead calls I” and “ME” and, by integrating it with Peirce’s “I” and “YOU”, he comes up with the dialogical triad of “I-ME-YOU”.

Wiley further elucidates: “[T]he idea that the self is semiotically triadic in its structure as well as in its activities explains how the self can be both semiotics and autonomous” (p. 217). He brings together the triadic semiotic structure of the self with the temporal triad and refers to time as “an

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2 When my nine-year old son saw my triangles and we started a conversation he said: “but there is no future”. You can catch the past in the present but not the future.” The more I think about it, the more I can see what he was referring to. There is a slight difference though how we live our temporal existence. While the past is part of us, the future we can only project.
inherently meaning-generating process” (p. 218). He agrees with Jacobs (1984) as he further quotes: “The present constantly projects and re-projects the meaning of the past onto the future” (pp. 30-40) as referred to in Wiley (1994, p. 218). What he concludes is that “the self is the integration of three triads and the exact unity of these three is a matter of interpretation” (p. 220). His triad of triads can be visualized as follows:

![Figure 6. Wiley’s self as triad of triads as conceived in a visual form](image)

Many issues have been discussed since the commencement of the section “Lost in Semiotics.” The segment about the semiotic self is also important, since the present inquiry will anchor the expatriate teacher as a self. If one thinks of both sides of recruitment (teachers and schools), one can picture how both parties will start digging into the big pool of database run by the recruitment agency. Teachers will try to make sense of openings that are available in schools and try to interpret the data connected to these schools. On the other hand, the schools’ representatives are similarly engaging with the candidates’ data, which are opened up by the recruitment agency, in order to fill their positions. In this case, position stands rather for the static notion of role or job. Thus, the teacher might start with one of the recruiting agencies.

To show how relevant the phenomenon “lost in semiotics” may be, let us consider its application within the recruitment. The “lost in semiotics” can be observed when the self is viewed as representation of signs and symbols. A good illustration of this the vast databases of Curriculum Vitae deposited at online global recruiting agencies. Global agencies, such as iRecruitment and Bayt, handle all types of jobs and a rapidly increasing number of applications. Due to the great volume of online applications, the trend is that it is not a human being anymore who is selecting or assessing the individual application, but it is the computer that is working with algorithms to
match the keywords of job offers with those of the applications. The company Bayt even sends a custom made “Weekly Digest” by e-mail to evaluate the effectiveness of keywords that are used in the online application. Therefore, “the lost in semiotics” phenomenon has significant implications for the self to ponder upon while engaging in global recruitment. As far as the two major international teacher recruitment agencies are concerned, a short synopsis and the comparison of the two most important ones will be described hereafter.

1. 6. Recruiting

1.6.1. Recruiting agencies

Expatriate teachers can start the school hunting process by registering with one of the recruiting or placement agencies. The two main organisations are ISS (International School Services) and Search Associates. There are other smaller ones such as CIS (Council of International Schools), TIC (Teacher International Consultancy), Queen’s University in Canada and University of Northern Iowa that also participate in international teachers’ recruitment. Although the placement agencies are there to help the teachers and schools, their work will not replace the amount of time and effort that both parties schools and teachers are required to perform before and during the recruitment.

The earliest agency is ISS, a US-based organization in Princeton. It was founded in 1955 with the aim to serve American International Schools overseas. Apart from teacher recruitment for schools around the world, they offer school management services from the home office and from two regional offices: the Asia-Pacific and the Caribbean offices. The teacher recruitment is mainly organised around fairs for which the candidate has to complete an on-line application portfolio.

Search Associates is an organisation that was founded in 1990 by one of the former international educators. They offer teacher recruitment and some school related services. They do not have a home office but only regional offices. After the teachers submitted their CVs, they have to request online and confidential evaluations from their superiors and also from parents. Through this process, each teacher becomes an “ensemble of digitalised signs” waiting to be interpreted by the school administrators. Therefore, one might say that the positioning starts with the way the CV and the evaluation data are presented. However, there is a dilemma for the teachers:
“Which agency should they go with?” These agencies are not free, and to establish a portfolio is time consuming, if they consider signing up with both.

1.6.1 Comparison of ISS and Search Associates

ISS is a US-based agency and offers access to “hundreds of English language-based American and international schools around the world” (www.iss.edu). If the teachers are from the United States, they might feel more comfortable with ISS. However, in order to be neutral, an examination of their website might offer insight into similarities and differences. On the ISS home page, it is hard to find a link that is about the teacher. “School Services” and other headings like “School Supplies,” “Workshops,” or “NewsLink” are overwhelming and it is difficult to find teacher-related links or links about recruitment. Once one is on the educators’ site, the information becomes more accessible. However, when checking the recruiting fairs, one might realise that there are only two on the website (2012, www.iss.edu), one in San Francisco, United States and one in Bangkok, Thailand.

Search works through its representatives, who are called “Regional Associates.” It has a more personal touch, since there is contact person in different parts of the world. The logo of the website “Spinning the Globe with a Personal Touch” might make teachers feel more confident that personal care is ensured (www.searchassociates.com). It can also convey the message that they do the job for the teacher by spinning the globe to find something like “the dream school.”

The Search Associates’ website, in comparison with ISS, appears to be much more simplistic, with easy access and organization of links. Search Associates also looks more personalized as they advertise themselves. Although this is a newer agency, and does not have as long a history as ISS, there is something in its history that might attract the attention of the teacher: “Founded by John Magagna, an experienced international educator and school head.” This statement might inspire trust in the teacher.

Unlike ISS, the Search Associates are regionalized in order to provide a more personal attention. Furthermore, when the “Fair Schedules” page opens, the teacher will realize that this agency organizes a lot more recruiting fairs than ISS. The candidate can access 13 recruiting fairs in the 2011/2012 recruitment period. The recruiting cities are already targeting the self as a potential candidate by providing fast access to openings, close to wherever the teacher is located at the
moment and where the schools’ administrators from the region can also converge for recruitment. The location of the Search Fairs are spread all over the globe being present in cities such as London for Europe, Bethesda for the Americas, Johannesburg for Africa, Sydney for Australia, Bangkok and Hong Kong for Asia, and Dubai for the Middle East.

From this list above, one can conclude that Search has more tailored services to function better in the global market and also has a more international presence. Search came to realize that today’s market competition requires more tailoring to the needs of the schools and the teachers.

The recruitment databases of the agencies brought up the concept of the self but did not give the opportunity to fully engage with the topic. To engage with the topic is essential, since, it is the self who is positioning itself and who is positioned by others during the recruitment. Therefore, a section about the self will be included hereafter.

### 1.7 Grounding of the self as an expatriate teacher

A school can be seen as an organisation belonging to a public and collective sphere. On he other hand, the teacher as a self, belongs to the individual and private spheres in spite of its occurrence in the public arena. By placing the "school" and the "self" in the Vygotskian space of psychological phenomena, their diagonal location and coexistence can be well demonstrated. The Vygotskian space of psychological phenomena was further developed by Harré (1983). The following figure shows the quadrates as taken from Harré (1983).
The author of this inquiry then placed the school as the representative of the social in the first quadrant, and the self as a representative of private and individual to the third quadrant. Harré’s purpose with this figure was to provide conceptual space for personal psychology, and use it for a dimensional analysis of concepts. This study is using them in the sense that Harré intended it later. However, the main purpose for using the coordinates with the two distinct concepts was to gain a visual image of their dimensional aspects and show at the same time their interconnected nature. Their diagonal location gives an interesting platform for their discursive engagement. Since organisation, in our case the school, is made up by the selves (teachers and others), they are interrelated. This interconnectedness is visible through the mutual discursive engagements. Observing and analysing the discursive engagements from a different Vygotskian space location can create a new understanding of their social encounters.

Such a new understanding may inspire further organisational research that would take into account the discourse initiated by the school as an organisation in the public sphere. However, the present inquiry is focussing on how a prospective teacher with his or her individual and private spheres moves into a discursive engagement with the school.
1.7.1 Locating the Self

The expatriate teacher as a self will be regarded as it is expressed by Harré: “[E]ach human being is both continuous, unified psychological and social singularity and a cluster of discontinuous and diverse psychological and social multiplicities” (Harré, 1991, p. 54). This reinforces the necessary singularity of personal identity. At the same time, it shows its multiple manifestations in diverse social encounters. Using the Vygotskian space of psychological phenomena in the form that Harré intended it, the self in the 3rd quadrant is considered as individual and private; then, as it moves to the 1st quadrant, it becomes a social actor, taking on one of many of its social engagements.

![Figure 8 The Vygotskian space of psychological phenomena -B. Based on Figure 2.2 by Harré (1983, p.45).]

The diversity of this singularity of the teacher will be shown through the self’s temporal indexicality presented discursively. It is here that the importance of language and discourse is manifested. The dimensions are seen here by Harré as continuous.

The continuity is provided by the means of language and other symbolic systems. “In the private-public dimension: language [is] understood as a common instrument of representation. In the individual-collective dimension, language is understood as a common instrument of action” (Harré, 1983 p. 45). To incorporate these ideas outlined by Harré and to express the multiplicity of the self, a new figure with added elements will be included here below.
Figure 9, not only shows the multiplicity of the self, but also incorporates language. Language, as a common instrument, is represented here by a circle; it is language that provides continuity. Interestingly, the very same self can take on the role of being a social actor as a parent and as a teacher at the same time, which is quite a special but existing phenomenon. This might serve as a confirmation that the very same self that has its singularity is presented also in its multiplicity. It is through the mediation of language that individuals can overcome and leave the old association of the inner-outer dichotomy behind. Without leaving the old association behind, individuals would fall back to the Cartesian dualistic distinctions.
1.7.2 Theories of the Self

Historically, the self has been on a long journey. Charles Taylor (1989) believes that both the concept as well as the self itself have undergone changes over the course of history. Levin (1992) agrees with this when he states: “The self has evolved in two senses: the self itself has probably changed over historical time, and our understanding of the self has evolved” (p.203). He brings his thoughts to the same conclusion as Taylor by seeing these two in a dialectical relationship when he writes: ”If the self did indeed change in the course of history, mankind’s understanding of that self necessarily changed also, and at the same time, the historical change in the understanding of the self changed the self itself” (ibid.). New schools of theories and ideas are the best proof of this renewed understanding of the self and the way they approach it.

In this section, the present study will be considering some relevant historical aspects of the notions of the self. Therefore, different terms referring to the self and its aspects will be enumerated. It should be noted that the terms are not used consistently, either in the philosophical or in the psychological traditions. Throughout its evolution, the concept of the self may denote terms such as “mind,” “consciousness,” “identity,” “personality,” “self-concept,” “soul,” “substance,” among others. These notions can be related to the philosophical or the psychological tradition but they can be also referred to from the point of view of the Western or Eastern traditions.\(^3\) Prior to engaging with the positioning theory, the self will be considered more closely.

As stated previously, while discussing the self, only relevant works will be mentioned about the self from the point of view of its evolution. (A more thorough historical overview can be gained by the studies of Taylor (1989), Seigel (2005) and Levin (1992).) The present inquiry would like to start with Socrates\(^4\) and refer to the so-called “Socratic dialogue”. The reason to start with him is because, for Socrates, “the self is discovered in the process of discourse and dialogue with others” as Levin notes. (1992, p. 3). From here, one can pass through centuries to find that

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\(^3\) Eastern notion of the self is that it will be achieved by letting go. Personal identity, self-esteem are concepts expressing more of the western notion of the self. (Levin, 1992, p.3)

\(^4\) It might seem as a personal bias, and in a way my up-bringing has to do with my choice, however relevance will be given further to explain my selectiveness.
modern studies of the self are advocating the same. This inquiry will refer to the new concepts and the new branches in psychology that are focusing on the dialogical and discursive self.

Reference to the self can be made by addressing the subject as “I”, the personal pronoun (*nominativus*) or as “me” (*dativus*). This referencing has been made by several researchers. Mead made a distinction in 1934 in his work *Mind, Self and Society* as follows: “The ‘I’ is the response of the organism to the attitudes of the others; the ‘me’ is the organized set of attitudes of the others which one himself assumes. The attitudes of the others constitute the organized ‘me’, and then one reacts toward that as an ‘I’” (p. 175). From this distinction, it becomes clear that when symbolic interactionists refer to the self, it is the reference to the “me”. They refer to the self as an object and this shows consistency within the field of symbolic interactionism; therefore, most of the interactionist literature uses the self with reference to the “me” as an object. The distinction of the “I” and the “me” will be discussed further, as it has a ripple effect on the work of Charon (1992) and Wiley (1994).

The word “self” also carries the meaning “same.” (The meaning “same” might refer to the self as a reference point or S1 as used for indexing. In the context of selfhood, it is reinforcing the singularity of the self.) It is not the aim of this inquiry to give a complete account of the historical evolution of the self, but rather to look at relevant stages of the evolution that would support the aim of this study.

It is not easy to pinpoint the meaning of the self. Cognitive psychology emphasized more of its cognitive structure. For the discourse analyst and narrative psychologist, it rather means a verbal activity. The author of the present inquiry agrees with Levin that the self is developmental and "object-relational, coming into being through interaction with others and always mediated by such interactions" (p.208). This brings us back to the symbolic interactionist perspectives that try to describe how the self is tied to interactions and show their usefulness to connect to the self, which is one of the main foci of this inquiry.

1.7.3 Symbolic Interactionist View

The person with whom this view is associated with the most is George Herbert Mead (1934). He was joined by others like John Dewey, Charles Pierce, Herbert Blumer, Charles Cooley whom
we can consider as the early interactionists. The four pillars of their perspective summarized by Charon (1992) is going to be described next in order to locate the self.

The first pillar is that symbolic interactionism “focuses on the nature of social interaction, the dynamic social activities taking place among persons” (p.23). Thus, this first pillar assigns a very active role to human beings. “The second important idea is that human action is not only caused by social interaction, but it also results from interaction within the individual… Third, that the focus of their perspective is on the present not on the past.” (p.24) “Finally, symbolic interactionism describes the human being as more unpredictable and active world than other perspectives do” (ibid.).

The social interactionists’ view is important from the point of view taken earlier. It works with the self as “me” and considers social interactions as symbolic. Their importance in relation to this study and, in particular to positioning, will be explained further. However, what also contributes to its relevance is their focus on meaning-making.

Social interaction involves the presentation of the self; “Thus when an individual appears in the presence of others, there will usually be some reason for him to mobilize his activity so that it will convey an impression to others which is in his interests to convey” (Goffman,1959 p. 4). As much as the self in everyday life is looking for clues, so do others, in order to decide how to act in relation with each other. Presentation of the self is important not just for those who are running for political office or any higher status but for others as well. It has always been important, but our era emphasises it more, by not just image creation, but also by story creation of narratives.

In order to anchor the self as an expatriate teacher, we have to return to the work of Mead. One can observe that he was one of the few scholars in the last century to build a theory around the social aspect of the self. He is also important from another aspect. Burkitt (1991) describes him as follows: "He was therefore one of the first theorists to explore the notion that personality develops within discourse" (p.29). From Mead, a link can be made to Harré and Langenhove (1999) who declare similarly that “[M]any, if not most, mental phenomena are produced discursively” (p.16). This idea, however, is not so new. They admit that similar ideas can be
found in Bakhtin (1986) and in Benveniste, who was quoted in Silverman, (1983). Discourse is important, since positioning can only be understood in the context of discourse; but before engaging with the positioning theory, the psychology of personhood must be discussed.

1.7.4 The Psychology of Personhood and Positioning

Harré’s extensive studies about the “social being” (1993), the “personal being” (1983) and later, the “singular self” (1998) have provided a great leap in the psychology of personhood. The present inquiry will use his theory of positioning as a theoretical framework. Hence, in order to gain a better understanding of the theory, one must ponder upon the multifaceted conception of the self. While the self is seen as unique as well as singular, one must also look at the self as social and, in fact, a multiple entity.

The journey can start by asking the same question that Harré asked at the beginning of his book, *The Singular Self*: “What is it to be a human being?” (1998, p. 2). The question, as he admits “belongs to great many disciplines” (ibid). He asks this question in the search of some common ground. The position that Harré takes, while looking at the selves, is that he connects to the work of Stern, who sees the person as the basic particular of the human world. Harré refers to the person by taking Stern’s description of what the person is. “The person is a totality, that is a *unitas multiplex*... All that multiplicity included in the person… is integral to the totality… it is the *constance* of multiplicity with the personal whole and of the person with the world that makes human life possible” (1938:73).

Harré may think that it is important to emphasise Stern’s thought about this entity, what Harré calls the person {Self1, Self2, Self3}, that “is logically prior to and not the mere aggregate of these three sets of characteristics. Every person has both a Self 1 and a Self 2, that is a continuous point of view on the world from which he or she acts both on themselves and on the environment and a set of attributes, including amongst them, their own beliefs about those attributes” (Harré, 1998, pp. 77-78). It is made clear here, that while S1,S2 and S3 are not entities, persons {Self1, Self2, Self3} are fundamental entities. Let’s have a closer look at these

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5 No matter how much quoting from a secondary source is considered as a negative, it might be necessary when there are only a few means at the researcher’s disposal to check it.
different selves, because they will be important when the self as an expatriate teacher will be analysed in this inquiry.

Self1 (“the Self,” or also called the “Selfhood”) is the singularity point of view, or the active person. S1 is the one that is used for indexing but when it comes to action, and the self moves to the social realm; it is the entity, the person to whom the reference is made. Self2 is what Harré refers to as “the embodiment”; it is a person “in perception.” S2 is in a “constant flux”, changing and is relational. It is the totality of personal attributes in addition to someone’s belief about his or her Self 2. “The attributes that a person possesses at any one time we can call the restricted Self 2” (1998, p.92). This is to set it apart from the repertoire that the person can have throughout a lifetime which Harré calls the “unrestricted S2”, or more precisely, the pool of attributes that are associated with the self at the present, past and future. Self3 is the way persons are perceived by others. Together, S1, S2, and S3 are all aspects of the person that is engaging in social actions.

From the point of view of the singularity, this study will refer to S1 as being a singular point of view; whereas, S2 and S3 are aspects what one could call a “manifestation of multiplicity”. These manifestations of the self, especially S2 and S3, link us to the social realm and as such with the work of Mead (1934), Burkitt (1991) and others from the field. As the self, the expatriate teacher, enters into the public arena, he or she takes on the role of a social actor. It was this dissatisfaction with the rigid and static concept of the “role” and the “role theory” that actually led to the introduction of the new concept of positioning. In contrast to the role, this is what Harré and Slocum (2003) have to say about positioning: “[P]ositions, as we understand them, are characterized by the following attributes: Positions tend to be situation specific… Unlike roles, acts of positioning are always defeasible ” (Harré and Slocum, 2003, p.127). Positions are short lived they are always changing in the social flux of episode.

Harré and Langenhove(1999) gave the following description about the two concepts: “Role and position are related, we suggest as determinable and [in]determinable. That is, ‘role’ is to a ‘position’ as ‘colour’ is to ‘red’. Another role is related to some other positions as ‘shape’ is to ‘square’, etc. Adopting or being assigned a role fixes only a range of positions, [and/or] positions compatible with that role” (p. 196). When Harré and Langenhove introduced the term “positioning”, they agreed that it represents a dynamic notion, and intended to keep it that way in
order to get away from the static state that the use of the “role” presented. It is exactly this dynamic notion that the theory can capture and that is the rationale to employ the theory as analytical framework for this exploratory study. Therefore the following chapter, based on the focus of this inquiry, will comprise a detailed literature review of the development and application of the positioning theory.
Chapter II  LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The existing research on Positioning Theory can provide two paths to the organization of its literature. One has the choice of considering either a contextual or typological approach. By establishing the main category with one approach, the other category can be used to further create and distinguish subcategories according to the context.

Here below, the organization of the literature review will follow a typological approach. The literature will be streamlined into four main categories:

1. The concept of positioning theory;
2. Intrapersonal positioning;
3. Interpersonal positioning (Positioning of the self and other individuals);
4. Intergroup positioning (Positioning of the self with a group, or a group positioning with another group).

The first category will be established to list the contribution of Harré’s work in conjunction with other researchers who were instrumental in the formation and of the development of the theory and whose focus was the concept itself. The focus of the second category of this literature review will look at the intrapersonal process from point of view positioning. An appealing case that one can refer to is that of Shakespeare in Adams and Harré (2003). The third group will target the self and its positioning with other individuals. The fourth group which is called “intergroup positioning” will bring together researchers and publications that have their interest in group positioning. In categories 2 and 3, this review will make note of the significant contextual themes that are emerging and dominating within that particular branch of research as subcategories. To establish such categorisation may be justified, since it represents different platforms in the way positioning is experienced. The cue for naming the categories “interpersonal” and “intergroup” is taken from Tan and Moghaddam (1999, p. 178).
2.2. Overview

One can say that positioning theory is associated with the names of Harré and van Langenhove (1999a). They were the ones who introduced the theory, and around them, emerged a circle of contributors writing and publishing about it. This early group of researchers will be referred to later in this study, but prior to that we shall mention the name of Hollway (1984) and her book, entitled *Changing the Subject*. It was she who, preceding Harré and van Langenhove (1999a), introduced the term “positioning” first. Hollway used the term “positioning” as an approach to analyse the gender difference and the production of subjectivity. Smith (1988) extended the concept of positioning by introducing “subject-positions.”

As outlined in the Introduction chapter of the present inquiry, researchers can be grouped into different categories according to their research foci. However, just like with any categorisation, one will encounter the inherent problems of the categorisation itself, i.e., there are researchers who are involved in more than just one category. Nonetheless, categories will be established according to their most significant contribution to a specific field.

Before engaging with any kind of categorisation, one must acknowledge the extensive and continuous work of Harré with regard to the theory. His own work, and his work in conjunction with Davies, van Langenhove, Moghaddam, Sabat, Lee, Slocum, Henley, Adams and Rosetti represent the core of the early literature of positioning theory. They are the researchers who made the theoretical foundation and crystallised the concept of this analytical framework through their publications. These academics are very important in relation to the development of the concept; however, one must not limit their work to the conceptual foundation only. Some of these studies also include the application of the theory in a variety of aspects and arrays of the social realm. Therefore, many of those researchers will appear in different categories at the same time.

(2008c), Howie (1999), Howie and Peters (1996), Moghaddam (1999), Tan and Moghaddam

The second category is the smallest as far as the number of reference is concerned. From the
point of view of the evolution of the theory, this group was the one that was listed last. The
rational for that can be found in the nature of the theory. Coming back to the fact that the theory
was born out of the reaction to the increasing dissatisfaction that surrounded the concept of the
“role,” one can see that the original focus of the theory was a settlement that considered
positioning at the levels of “among” and that of “with others.” Consequently, the theory
generated more application within this framework. From here, it moved to the study of group
positioning, and to close the topological gap, it returned to intra-positioning: a positioning that
most reflects when the self is at war with itself, which is manifested through inner dialogues.

The third category is made up of researchers who were focusing on “interpersonal positioning, ”
“positioning between the self and other individuals.” Those who belong here are Walton, Coyle,
and Lyons (2003), Benson (2003), Sabat (2003) and (2008), Wetherell (2003), Redman (2008),
Lee, Lessen and Moghaddam (2008), Moghaddam and Ginsburg (2003), Grattan (2008), Davies
(2003), Boxer (2003), as well as Winslade (2006).

The fourth category of publications has a common aspect in the sense that they are referring to
“intergroup positioning.” The authors who contributed to this category are Harré and Slocum
(2003), Moghaddam, Henley and Harré (2003), Wilkinson and Kitzinger (2003), Adams and
Harré (2003), Aberdeen (2003), Taylor, Bougie and Caouette (2003), Slocum and van
Langenhove (2003), Taylor, Caouette, Usborne and King (2008), Bartlett (2008), Schmidle
(2008), Slocum –Bradley (2008b), Rothbart and Bartlett (2008), Moghaddam and Kavulich

Within the above listed categories, strong contextual themes have emerged. More and more
researchers have developed (mainly in the third category) a theme with an emphasis on global
conflict resolution. It comes under the editorial work of Moghaddam, Harré and Lee (2008a)
who, in conjunction with other researchers, mentioned in Category 3 above, are looking at
“global conflict resolution through positioning analysis”. Within this category, one can notice
how words and language used in positioning storylines play a significant role in either sustaining global conflicts or “sparking fights” at the micropolitical or macropolitical level. Moreover, another emerging theme surfaces in a publication of Slocum-Bradley (2008a), along with Dubois (2008a), that addresses positioning theory in order to understand the roots of social conflict by looking at identity.

Lastly, we shall mention the important contextual theme that attracts researchers with the interest in socio-cultural positioning in an educational context. Their work can be found in, but not limited to, McVee, Bock and Glazier (2011). Other representative authors of this branch are Bailey and Hopkins (2011), Florio-Ruane (2011) and Glazier (2011) and McVee (2011).

2.3 Scope of Literature

The extent of the theory and its application is multifaceted. Harré and van Langenhove (1999b) note that “[P]ositioning theory should not be regarded as a “general theory” that calls for a deterministic application to several specific subject matters. It is not like gravitational theory. Rather it is to be treated as a starting point for reflecting upon the many different aspects of social life” (pp. 9-10). This implies a broad spectrum of applications of which this literature review attempts to give illustrative samples. Therefore, this literature review will comprise such diverse fields as conflict resolution, socio-cultural positioning, identity formation through positioning theory, the positioning of the self, and group positioning, from the social, cultural, and psychological points of view.

2.4 Limitations and Focus

Given such a wide array of existing (and forthcoming literature), one should acknowledge that the limitations of this literature review are inherent to the fact that this is a developing field which has attracted a great deal of attention recently, providing a strongly emerging and prolific array of publications. Therefore, it should be recognized that the present review could only take into account the existing literature at the time of its compilation.

Therefore, due to the above-mentioned emerging nature of the field, this literature review is focussing rather on the major contributors to the positioning theory. First, it will focus on Harré, then those who published in conjunction with him such as van Langenhove, Moghaddam, Howie
and Slocum (1999), since they were instrumental to the development of the foundations of positioning theory. It can be argued that the development of the positioning theory represents an integral part of a more general context of “paradigm shift.” The reference of Harré and Secord (1972, p.19) to it was made in order to describe the state of the social psychology at that time. Therefore, while taking into account the evolution of the literature of positioning theory, one should demonstrate its embeddedness within the new paradigm research.

2.5 Discussion of the Pertaining Literature

2.5.1 The Evolution of Positioning Theory

This section will explore positioning theory as a contemporary approach to social psychology. The main contribution of the theory is that it provides an analytical framework for researching the dynamics of social processes. The field considers the publication of Harré and van Langenhove (1999a) as the inception of the theory. The present study will consider the same publication as a departure point, since it is these two academics who introduced the theory to the research community. In their publication, van Langenhove and Harré (1999a) laid down the conceptual foundation of the theory. It is in this work that the two of them gave credit to Hollway (1984) by acknowledging the root of the theory. If one considers the development of the theory that took place from 1984 to 1999, and extends it up to the present, one may confirm that theories, in general, but especially in social sciences, tend to evolve over time, rather than appear as a result of a sudden discovery.

In order to provide the reader with a clear vision of how this literature review will be conducted, the following should be noted: The present review will start with the inception of the theory and will present its evolution. Along the continuum that such development represents, a retrospective account of important contributions will be given.

As acknowledged earlier, it was in 1984 when the terms “position” and “positioning” were introduced by Hollway and came to use in the field of social sciences. It is important to point out that, although these concepts were new to the social sciences, the term “positioning” had already a well established presence in the field of business, marketing/advertisement and the military. The concept of positioning in the field of business can be contributed to Jack Trout (1981), a marketing strategist, whose concept of positioning gave a new impetus to the field of business.
Positioning in the field of market research has also over two decades of history, whereas self-positioning and individual positioning are quite a recent phenomena. Although the same terminology is used, there is a clear distinction between the usages in each field. This inquiry uses the term “positioning” based on Harré and Langenhove as defined in the *Theory of Positioning*. It was the new understanding of the social realm that offered the appropriate climate for the birth of the concept coined by the two researchers as new research from the field of ethnomethodology, discursive psychology, personal psychology and social constructionism had paved the way for this new conception.

Hollway introduced the term “positioning” as an approach to analyse and “understand the relation of gender difference, subjectivity and change in discourse” (p. 236). She was the first to notice that “[D]iscourses make available positions for subjects to take up” (ibid.). She did point out that positioning is relational. “These positions are in relation to other people. Like the subject and object of a sentence … “(ibid.). In the context of the gender difference, she also noticed that positions are “not equally available to men and women” (ibid.). One small note that in the very same publication, along with Hollway, Walkedine (1984) also used the term positioning: “The discursive practices and positionings also, therefore, provide the teacher’s method and the possibility of her reading of the children’s actions” (ibid., p. 191).

After mentioning the two main important aspects, i.e., the introduction of the theory and the introduction of the term “positioning” at the inception of the positioning theory, one needs to acknowledge that the theory has deeper roots in the field of the social sciences. These roots evolve very much around Harré and his wide-ranging works. Therefore, this literature review will provide a short retrospective account of the work of Harré, his associates and their predecessors whose work are relevant to the positioning theory prior to its introduction by van Langenhoven and Harré (1999).

### 2.5.2 Prelude to Positioning Theory: Harré, his Collaborators and the Precursors

As the theory has evolved during research, so did Harré’s approach to that theory. To mark his departure point, one has to revisit his earlier publications. To take this retrospective approach is important in order to gain a deeper understanding of the development of the theory of positioning. Here, again, the present paper will encounter a limitation in the sense of how the
selection from Harré’s abundant work had been made. Due to the framework of the present inquiry, it is essential to keep the selection only to the major representative pieces of his research, as the present literature review will mention only the most relevant publications that paved the way for the development of the theory.

The first work of Harré that bears importance in relation to the development of positioning theory was published with Secord in 1972. In *The Explanation of Social Behaviour*, the two researchers set out to address the issue of a “comprehensive theoretical treatment of social psychology” (p.1). In their views, they firmly believed that “adequate social psychology can be developed only as a cooperative enterprise between psychologists, philosophers and sociologists” (*ibid.*, p. 2). With this publication, they were advocating for the moving out of the behavioural and social scientists from “the desert of methodological positivism and into the pursuit of real science” (*ibid.*). As the two of them described the paradigm-shift, essential for the development of the theory, they depicted the true struggle that the field of psychology and social sciences were to face. The merit of this work lies in the fact that the two researchers, by questioning the generalisation sustained by experimental studies, turned their attention to the methods of advanced sciences, and they presented “an anthropomorphic model of man, advocating the treating of people for scientific purposes as if they were human beings” (*ibid.*, p. 6). It is in this publication where they declared that “the heart of the explanation of social behaviour is the identification of the meanings that underlie it” (*ibid.*, p. 9). This statement is important, since one can consider positioning theory as a meaning-making analytical framework. As Harré (2010) confirms: “Positioning Theory is the most recent in a long-running sequence of efforts to try to make social psychology more scientifically respectable—that is, to make methods of inquiry and theoretical models conform to the nature of the phenomena or interest namely, meanings (p. 51)”.

Harré and Secord (1972) are important from the point of view of the evolution of the positioning theory. In that work the two researchers discussed “episodes” and their structures, rules and roles, all those concepts that would resurface and evolve later into what has come to be called “Positioning Theory.” Since positioning theory emerged as part of the psychology of personhood, it is important to refer to Harré’s extensive studies and writings about it. Harré’s pertinent works will be only listed here, but they will be referred to more in detail in the
following chapter where positioning theory as an analytical framework will be explained in detail.

First, one has to mention the trilogy: Social Being: A Theory for Social Psychology (1979), (1993), Personal Being: A Theory for Individual Psychology (1983), and Physical Being: A Theory for Corporeal Psychology (1991), all of which explore theories about the three main ways of human existence. The next study in the line of the development of the positioning theory is the “Singular Self” (1998) which is an important introduction to the psychology of personhood. Within this publication, one can find reference to indexicality (a specific way of use of grammar which will resurface in Harré (2010)) which underlines its relevance to positioning theory. In that publication Harré calls positioning as a “metagrammar for discursive story lines.”

Another important publication that paved the way for the development of the theory, is the one that Harré published with Robinson in 1995. In their article entitled “On the Primacy of Duties”, they give an analysis of the ontology of rights and describe its relation to duties. Since during positioning, the person has certain prescribed rights and duties that the person can take on, or be assigned to, one can see the relevance of this writing in relation to the theory. The same topic appears in the editorial work of Norman and Moghaddam (2005) under the title Psychology of Rights and Duties: Empirical Contributions and Normative Comments. In that publication, numerous contributions addressed the topic by other researchers including Harré’s chapter entitled “An Ontology for Duties and Rights.”

The present retrospective literature review referred so far to Harré and Secord (1972), Harré (1979), (1983) and (1991) as contributing studies to the development of the positioning theory. Prior to the introduction of the theory (1999a), articles about positioning started to appear. The very first ones are Davies and Harré (1990), Harré and van Langenhove (1992), Sabat and Harré (1995), Tan and Moghaddam (1995), van Langenhove and Harré (1995). These publications were then compiled to accompany the introduction of the theory in an edited form in Harré and Langenhove (1999). The mutual characteristics of their work provide a conceptual underpinning of what we can call “Positioning Theory” today. Among the research companions of Harré, this inquiry shall also include Moghaddam whose contribution is essential for the wider application
of the theory, as it will be shown later, since he takes positioning theory into the field of intergroup studies by looking at culture and positioning.

Before considering the development of the positioning theory more in detail, one must take a note also of the thinkers or philosophers who inspired Harré and his collaborators. The two main thinkers are Vygotsky and Wittgenstein. The reference can be made to them on the basis that both contributed to what Harré and Secord called a “paradigm-shift.” Harré states that “[M]ost of us who practise some form of “second psychology” take heart and inspiration from the work of Vygotsky and his fellow members.” (1998, p. 236). Harré turns to Vygotsky’s studies in many occasions. From the point of view of the positioning theory, we shall recall the Vygotskyan space of locations of psychological phenomena. Such reference by Harré can be found in Harré (1983, pp. 44-45) and van Langenhove and Harré (1999c, p. 131). As for Wittgenstein, his thoughts and his influence are also noticeable in the publication of Harré and Robinson (1997) under the title “What Makes Language Possible? Ethological Foundationalism in Reid and Wittgenstein,” in which Harré refers to Wittgenstein as follows:

“Taking up different aspects of Wittgenstein work on meaning and language many scholars started working on a different approach to psychology in which there was room for active persons, for analysis of ordinary language outside the laboratory and for the crucial insight that the only thing inside people’s heads are their brains“ (1999b, p. 3).

Another important contributor to Harré’s theories is Stern (1939) who is acknowledged by Harré (2002, p.155) when he indicates that his concept of “person” shares common elements with Stern’s “personalism.”

2.6 Positioning Theory in the Literature

This section will look at the three main categories more in detail as described in 2.1.

2.6.1 The First Category

The first category of the pertaining literature is focusing on the concept itself.

Among the publications listed within this group, the earliest one to appear was Davies and Harré (1990), under the title: “Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves”. The edited version
published in 1999, appeared as: “Positioning and Personhood” (Harré, R. and van Langenhove, 1999). As mentioned earlier, positioning theory emerged as part of the psychology of personhood; therefore, most of the earlier writings, including this, make reference to the self and its multiplicities. The authors explain that the various positioning is to be considered as a product of discursive practice. The paper was born out of concern to address the problematic nature of the “role”. The intent of the researchers were to explore the use of “positioning”, as a highly dynamic concept, instead of the “role”, to facilitate social analysis in a way the concept of the “role” was unable explain. The special intellectual contribution of this publication is twofold. One is to generate a deeper insight and understanding by providing demonstration in a worked example, and the other is to take what the researchers call an “immanentist” view. By shifting the focus from “role” to “positioning”, the researchers were able to provide an analytical tool for the explanation of “how it is that people do being a person.” The two researchers, by pointing to the discursive practices which are not only constitutive by nature but also source of resources for negotiation, paved the way for showing the dynamic aspect of the position and were ready to introduce it as a theory.

Other publications with a strong concept focus are: Harré and Van Langenhove (1999), “Dynamics of Social Episodes”, Van Langenhove and Harré (1999a): “Introducing Positioning Theory”. The first publication not only points out the dynamic aspect of positioning but also acknowledges the contributions of social constructionism. The latter explains the conceptual tool and presents the core of the theory. It is here where the mutually determining triad is introduced. Howie (1999) explores the idea of individual differences in positioning. Through case studies, he shows how self-attribution is interwoven with the learning of self-positioning. His study stresses the challenge of positive self-positioning. Harré and Langenhove (1999) look at the discursive production of autobiography as reflexive positioning. In their study, they consider new directions for lifespan research. Reflexive positioning is the topic for Moghaddam (1999) as well. She further develops the field of reflexive positioning by pointing out how cultural considerations are unavoidable while analysing reflexive positioning. Van Langenhove and Harré (1999c), although they bring positioning theory to the level of application, they also contribute to the conceptual understanding of the theory. In the light of the positioning theory, the study criticises the existing usage of stereotyping as it is used in socio-psychological researches. The two researchers
propose that “stereotypes have to be treated as rhetorical devices that people use in order to position themselves and others” (p. 137).

Harré and Moghaddam (2003a) in “The Self and Others: Positioning individuals and groups in personal, political and cultural context” made a great leap in the evolution of the theory. Within this publication, one can find a couple of articles that corroborate to the development of the theory at a theoretical level but the majority of the writings are applications belonging to categories 2 and 3. The first work that should be mentioned here is Harré and Moghaddam (2003b). It recaptures the essence of the theory and, at the same time, it explains how the theory as a framework can provide a new tool to see the self and others differently in comparison to the traditional psychology. Although the article makes no direct reference to Harré and Secord (1972), it goes back to their theme and mentions the idea of “second psychology” and that of the “dynamic paradigm.” One might call it the “official routing” of the theory where the theory is shown in the context of paradigm-shift. The other contribution of this work lists the different types of positioning as well as gives some advice on how research should be carried out.

Under the first category, the literature review of this inquiry has listed three more works from this book, mainly for their conceptual underpinning. Apter (2003) discusses the reversal theory in relation to positioning and argues for its useful incorporation. Parrott (2003), on the other hand, looks at positioning and emotions. The argument he presents (“emotions play an important function in strategic social interactions…” May, 2003, p. 40) displays positioning theory within the context of the wider boundary of social sciences. In that publication, he also advocates for a reflexive vigilance in order to better understand the theory. Harré and Moghaddam (2008) bring the theory to the level of internal struggle and looking at intrapersonal conflicts where the person is at “war with him or herself”. They list many forms of personal conflict and give examples of relevant storylines. Their study stresses the storylines that are crucial to “meaning” and “meaning-making.”

One might consider the work of Moghaddam, Harré and Lee (2008c) rather as an application as they introduce the theory to the field of conflict whether it is global or local. However, including it under this category is justified, since this work lays the foundation through which the theory can provide an insight to the issues underlying many conflicts. Here, again, the theory is recaptured and its usefulness is shown in this particular context. The very same authors in
(2008b) in the “Afterword” give a concluding remark about the theory including a recommendation for further research. The significance of Henriksen (2008), from the point of view the conceptual underpinning, is that by further examining the role and the characteristics of the two concepts “role” and “positioning”, he advocates an integrative perspective of the two as a mean of not only understanding, but also intervening in conflict. His suggestion is to treat them in a transitional way.

To close the theoretical overview of the literature in the first category, one shall mention two important summative works: Harré, Cairnie, Rothbart and Sabat (2009), which provides a detailed account of the advancement of the theory. The other one is Harré (2010) who contributes to the development of the theory by noting that “[P]ositioning [is] a metagrammar for discursive story lines.” The latter comment was released in a presentation for the Georgetown University Round Table that was organised to promote interconnections among language, narrative and social life.

Since Harré’s extensive work was instrumental in the development of positioning theory, it might seem justifiable to associate the theory with his name, not only because he published the most about the theory, but also because his work built bridges around the theory in connection to the wider area of social sciences. Hence, his name will reappear in other categories as well, while acknowledging him as the main contributor to the first category, which is the development of the positioning theory.

2.6.2 The Second Category

The second category can be referred to as “intra-personal positioning.” As mentioned earlier, this category is the latest and the smallest in the line of the theory development. However, it is still significant and is supported by Moghaddam and Harré (2010) who use Hamlet as an illustration for intra-personal positioning by referring to his internal conflict. They note that “on the one hand, the intrapersonal process [is] associated with the macropolitical order and, on the other hand, [it contributes to] the maintenance of the social order” (p. 3–4). In this sense, it points to the heart of the problem faced “in the social psychology of the political arena” (ibid., p.5). This category provides an opportunity where a person can “take up a position with respect to himself and herself” (ibid., p.4.), which relates to reflexive positioning.
2.6.3 The Third Category

This category brings together researchers that are focusing on interpersonal positioning in a different context. From the group of the early researchers, two studies look at emotions and positioning. The publication of Walton, Coyle, and Lyons (2003) focuses on how individuals, mainly men, occupy emotional subject positions. The results of their study confirms that men “do position themselves in minimal emotional terms, according with typical social constructions of masculinity, they do so through an active process of construction and negotiation” (p. 57).

Emotions play an important role in positioning. While researching self-positioning with other individuals, Benson (2003) observes the role of negative emotions and their effects on identity formation and maintenance. Two studies by Sabat (2003 and 2008) analyse how people with loss of brain functions such as Alzheimer and dementia position themselves and also how they are positioned by others. Both cases that he presents are typical examples of malignant positioning. In his studies, he points out the importance of the way people perceive Self 2 while engaging in any kind of interactions with the afflicted individuals. Wetherell (2003) brings positioning and psychoanalysis together. Redman (2008) looks at a small-scale episode of research planning and within the rights and duties expressed in the storylines. He observes the negotiations of authorities. The conclusion is as follows: “Role gave way to Position and in turn position gave way to Role.” (p. 110).

Interpersonal positioning can give an opportunity to “stand out” or “blend in”. Lee, Lessem and Moghaddam (2008) observe these phenomena through the lens of positioning theory. Moghaddam and Ginsburg (2003) bring the theory to the contextual level of intellectual property rights where they discuss the cultural clash of different kind of positionings. Grattan’s study (2008) uses positioning theory to understand the removal of a feeding tube. The context is assisted suicide, and the case study is about the fate of Terri Schiavo. Here the study brings legal and moral positioning together. Davies’ (2003) study lays out how the borders of body-landscape shift. His purpose is “to see place not in terms of context, but as multiply inscribed text” (p. 294). His work may enable those who are willing to see refugees and their lives in a new light: seeing them as those who lost the familiar landscape. It also provides an insight by pointing out the embedded nature of our being.
Boxer (2003) uses the theory in the context of analysing quality systems and their effectiveness, and by doing so; he brings the theory to the level of organizational context. The case study, through the lens of positioning theory, allows to point out challenges that not only CBP (Consolidated Based Painters) but many other organisations are facing. The deeper understanding provided by positioning theory can lead to changes in the right directions. Winslade (2006) is also listed under this category. His study deals with an equally important context, namely counselling, where positioning theory can be a useful analytical tool. The study of Nielson and Brante (2010) come under this category but it also expresses issues related to micro-politics of organisations. Since the organisation where the positioning is played out is a school, therefore it will be particularly important in correlation with the present inquiry. The two researchers illustrate how rights and duties are negotiated among teachers with regards to helping out. The study of Harré and Rosetti (2010) is also important for the present inquiry since they refer to “the right to stand in an election,” an idea that may be analogous with the right to apply for a job in an international school. (A right that does not always exist, as some recruiting agencies work on the principle of “by invitation only.”)

This category is not finished here but rather brought to an end. There are many more publications with relevant context that could be worthy to be listed here, but the focus of this inquiry has its limitations, therefore only the most important pieces of research were mentioned in this category.

2.6.4 The Fourth Category

The last category, which encompasses “intergroup positioning,” will have an emphasis of the “self-to-group,” as well as the “group-to-group” positioning. As this literature review referred to it earlier, this category has a significant contextual theme, i.e., global conflict and resolution. That is why the study of Harré and Slocum (2003) can be found among the very first publications here, since it deals with disputes based on positioning theory. What one can conclude from the overwhelming majority of the publications dealing with the same or similar contextual fields is that positioning theory proved itself very useful to shed light on complex issues such as disputes and conflicts. According to Moghaddam and Harré (2010), “[P]ositioning issues arise at every level of the political process associated with conflict” (p. 8).
As this category will prove, group-studies clearly benefit from this additional analytical tool to gain a better understanding of the many aspects of complex situations what the implied groups and their interactions can represent. The above-mentioned publication by Harré and Slocum (2003) applies positioning theory to the dispute surrounding the plans to increase intake by a university. The two groups that are involved are the neighbouring community and the university. What positioning theory does in this case is to reveal the subtle underpinning of the dispute, and for this reason, it is able to provide a more thorough understanding. Another piece of research in this category focuses on “Sustaining Intergroup Harmony: An Analysis of the Kissinger Papers Through Positioning Theory.” The study was undertaken by Moghaddam, Hamley and Harré (2003). Herein, the focus is on small scale interactions that are taking place among leaders of countries. Maintaining and keeping the flow of talk is crucial in sustaining peace among leaders. By examining the shifting patterns of rights and duties, the researchers are able to reveal how maintaining talks can be achieved.

The study of Adams and Harré (2003) observes sixteenth/seventeenth century gender positioning. They do it so through the analysis of the dual use of second personal pronoun in Shakespeare’s play entitled Love’s Labours Lost. This piece of research reveals how variation in the use of the personal pronoun relates to different positioning. Aberdeen’s study (2003) uses the theory to gain a deeper understanding of postcolonial apologizing in Australia. In the case of Taylor, Bougie and Caouette (2003), positioning theory is in the service of gaining a richer understanding of the collective identity formation. Two of the authors (Taylor and Caouette) of this study, along with two other authors, Usborn and King [(2008) and (2010)] will further continue on by observing disadvantaged group positioning in a specific social situation such as the case of the indigenous people.

Identity is the topic of Slocum’s and van Langenhove’s study (2003) as they consider the discursive tool of identity in story lines specific to the European Union integration studies. Bartlett (2008), on the other hand, applies the theory to conflict analysis and resolution, specific to the discourse between the Makushi Amerindian population of Guyana and international organisations. His study can be considered as a contribution to category one as well, since he discusses structural constraints on positioning. The study of Schmidle (2008) examines two case studies of military campaign from the point of view the positioning of its leaders. Both, the
publications of Slocum-Bradley (2008) and Rothbart and Barlett (2008) provide with a deeper understanding of the Hutu and Tutsi conflict in Rwanda. The study of Moghaddam and Kavulich (2008) applies positioning theory to another conflicting international situation as they are looking at nuclear positioning and story lines.

As outlined above, one can see how the list of publications under this category confirms the statement by which the framing of this category started with, i.e., the underpinning contextual theme of conflicts and conflict resolutions. Most of the articles are either about dispute, violence or conflict, or about avoiding those by maintaining peace. The present author has chosen the study of Montiel and Christie (2008) to close this segment of this category. The unique nature of their publication nests in reflecting about positioning across layers during democratic transitions. This study, along with the many listed before, confirms how the theory allows a deeper understanding of a very complex and dynamic social situation. Another important application belonging to this category is the one that tries to shed light on terrorism by using positioning theory. Since the topic is not so much in line with the focus of the present study, reference is given here only to acknowledge the extensive work of Moghaddam on this issue.

Still within this category, we turn now to another group of publications: those that are focusing on socio-cultural positioning in an educational context. The works that are listed under this educational context come under the editorial work of McVee, Brock and Glazier (2011). The stories collected here refer to positioning in schools of K-12 settings. The conclusions confirmed by the articles included in this editorial work assert that teaching for and within diversity requires that educators would take positioning into account. However, due to the fact that most of the research compiled in this study is focusing on literacy, one can acknowledge their contribution only to the extent as they support positioning theory.

2.7. Concluding Remarks

The intent of the present literature review was to lead the reader through the evolving path of positioning theory and take notice, along the way, the relevant struggle of the advocacy work for the development of an adequate social psychology.

To close this chapter the present researcher wishes to borrow the words of Margolis (1987):
“Harré and his associates have done the community of psychology an enormous service, here and elsewhere, in providing a sensible and coherent account that refuses to reduce psychology to the merely biological, or to the merely individual (even if culturally informed), and reserves a considerable and as yet little understood formative, constitutive, and regulative role for social processes - particularly linguistic and dialogic ones - that are obviously recalcitrant to the principal reductive strategies.”

Margolis’ acknowledgement was written in reference to the publication by Harré, Clarke and de Carlo (1985), but it is as relevant today as in 1987 with the insertion that the circle of Harré’s associates has greatly grown in number since then.

From the point of view of the positioning theory, this chapter has given an overview of the literature in such a way that it provides evidence on how widely and how deeply the analytical tool of positioning can penetrate the manifold of social spheres in order to provide a better understanding of each other as individuals or groups in our complex social encounters.

The present inquiry will use the theory as a meaning-making, analytical tool to understand the self as an expatriate teacher, in the context of international schools. Therefore, it will focus on the positioning of the self in relation to other individuals and will engage with the conceptual framework developed by Harré and other contributors listed in this chapter.
CHAPTER 3 ILLUSTRATION OF THE POSITIONING THEORY FRAMEWORK AND THE RECRUITMENT FAIR

3.1 Illustrations of the Framework

The previous chapters have already introduced the field of the application, which, in the case of this inquiry, is the expatriate international school teacher’s engagement with the international schools. In this chapter, the present inquiry is set out to accomplish two things. Firstly, it intends to provide illustrations for the theoretical framework in order to set the scene for the analysis. Then, it will look at the social encounter of the recruitment fair and within the recruitment interview, from the point of view of the positioning of the self as an expatriate teacher. The point of view is important, since there have been studies mentioning recruitment of teachers for international schools such as Garton (2000) and Cambridge (2002), but both were looking at the same phenomena from organisational or administrative points of view. The present inquiry will look at the act of positioning, the fluid part the speaker plays in discursive construction of personal stories during the social episode. It will use transcribed interview conversations and will examine them through the lens of positioning theory. It will also refer to blogs and personal communications. As noted earlier, prior to considering the recruitment interviews, this chapter will start with the illustration of the theory. The figures included hereafter will demonstrate the social episode, and will provide a close view of the positioning of the self and the other to epitomise their relational nature. The illustrations included below hope to exemplify or extend the use of the positioning theory.

3.1.1 Social Episode

“Any natural division of social life is an episode” (Harré and Secord, 1972, p.147), meaning that it is the fundamental units of social interactions. As such, it is a dominant place for positioning. Therefore, the first illustration included hereafter will be the graphical image or rather the snapshot of episodic positionings. Harré and Secord (1972) further explain that “the content of a social episode includes not only overt behaviour, but thoughts, feelings, intensions and plans, etc., of the participants” (ibid.). In Figure 10, P1 represents Person 1, and P2 represents Person 2. The participants (P1 and P2) of the speech act, engage with each other and mutually position each other. As the title of the figure explains, it is the snapshot of episodic positioning. Along the
time scale, it also shows the cumulative positionings of the past. Through the visual representation, it can be seen how the same person is involved in several speech acts, and how he or she is positioned in different ways.

Positioning can only be understood in the context of discourse. Thus, the spiral ovals represent the discourse field. When two persons are engaging with each other in a speech act, they definitely bring in, and build on their past positioning experience from their previous discursive encounters. The present speech act of P1 and P2 are still in a flux; therefore, this illustration can only be a snapshot of the position they have assigned to each other and also to themselves in that specific moment of the given episode. It is important to note that P1, as shown in Figure 10, might have had a previous discursive engagement in another or similar social episode. Therefore, the previous positioning might have influenced the current positioning. As can be seen from the visual representation, every social episode consists of two characteristics. One is the ever-
changing negotiated position, which is established between the participants, and the other is the process of positioning. The illustration shows another characteristic of positioning, namely, that it is relational. Figure 10 is not a perfect representation, but it does illustrate the complexity of the system.

The definition of the concept of positioning, as coined by Harré and Langenhove (1999), states that it is the "study of local moral orders as ever-shifting patterns of mutual and contestable rights and obligations of speaking and acting" (p.1). Positioning theory, defined as such, closely links with language and discourse and it describes the fluidity of the term. In this way, the word "position" as defined by the two researchers, can further enlighten the meaning of the theory.

Harré and Langenhove (1999) note: “a position is a complex cluster of generic personal attributes, structured in various ways, which impinges on the possibilities of interpersonal, inter-group and even intrapersonal action through some assignment of such rights, duties, and obligations to an individual as are sustained by the cluster" (p. 1). From this definition, one can see how the term “position” implies the consideration of both, private and social. At the same time, it reveals how it is linked with social constructionism. According to the authors, it is linked on the basis of two principles: The first principle implies "what people do," and the second implies "what people are" (p.2).

What people do is not always "intentional," unless they consider positioning. Therefore, when considering the positioning theory, it refers to intentional actions. "What people are" means that they are the "product of a lifetime of interpersonal interactions"(ibid). For the social constructionists Shotter (1983) and Coulter (1981), personhood is created within different types of social discourse. When it comes to self-construction, discourse is important, whether it is interpersonal or intrapersonal, and culture is also woven into that self image that one has about him- or herself. Those discursive interactions are the basis of the dynamics of social life. Many psychological phenomena exist in, and are interpreted by, the discursive process. The word choice "interpreted" is important, since discourse uses the symbolic system of language. The view that social reality is constructed has moved many social science disciplines to a new analytical plateau of discourse. Looking at the social world through the lens of discourse has opened up new avenues in social research.
The growing awareness of analysing social reality, as constructed through discourse, turns social science research into the study of symbolic realm, an area that was previously quite neglected. That is why Slocum-Bradely (2010) advocates that social science requires a dual ontology: a “physical one” as well as a “symbolic one.” It should be agreed, that the latter, has been neglected, but if we are to go in the direction that Slocum-Bradely proposes, vigilance is needed. One has to keep in mind that these two realms do not have an independent life; therefore, they cannot be separated.

One can talk about positioning as long as one refers to some kind of subject embodied in discourse as a result of a social encounter. Both positioning theory as well as discourse analysis share a common agenda which helps to better understand the social realm and the social episodes people are engaging with. "Episodes as the structures of social encounters are like melodies in that they come into existence sequentially” (Harré and Langenhove, 1999, p. 5). This sequential existence is also well illustrated in Figure 10.

Harré and Langenhove (1999) noted that by considering the three basic features of interaction, we can understand and explain the social phenomena that are constructed.

"These three basic features are:

i. the moral positions of the participants and the rights and duties they have to say certain things,

ii. the conversational history and the sequence of things already being said,

iii. the actual sayings with their power to shape certain aspects of the social world” (p.6).

It can be argued that a conversational history is much more than just the recently accomplished dialogical engagement. Figure 10 provides a good illustration of that. In the case of the prospective expatriate teacher, the dialogue with the school’s website could count as part of the conversation history. One might call such an engagement as a virtual one, which can play a very important role in the actual social engagement. Its weight can be as crucial as the last statement of an actual conversation.
Let us continue with the illustration of the theory, since we will look at discourse more closely later on. So far, it was discussed how positioning theory is closely linked with the field of social reality. Positioning theory, as the two researchers Harré and Langenhove coined it, enables us to understand the nature of interactions as it offers a tool for getting inside of the situations. Just as the self is relative to the other, in the same way, positions are relative to each other (e.g., the positions between doctor and patient, teacher and pupil, teacher and teacher, etc.). In the social episode, position and story line mutually define each other.

Harré and Van Langenhove (1991) argue as follows:

“The fact that both, story line and illocutionary force of the speech acts are jointly created by the conversant and so are made determinate means that rejection of the original positioning by other conversants and the adopting of other positions redefines every aspect of the conversation… Positioning is to be understood as a way in which people dynamically produce and explain the everyday behaviour of themselves and others” (pp. 404-405).

Figure 10 illustrates the social episode and claims that it is only a snapshot, in order to overcome the difficulty that a still image might have capturing something as dynamic as what Harré and Langenhove just described in this quotation above. To capture more of the dynamic aspect of positioning, the illustration must take a closer view. The section below will highlight the mutual positioning of the self with the other.

3.1.2 Self and Other Positionings

Once the close focus is on the positioning of the self with the other in their mutual engagement, the dynamic is disclosed. Self and other positioning originate from the nature of discourse: “Whenever somebody positions him- or herself, this discursive act always implies a positioning of the one to whom it is addressed” (Langenhove and Harré, 1999d, p. 22). While thinking about the positioning of the other, a question might arise: “Could one’s self positioning and his or her positioning by the other result in a complete match?” If positioning of the other depends on the triad (position, storyline and social force), including discourse and perception; therefore, we will not be able to identify cases where the self-positioning and the positioning of others would fully
match. It can come very close, but it cannot be the same, since our perception of the other is
different. Hence, we can end up with the following scenario:

![Diagram showing initial and other positioning within the zone of proximity in the snapshot of the social episode.]

Figure 11. Initial and other positioning within the zone of proximity in the snapshot of the social episode.

Figure 11 shows the differences in positioning by the self and by the other for both cases P1
(Person 1) and P2 (Person 2). As discussed earlier, they can come very close to each other, but
can never be exactly in the same position. The difference in positioning is due to the determining
triad. However, difference in positioning, especially at the first encounter, can show a great deal
about how the other perceives the self and vice versa. The greater the distance, the greater is the
distance in positioning and, therefore, it may show the difference in the perception of the other.
If the differences in positioning are small in the mutual intercept of positioning, we might expect
greater acceptance and trust. Since the positioning of others is a triad as well, the positioning
distance cannot fully be equated with the perception alone. Perception can only be seen as one
component of positioning. Since the figure is static, it shows only a snapshot. Its dynamics can
be observed through the intercept that is in constant movement and is also dependent on the
evolving story lines. One can see how a small movement of either P1, P2 or (P2 by P1) or (P1
by P2) can start moving the intercept of the mutual positioning. Thus, in this sense, the visual
illustration in Figure 11, is able to grasp the dynamics that Harré and his fellow researchers are
referring to with regard to the essence of positioning.
The relational aspect of the positioning theory is truly visualized here by the *intercepting point* that is negotiated by the participants. In Figure 11, a zone of proximity is included in order to show when the positioning is such that the self and the other (P1 and P2), position each other in a way that the intercept lands within the zone of proximity. Let us now consider the same scenario, with different positioning and distance, such as the case below, in Figure 12, where P1 and P2 position each other in a way that they distance or isolate each other from their zone of proximity. The intercept lands outside of the zone of proximity. This might refer to a situation when they want to exclude each other and do not wish to have any engagement with each other. In this case, the intercept of their positioning is outside of their zone of proximity as shown in Figure 12. It is an interesting thought to ponder upon that the other, the other self, might come into our way but never really leave us. One might conclude this from the figure below. Even if the positioning is such that it is placing the self and the other on a parallel line, those lines will meet only in infinity, meaning that we might abandon those whom we have met but, in a sense, we can never ignore that encounter. The self cannot undo past encounters.

![Figure 12. Initial and other positioning outside of the zone of proximity in the snapshot of the social episode](image)

Similar distances in positioning in both cases (self and other) provide a more balanced perception and positioning of the two involved. On the other hand, if the distance is large in both cases, P1 and P2 might be accounted for a greater degree of misperception. When the two kinds of
positioning of the self and the other are very distant, it might give rise to difficulties or misunderstandings, even to the extent of leading to rejection. (This could be another topic to pursue in further research.)

When the self is engaged with the other (i.e., engaged in positioning) along those story lines, the self might find him- or herself contemplating along with Derrida:

“What is going to come, perhaps, is not only this or that; it is at last the thought of the perhaps, the perhaps itself. The arrivant will arrive perhaps, for one must never be sure when it comes to arrivance, but the arrivant could also be the perhaps itself, the unheard-of, totally new experience of the perhaps. Unheard-of, totally new, that very experience which no metaphysician might yet have dared to think” (1997, p. 29).

This quotation from Derrida shows the “unexpectedness” of what is going to come when the self is engaging with the other and, it is there, in this small but powerful word, what we call “perhaps.” It also shows that the engagement of the self and the other and their positioning is such that one might consider it a birthplace of that new experience. (Derrida’s thoughts of the “perhaps” is a reference to friendship. Bringing his thoughts into the context of positioning can mean friendship because the engagement of the self with the other can result in the arrival of the “arrivant”, i.e., friendship.) The rationale for bringing Derrida’s thoughts here are given by himself: “And there is no more just category for the future than that of the ‘perhaps’” (ibid). If we think of the self and its social engagements, it is what it can bring about, and what it can bring about, is best captured with the word “perhaps”.

Both Figures 11 and 12 show differences in positioning; i.e., how one positions him- or herself in comparison to how the self is positioned by the other. Derrida also mentions disproportion nested in the discourse of the other, and this is what he notes: “Whether or not the other answers, in one way or another, no mutuality, no harmony, no agreement can or must reduce the infinite disproportion. This disproportion is indeed the condition of sharing, in love, as well as friendship. In hatred as well as in detestation” (ibid., p. 220).

We have come a long way in considering what Derrida had to say, but it is necessary to show this personal side of the engagement of the self with the other and their positionings. The positioning theory, as visualised in Figures 11 and 12, can truly capture how the self is relational.
The self is a “self” in relation to the other. This interdependency of the self and the other is expressed by Derrida who states: “I must trust the other more than myself…” (p. 195). The same idea resonates through the words of Ricoeur: “Oneself as another” (1992). The illustrations of Figures 11 and 12 both exemplify and extend the use of positioning theory. Derrida’s thoughts of the “perhaps” may remind us that positioning is mutually negotiated. This leads us to the mutually determining triad that can be considered as the heart of the positioning theory.

3.1.3 The Mutually determining triad

The illustration included below represents the mutually determining triad as given by Van Langenhove and Harré (1999).

![Mutually determining triad](image)

Figure 13 Mutually determining triad  (Van Langenhove and Harré. 1999. p. 18)

One might say that the initial positioning of the expatriate international teacher is actualized in discursive construction, within the framework of the social episode of the interview. What this triad means in case of the subject of this inquiry will be shown below. According to the positioning theory, “[T]he structure of conversations is… tri-polar: it consists of positions, storylines and relatively determinate speech-acts” (Harré and Langenhove, 1999, p. 18). Looking at the social context of the interview, and how the teacher as self positions him- or herself and positioned by the other, is reflected in the social force and that of the storyline. This study will look at the application of the positioning triad under the heading “Recruitment Interview.” The recruitment interview will be introduced below within its wider content, i.e., the recruitment fair.

3.2 A Typical Recruitment Fair

3.2.1 Prior to the Fair

Prior to the fair, one must obtain membership through registration with any of the recruiting agencies mentioned in the previous chapter. For the registration, one must submit evaluations. In
the case of Search Associates, one has to provide a “Parent Evaluation” and at least three “Administrator Evaluation” forms.

The choice of parents and administrators, whom the candidate will ask for references, will play an important role from the point of view of the positioning. The candidate is already positioned with those whom he or she is asking for a reference; meaning he or she has a story line created by the referees. Therefore, the reference and evaluation will be affected by this story line. Here, it is important to note that the new positioning always feeds on previous positioning. Since we live our life through semiotics, we cannot separate ourselves from our embodiment. The completed evaluation form will stay on file and will contribute to the “forced positioning” of the self, as a potential candidate. The file selection of candidates is already a way of positioning them. The administrator might have made a list of first and second choices based on the available candidates pulled out from the databases of the recruiting agencies.

Once the membership has been obtained, one must reveal his or her intent to participate in a particular fair. It is important to note that, since each fair has typical characteristics, the candidate must obtain this information in order to choose the most suitable one. For example, there are fairs that are more for couples; others are more suitable for young graduates. Here is an example of how Search Associates is advertising one of its fairs: “The Recruitment Fair in Bethesda is the best Search Associates fair for teachers just entering the profession to find such a position” (www.searchassociates.com).

Certain skills and characteristics might be valued differently at different regional fairs. In order to be enrolled in any particular fair, the candidate has to obtain an invitation through the regional representative. The invitation to the fair provides access to interviews. To provide a sense of a “typical” fair, we have included a candidate schedule (c.f. Appendix) from one of the last fairs which was posted on the Search Associates website. The candidate schedule shows the first item on the agenda is the registration process after arriving at the fair.

**3.2.2 Registration upon Arrival**

A typical fair starts with the registration when the potential candidate arrives. After registration, the candidate can gain access to the list of participating schools and the location (hotel room numbers) of the schools’ administrators. The venue of the fair is usually one of the most
expensive hotels in the city. It is not compulsory for the teacher to stay at the same hotel; however, from the point of view of the positioning, it might be advisable to do so.

During registration, the candidate learns about the physical set-up of the fair. One might not value this information as much at first; however, from the point of view of the positioning, this information would come under what I would call “quick situational assessment.” Since recruitment represents a great deal of competition, to appreciate and to know the environment means to use it to gain an eventually profitable outcome in a short period of time. The behaviour that is displayed in the given milieu contributes to the information and expression given to the observer. Feeling and projecting familiarity with the environment will contribute to a better and more confident self-projection. Recruiters advise candidates to canvas the venue before the sign-up process and to locate the tables of those schools that the candidate is planning to engage. From the point of view of the positioning, the presentation of the self is important not only for the teacher but also for the administrators, because they represent not just themselves but also their schools. It is in everyone’s best interest to have a pleasant impression and encounter.

The recruitment fair is a very interesting and extremely intense social platform. We can define this process as a social encounter where the self and the other(s) engage in episodes of interviews to position themselves within a storyline in order to get a position or, in the case of the administrator, to find the appropriate candidate for the job. One might call this situation as a “showcase”. The present inquiry includes, in the appendix, a candidate schedule that will guide us through this segment that presents the fair itself. So far, I described the registration process. Let us come to the next item on the candidate schedule, which is the so-called “School Presentations.” (Many years ago, one would have found this item close to the end of the list. The organizers have moved this to the beginning of the fair.) These presentations serve two purposes: they take care of the free time for those who could not obtain pre-arranged interviews, and gives a chance for the school to present itself.

3.2.3 Schools' Presentations

Let us consider the relational idea of “oneself as another” and “the another as oneself.” Through the positioning theory, we can see that the other it is not so different from the one, i.e., the self. The schools presentations may provide an example of this relational idea. While the self is
seeking employment and the “other selves” (the school administrator) want to fill vacant positions in the school, this relational self positions close to the zone of proximity as it searches for a positive mutual positioning between the self as a teacher and the selves as the school represents itself by its administrator.

For the expatriate teacher who is representing him- or herself as a candidate at the fair, it is interesting to see that another expatriate, namely the principal, is doing exactly the same thing. What kind of meaning might this social encounter convey? One can take on different perspectives; either one observes the self as a teacher or one can look at the self as an administrator. Let us start with the first one. The expatriate teacher might consider the social encounter as one that provides him or her with the narrative of the school as presented by the administrator. This early encounter with administrators is also important from the point of view of positioning, since it usually ends with a “Questions-and-Answer” period. It is this session where the candidate already starts positioning him- or herself according to his intention by engaging him- or herself with the discourse led by the administrator at the schools’ presentations. The candidate’s interest might further develop this initial story line to get an invitation for an interview with the school, or if he or she already arranged an interview, it has the possibility to start a dialogue. For the recruiting administrator, it gives a chance to provide narrative of himself or herself, as well as that of the school.

Administrators have also started quite recently to include in their presentation their own teachers who are at the same fair seeking a new job. It is a recent phenomenon and may not be a well-established practice yet. However, this way, the candidate, who is in the process of moving to the new school, can refer to he a story line of another teacher leaving that school. This opportunity could also provide the candidate with a more legitimate story line. It also confirms what Stables (2003) proposes in his writing, namely that the “meaning of the “school’ is … dependent on actors’ perceptions”, and it can be best researched and understood as “phenomenographic fragments: pieces of described experience” (p. 895). Giving voice to a teacher who plans to leave the school where the other wants to be hired is important.

The administrators, who promote the practice described above, may do so in order to try to advocate and project an image of trust and transparency about their institution. Therefore, they
are more likely attracting candidates who are also developing trust and would decide to work for that school for a longer period of time in the case a contract is offered to them.

Selecting the proper timing of when to participate in these schools' presentations might differ from candidate to candidate. Some teachers might engage with a particular school’s presentation prior to the interview, some after the interview, and there will be some who are just there to learn about the school or pass the time without any direct intention. Since everything is on a very tight schedule, clashes might occur, and the candidate might miss the presentation. However, with new and improved technological advancement, fairs are improving, too. Teachers can have access to presentations on CDs or even through online access. Artefacts, CDs with school presentations, yearbooks and calendars are placed in the candidates’ lounge to look at or even take. All these tangible or online items are about telling a story: the story of the school. These presentations prior to the interviews mimic the same way as the websites. They equip the candidate with discourse fragments that he or she can use in the story line. They might also provide information for further decision-making.

The present inquiry already pointed out the competition among teachers. However, the same is true for schools and their administrators. Their presentations and how quickly they can find the right candidate put a lot of pressure on them as well. Preparation can add to their success; however, there are also unexpected elements. Sometimes new schools are added to the list in the last minute while other schools that were supposed to come cancel the fair. It all comes down to the vivid awareness and assessment of the environment, and the situation the self finds him- or herself. Goffman’s strategic interactionist view resonates here as well. (“Just as the process of communicating information itself expresses information, so also a corpus of communicated signs has expressive aspects” 1969, p. 9.)

3.2.4 Orientation

During the orientation, the first event in the eve of the fair, recruiting agencies hold a presentation, which summarises the up-coming events. In this presentation, the agencies stress the number of schools, number of candidates, and the number of successful hiring at past fairs. The purpose of the presentation is to create a positive ambiance in the advent of possible interviews, i.e., social encounters where the expatriate teacher as a self can engage with a school
administrator in order to obtain a future posting. Administrators do not usually participate in this event as they have to review the files of prospective candidates.

3.2.5 The Sign–Up Session

As mentioned earlier, the participants are advised to get familiar with the setup the night before the actual event. That night is spent on the preparation of lists. Candidates are preparing the list of schools they would like to have interviews with while administrators are preparing the list of candidates they would like to hire for their schools. Schools are then preparing their opening signs for the next day. Prior to the sign-up, there is a long queue starting as early as one hour before the opening of the doors of the venue. Competition is high. The arrangement is first come first served. If the candidate has an interview late in the day, the opening might be already filled. It may happen that a candidate is knocking at the door of the recruiter’s hotel room to present himself/herself for the scheduled interview, but the job was already offered to another candidate by that time. It is less likely to happen now since recruiters were asked by the fair organizers to finish all pre-arranged interviews before giving out positions or signing any contracts.

The “Sign–Up Session” is another opportunity for the candidate to engage him- or herself in a social episode. Most of the time, this social episode represents the very first discourse that the teacher is having with the administrator or the recruiter. The first impressions such as self-confidence and self-projection, displayed by the candidate, are contributing factors to a successful interview arrangement and, consequently, for positioning in the social episode. Even at this early stage, there are signs that the self can consider as good indicators as to where the positioning is heading. If the candidate is important to the administrator, he or she might already be on the school’s list for interviewing.

It might be a case of the candidate who had already a previous encounter through the file system; i.e., the school had contacted the candidate after his or her file was selected. If the school expressed interest and invited the candidate for an interview, the he or she most, likely will get an early interview. If the administrator offers a late interview to the candidate when the school’s interview schedule form is still empty, this might mean that the school is not so much interested in engaging with that candidate. On the other hand, if the recruiters have already referred to the candidate’s file during the sign-up session, it means there is an invested interest in the candidate
on behalf of the administrator. In the following examples, we are referring to some retrospectively recalled story lines that might indicate a promising outcome.

Hence, a recruiting administrator’s story line can already indicate a positive interest while engaging with a prospective candidate during the sign-up session by including such phrases as:

“I have seen your file.”

“I believe we left an invitation for you.”

“Could you come for an interview, let us see, we finish with the sign-up by 11:00 A.M., so either at 11:00 or 11:30?”

“We have three positions open at our school; one is on Campus A and two on Campus B; which one would you be interested in?”

“We are definitely looking for a couple such as you are” (Personal communication, 2011).

“We have seen your CV and are interested in you.”

After the sign-up session, where both recruiters and candidates have finalised their schedules, they are ready to start the interviews.

3.2.6 The Recruitment Interview

3.2.6.1 Interview and the Initial Positioning Triad

The interview can be considered as the culminating point of the whole fair and it is this social episode where the positioning can be exemplified. It is under this heading that the present inquiry will engage with the application of the analytical framework of positioning as it was foretold while discussing the mutually determining triad.

One also has to consider the mutually determining triad as it may apply to the initial positioning of the expatriate international school teacher. The position, as Harré and Langenhove (1999) describe it, “may emerge ‘naturally’ out of the conversational and social context” (p. 18L).

Looking at the social context of the interview and within how the teacher self positions him- or herself depends on the social force and the storyline. He or she has to write himself or herself in the storyline as “the best fit for the job” or the “only one for the job.” This demanding process of positioning, that started with the written discourse at the recruiting agency (where we found the
self “lost in semiotics”), continues on when one arrives at the candidates’ lounge for the
recruitment.

The candidates’ lounge is a place to gather and check for new interview invitations in the
candidates’ filing cabinet, or place a CV or note in the schools’ filing cabinet. In the lounge, one
has to project a sense of great self-confidence, which goes along with the positioning storyline.
One might find it quite intimidating to have all the competing teachers in the same room with
such a strong projection of the self. However, this is the norm; otherwise a candidate would be
interpreted as lacking of self-confidence. This scenario, from the point of view of the
positioning, makes much more sense here. Figure 14 can show all these from the point of view of
the “Position –Act/Action- Storyline Triad” in case of the expatriate teacher, as he or she is
captured in the initial positioning, in the beginning of the interview.

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**Figure 14. Teacher’s Initial Position in the “Position –Act/Action- Storyline Triad”.** [Based on Harré et al., 2009, p.18]

It is important to evoke the word “initial”. The reason for this is that during the real positioning
(the interview), the position-taking might change. Either the administrators or the self can
position themselves differently. In the case of the teacher, it would mean that he or she
challenges the initial positioning which would result in repositioning. When this first order of
positioning is challenged, it is called an “accountive” positioning. What does this may mean in a
real interviewing situation? The speech act, or social encounter, which is the interview itself,
would remain the same. The teacher’s position might be a new one, which he or she can initiate,
or it might just take on the storyline that was left for him or her by the interviewing
administrator. In this scenario, there are two kinds of main positionings happening
simultaneously: the “self” and the “other” positioning. Referring to repositioning, we can notice
that the window of opportunity is limited for these types of situations that may turn into:
1. a “not-so-forced” other positioning, or

2. a “not-so-deliberate” self positioning

which allows for a smooth repositioning. The forced or deliberate positioning might have a wider window of opportunity, and it is imposed, since it can be initiated independently by the self or by the other(s). This “not-so-forced” or “not-so deliberate” positioning is not mentioned in the literature and it might not be viewed as a different type of positioning but rather an “invitation”. Invitation can be considered in another way, as a positioning space in the discourse, such as a pause or a hesitation. Harré and Langenhove (1999) described other categories of intentional positioning which is included in Table 15 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of intentional positioning</th>
<th>Performative positioning</th>
<th>Accountive positioning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-positioning</td>
<td>deliberate self-positioning</td>
<td>forced other positioning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other-positioning</td>
<td>deliberate positioning of others</td>
<td>forced positioning of others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15. Types of intentional positioning (Table 2.1 of Harré and Langenhove (1999, p. 24)).

A note from Harré and Langenhove (1999) should be added here with regards to their use: “These distinctions are merely analytic and that whenever positioning occurs, several forms of positioning are likely to be occurring simultaneously” (p. 24).

The table mentions self- and other-positioning. This originates from the nature of discourse: “Whenever somebody positions him/herself, this discursive act always implies a positioning of the one to whom it is addressed” (p. 22). The authors list other different types of positioning that this study briefly describes here and will mention later at the application stage. The Tacit positioning refers to “positions that we are unaware of having taken up” (McVee, 2011, p.13). Let us consider the first and second order positionings: the first order positioning happens when individuals locate the self and others discursively. Second order positioning occurs when the self questions the way he or she had been positioned in the first order positioning and negotiates a
new position. In the case of moral and personal positioning, “[P]eople can be positioned with regard to the moral orders in which they perform social actions” (Harré and Langenhove, 1999 p. 21). Performative and accountive positioning take place when “[F]irst order positioning can be questioned in two ways” (ibid.) and both amount to accountive positioning, whereas, “in first order positioning people position themselves and others within an ongoing and lived storyline” (ibid).

Naturally, variations of these positionings can occur, since positioning is discourse-driven. Deliberate self positioning occurs in a case when the teacher, as a self, expresses his or her professional identity in the form of autobiographical stories. The interview gives a chance for the teacher to express deliberate self-positioning. For an expatriate teacher, who might have worked at several international schools, the interview can give a chance for the self to sum up a professional autobiography by using narrative voice. That is probably the most positive experience for the expatriate teacher: to have a chance to deliver this short accumulative account. “When a person is engaged in a deliberate self positioning process this often will imply that they try to achieve specific goals with their act of self positioning” (ibid., p. 25). For the teacher who applies for the job, the intention or the goal is to be hired.

Since it is the self who is placing him or her into the storyline, the story will be defined by how the self wants to be “presented” in the framework of the goal it has in mind. Goffman (1970) has another name for deliberate self positioning; he calls it “strategic interaction.” He further explains that “the subject can influence in his own favour responses to a situation which includes himself” (ibid., p. 10). I will stay with this topic for a while, since it is here, at the initial positioning, that the self-presentation is very important. Under the topic of “expression games,” Goffman (1970) has something important to share with regard to the self and, in this case, with the teacher:

“The subject appreciates that his environment will create an impression on the observer, and so attempts to set the stage beforehand. Aware that his actions, expressions and words will provide information to the observer, the subject incorporates into the initial phases of this activity a consideration to the informing aspects of its later phases, so that the definition of the situation he eventually provides for the observer hopefully will be one he feels from the beginning would be profitable to evoke” (ibid., p.12).
Goffman’s quotation (1970) takes us back to the candidates’ lounge where the teachers gather together either before or after the interviews. At this stage, an increased awareness of the impact that the self can have on the observers of the environment is evident. Subconsciously and consciously, teachers are already displaying the kind of behaviour that they think is expected from them to their peers. For certain individuals this might contribute to or evoke stress. I can recollect my personal experience here from one of the recruitments. It happened just before the interviews were starting. I was walking toward the teachers’ lounge when I noticed a young teacher who was standing outside of the lounge. Since inside they had comfortable seating arrangements I invited her inside. She replied: “I would rather not go inside because I would feel more stressed”. (Personal communication, 2009) Thus, some teachers might avoid visiting the candidate’s lounge at this stage. It is important here to mention appearance as well, since international schools are catering mainly to the upper-middle and higher classes. Therefore, appearance does count and has a role in the positioning process. “Human beings must display both a personal identity (appear as singularities) and a social identity (appear as instances of types) in order to appear full as persons” (Harré and Langenhove, 1999, p. 24).

The topic of self-awareness and self-knowledge requires a little more thought in relation to positioning. What does this mean? The positioning self needs to be aware of “who he or she is.” This means the awareness of the person \(\{S1, S2, S3\}\). (Therefore, I have some hesitation reading professional articles where the positioning theory is applied without reference to the self, unless they are referring to a larger unit such as institutions). Hence, to address the question “Who am I?” means to have an understanding of the fundamental entity of who I am as a person as \(\{S1, S2, S3\}\), referring back to Harré. In Ricoeur’s terms, it calls for a “reflection by way of analysis, the dialectic of selfhood and sameness and … the dialectic of selfhood and otherness” (Ricoeur, 1992, p. 16). Self-understanding in Ricoeur’s terms is a “detour” or interpretation of perceived norms. On the other hand, Harré (1998) expresses awareness as follows:

“My field of awareness, though centered in a singularity, is a complex structure of relations to my environment, past, present, future... To be one and the same person my point of view must be continuous, relative to an all encompassing material framework, including the world of other embodied beings (p. 91).”
Self-awareness and understanding are important while analysing any intentional action. Therefore, it is important, especially when the self is positioning him- or herself in a typical social episode, that he or she would know him- or herself relative to the entities that are involved in the episode. Here, I would underline “relative to the episode”. Hence, as we will see, the self will need to engage with interpretations of discursive signs and symbols. Self-awareness brings up the association of consciousness. In literature, we can sometimes find the two terms used interchangeably. However, Derrida reflects on the concept in the following way: “Consciousness offers itself to thought only as self-presence, as the perception of self in presence.” (Derrida, 1982, p.13). I agree that both Harré and Derrida refer to the perception of the self, but not at the same level. Their concepts differ in intensity and origin. Awareness for Harré means human effort. As Derrida sees it, consciousness is at a higher level, and it is “a privilege.”

Therefore, the two concepts are different because they imply two different levels of perception and different levels of existence. In this sense, we can think of self-awareness or self-understanding as a requirement for positioning. Consciousness can accompany positioning in a varying degree. However, as described by Derrida, it can occur only in a very rare and privileged case. (One encounter that I can think might count as such would be the act of Padre Maximilian Kolbe. He volunteered to give up his life to save a stranger during World War II. However, this still remains an assumption on my part, since it is only the self that can evaluate such a heroic and unselfish encounter in the same Derrida might have described it.)

Both, personal and social identities, accompany each other in the discourse. The present research inquiry already mentioned autobiographies. Their place here is to help the self legitimate certain claims by referring to his or her past experience. (Interviewing administrators are concerned with what kind of international school or IB experience one might have had.) At the same time, the administrator is also preparing for the positioning. Most of the time, he or she will have the recollection or the hard copy of the CV of the interviewee from the recruitment database. Let us consider the mutually determining triad from the point of view of the recruiting administrators. Often, it comes up in a written or oral discourse, “the school has hired X number of new teachers.” In such situations, the question that comes to mind is: “Is it really the school that hired them? Is it not the process of the positioning (initiated by either side: the teacher as a self or the administrator as a self) that determined the hiring?” When we are looking at this
situation, one should remember that social episodes cannot be separated from the selves who are involved. In the case of the positioning acted out by the administrator, the speech act itself stays the same. Nevertheless, the administrators’ storyline represents a different perspective as he or she is focusing more on the organization as being the best choice for the candidate (see Figure 14).

Figure 15. The administrators’ initial position in the “position –act/action- storyline triad”.

The current practice shows that recently administrators have started to arrange two interviews during the recruitment fair. The first (initial) interview places more emphasis on the teachers’ self-positioning; whereas, if there is an “invitation” for the second interview, it means that the administrators are already thinking of placing the teacher within the organization. If such positioning occurs, it most likely expressed as a “deliberate positioning of others”.

"In short, Positioning Theory looks at what a person ‘may do and may not do’ (Harré et al, 2009, p. 9). It is up to the self to reposition oneself and change/challenge the storyline. Let us consider the following: the teacher learns that there is a coordinator or department head position available. If he or she wants to take on that position, then he or she must take on a new positioning and start developing a corresponding storyline.

So far, we have looked at the initial positioning triad of both the prospective expatriate teacher and the administrator. As Langenhoven and Harré (1999) note: “By means of this triad conversation can be analysed to uncover the episodic structures” (p. 18). In order to illustrate the episodic structure of conversations, the present research inquiry will include relevant transcripts from past recruitment interviews below.
3.2.6.2 The interview of Peter and John

In the first interview segment, the name Peter is assigned to the interviewer and John to the interviewee in order to keep them anonymous. John has seen a science opening at the school and arranged an appointment for the interview during the recruitment fair. The segment below captures their first encounter; i.e., the first interview:

**Episodic structures of conversation between the interviewer (Peter) and interviewee (John)**

1. **Peter**: Football, cricket? Australia, cricket?
2. **John**: There you go.
3. **Peter**: At least we're beating India. You should have come in last night and gone to the 2020 game.
5. **Peter**: They did.
6. **Peter**: But my namesake plays for the team and I think he did quite well.
7. **Peter**: Yeah he is, actually he's fine, I have to say. It's good fast balls around [ph] I know for Australia as well. We've got four young guys coming through.
8. **John**: Yeah? Well we cleaned India up so it's...
9. **Peter**: ... I mean actually in teaching.
10. **John**: All right.
11. **Peter**: So chemistry or physics, which is your main passion? You pick.
12. **John**: All right, chemistry.
13. **Peter**: Okay.

The episodic structure of the conversation above can reveal different story lines. The story line that is running from 1 to 8 is one storyline. Within it, the participants are positioned as sports fans, and the story line is sharing the recent sport event. One might note that this kind of icebreaker shows a very typical gender encounter. Usually, men are more prone to engage in discussions about sports. The sport that they refer to also reflects cultural communality of some English speaking countries. Both Peter and John are positioned as a complementary pair until line 8. In line 8, Peter engages in a new storyline as he starts talking about the recruitment. Since John is not realizing the change in the story line, Peter reconfirms the switch in line 9. As Peter repositioned himself as an administrator in line 11, he also starts a new storyline that is about teaching. This shift is acknowledged by John in line 12, as he takes on a complementary position as a teacher/interviewee. Line 11 gives an explicit part to John to take on a subject-position. In line 14, John is engaged in a deliberate self-positioning.
14 **John:** Chemistry. Chemistry, uhm… I've been in X school for three years and I've been doing mainly chemistry I.G.C.S.E. for three years. I've occasionally helped out at A.S. level. When we've had a problem with I don't know, teacher being absent or some other problem or….I've been doing A2 for two years. This is my second year doing A2. I mean there's only a few students doing it. There were ten last year. There's three this year, but last year five out of ten got good enough grades to go to medical school in the country of B [ph?] so I quite enjoyed the intellectual challenge of delivering A2 with the animation from the CD from the LXL [ph?] syllabus uh.. plus my own interpretations of explaining complex chemical theories simply with little uhm.. stories in my head.

The explicit part gives John an opportunity to tell a short strip of his life with the narrative “chemistry” in which he gives a personal/professional performative autobiographical account. The performative account includes reference to his pupils, an example that he uses to position himself. The position that he is taking on might seem boastful; however, within the context it would count as a proper pride. The last sentence reveals something about his (imaginative) personhood, “explaining …theories with little stories in [his] head”. John’s narrative in line 14 is what one would call an “autobiography,” but because it is given in an oral context, we can also refer to his story as an “epic,” using Harré’s term. According to Harré: “Biographical talk has to be understood as stories that resemble the Greek oral narrative, the epic, more than they resemble the literary genre of autobiography in the tradition of Augustine and Rousseau” (Harré and Langenhove, 1999, p. 63). Line 14 is a performative self-positioning and, as such, shows the indexicality of the self. Reference to the “I” in that short story had been given seven times. Let us follow their story lines as they evolve:

15. **Peter:** Chemistry high level diploma, do you know much about the difference between that and the A levels?
16. **John:** I don't to be honest.
17. **Peter:** Because it seems to be the one size… that seems to be the hardest to transfer across from what you see, from A level [ph?]. I don't know why in terms of teaching. There seems to be a different quite a different approach. Physics seems to do it okay. Biology always seems to be okay so I don't know why but chemistry …
18. **John:** Oh right.
19. **Peter:** So let me just check your qualifications because I have to check that.(He is looking at John’s CV) So you've got a bachelor of science in chemistry so that's not a problem because one of the problems we have in this country is just getting everyone registered that they can actually teach what they want to teach.
20. **John:** Right, I've also done my induction year in G as well before I came to the city of K. which is a requirement in the U.K. system. You do your P.G.C.E. [ph?] and you've got five years to do your induction and get it done, approved, etcetera, so I've done that induction year in G, that's finished so I can be a teacher until I'm 90 or whatever. Uhm.. now because I've
been in the city of K for this period of time I have got notarization of my degree certificates, my P.G.C.E., Q.T.S., I don't think I've got my A levels uhm…

21. **Peter:** I wouldn't stress that greatly but you know, it's just one of those things that they've just brought in. I know I had to actually- no I had to do mine as well I have to say and they actually asked for my grade ten certificate which we don't actually have in the state that I come from so…so that was easy, I said "No, we don't have them." So it's uh… the paperwork is a bit of a nightmare. So … if I walked into your chemistry class, what would I expect to see?

John’s epics indicate that his experience lies mainly in teaching A level. In line 15, Peter is asking John to position himself with his knowledge about comparing the program he taught with that of the IB high level. Since John’s reply is negative, (he cannot provide the corresponding or expected discourse), it starts disturbing the initial triad. (Peter might start thinking that John might not be the best fit for the school, while John might start having doubt about whether this school is the best choice for him.) The missing discourse segment reminds us what Harré formulated in the following way: “To know anything is to know in terms of one or more discourses” (Davies and Harré, 1999, p. 34). That missing discourse from John offers a new positioning to Peter who, in the following line, takes on the role of giving John an explanation. In line 18, John is acknowledging it. Then, Peter remembered that he has certain duties, one of which is to check the qualification of the teacher candidate, which he articulates in line 19. What we learn from his storyline, as he is lamenting, that it is not just his duty as an interviewer, is that it is also a legal obligation to meet with the local ministry requirement. In line 20, John inserts a small performative epic explaining what he has done in terms of qualification and he also admits that he might not have his A level. As a reply, Peter starts up with a sympathetic suggestion, as he momentarily positions himself at the same level with John, while admitting that he also had to deal with problems such the “paperwork nightmare.” Here, another important issue is resurfacing, namely legitimation.

At the beginning of the interview, both the teacher and the administrator follow the initial storyline. Then things begin to evolve. One of the issues that would require more thought is the legitimation of interviews during the fair. An interesting aspect of the recruitment process is to observe how legitimation is done. Both, the self (the expatriate teacher) as well as the other (the administrator) have an extremely short time to finalize their intentions: for the teacher, it is to find employment and for the administrator, it is to fill a position. Therefore, the legitimation
process has to be quick and efficient. Legitimation surfaces from the interplay of the written and oral discourses.

During the fair, we can see how one type of discourse legitimates the other. If the administrator has done his or her homework, i.e., has consulted the written discourse of the candidate in the recruiting database, this will be the primary source, and the oral discourse during the interview will provide the legitimation. If the school’s representative had no time to check the database, or this is a candidate that was not pre-selected by the school, then the interview will be considered the primary source and its content will be legitimated by the written discourse (the database record about the candidate). One can also observe a constant interplay of the written and oral discourse from the point of view of legitimation.

Figure 16. Legitimation through the interplay of written and oral discourses.

As we can see, in the case of John’s interview, Peter goes back and revisits John’s CV to confirm his qualifications. But as we return to their interview, we can see how quickly, after the short complementary positioning, Peter is switching back to his administrative position by asking the following: “If I walked into your chemistry class, what would I expect to see?” The answer to this hypothetical scenario is given by John in a deliberate self positioning which results in a somewhat longer epic than what he produced in line 14.

22. **John:** Well if you walked into my chemistry class you would expect to see uh.. title, uh.. an objective, and hopefully what the kids will..will have learned by the end of the lesson alright? You would expect to see uh.. some kind of demonstration or practical work or some kinesthetic activity for the kids to do. Uhm.. there would be some work as evidenced in their book of what they've done in the lesson for- for the parents to observe. Uh.. so- so that they know that they've done something in the lesson. Uhm.. a little status I normally do odd one
out or something like that. If it's a lo- it's in the lower part of the- the s- the school with uh.. and if it's lower part of the school uh.. up more activities of- of shorter time and duration. Me not speaking as- as much as I do at higher level. Uh.. and a sum up at the end. Asking questions as or maybe I do a- a peer review depending on time. If- if I was- if I was being observed I- I would do it a little bit more thoroughly with- with cards. If it was sort of like uhm.. an analysis lesson uh.. how to test for uhm.. iron (II), iron (III), copper- copper (II), uh.. I'll have colored cards at the end after a little practical circus [ph?]. "What- you know what color is the precipitate when you add such and such to copper (II) iron?" They hold the blue card up.

This situation it is also interesting because it is initiating a kind of reflection from John. The story line evolves even further:

23 Peter: Good. Now teaching general science for grades six to ten at the moment will probably be which is M.Y.P. [ph?] because I have my teachers have to teach M.Y.P. as well. I can't just give you the senior class, so how do you feel about teaching a grade six General Science class?

24 John: Wow, General six, grade six, uhm.. yeah, I mean that's gonna be some- some dif- some different challenges. Uh.. but I th- I think that uhm.. it would be quite an interesting …experience. I've only ever done uh.. a week in uh.. a primary school uh.. but which- which was- which was certainly quite enjoyable. Uhm.. uh.. yeah. No problem with that.

25 Peter: Yeah because that's a…

In line 23, Peter is presenting and pressing a new issue. He wants John to position himself within a new context, which is to see himself as a grade 6 teacher. John’s reaction and wording show his surprise: “Wow, general six, grade six…” As his reply shows in line 24, to position him as grade 6 teacher would mean “different challenges” even if it “it would be quite an interesting …experience” as he tells it. His words captured his astonishment very well. Using the word “general” for six instead of science, shows how much his mind is occupied with the thought of grade 6. This interview sample may illustrate well how the individual is emerging from the social interaction of the interview and how he or she is constituted and re-constituted through the discursive practices by the means of taking on different positions.

As indicated earlier, according to the initial triad, the goal of the candidate might have been to write himself into the storyline as the best for the position. However, through discourse, as the candidate is gaining meaning progressively, the initial triad might change. Due to the constitutive force of the discourse he or she might decide, or is forced to reposition him- or herself, in order to describe him- or herself as the best candidate for the job. This scenario would apply to the administrator as well who might, due to the discursive force, begin developing doubt about
whether his school would be the best fit for the candidate. This interview did not result in any kind of job offer and John, receiving Peter’s business card, brought the interview to a close.

The present research inquiry will include another interview segment that was conducted by Peter to illustrate his performative positioning as administrator. The segment will reveal the biography/history of the school. The interviewee is named Mary who has been teaching BTEC and interested in the IBCC teacher position.

3.2.6.3 The interview of Peter and Mary

Episodic structures of conversation between the interviewer (Peter) and interviewee (Mary)

1. **Peter**: Did you get the bit about the IBCC course at the end, or maybe you missed it?
2. **Mary**: Maybe I missed it. I was there for the first 15 minutes. I maybe missed the last 10.
3. **Peter**: The IBCC is the International Baccalaureate Certified Certificate. So what are we-- what it is is like an alternate pathway at home, Australia, and Britain and sort of, you know, and it's a one way you can also get into university. And the IB has recognized that this is a need for those students who are not quite academic, because the diploma is very academic and high-end, etc.
4. **Mary**: It is.
5. **Peter**: So what we've done is took-- we've been trying to find an alternate pathway for our students for a while. The IBCC came out with the IB, and so we've got our pilot school this year. Essentially the program is a BTEC or recognized in the international programs, so we're using BTEC because we going to become an Edexcel center so we can provide that. The-- then I do two diploma subjects as well as-- like the diploma, and I have to do a, uh.. an essay because it's more a so-- uh.. like a social response to the area of work. So they're trying to find a social issue. Excuse me.
6. **Mary**: It sounds a lot like the BTEC, visiting [ph?] _____ ability module on the BTEC, one of the BTEC courses. It sounds like that, yeah.
7. **Peter**: And so, yeah, it probably is similar. And they also do community service, you know, the diploma _______ because they do community service, which is service learning, so they have to go out and set up or look for an aide [ph?] and do it that way, which _______ is going to go towards anyway. They, uh.. the next part is, uh.. it's, uhm.. so they do a component similar-- not like TAK, but sort of similar, you know, like--
8. **Mary**: DBs [ph?] and things like that, yeah.
9. **Peter**: Not quite as intense, and they also do an English-- sorry, a language course as well as two diploma subjects. The language course is-- we're structuring it more like a business, uhm..--

From the first exchange, one learns that the two participants have already met prior to the interview. What Peter learns from this first exchange is that Mary missed his presentation; therefore, in line 4, he positions himself as a presenter explaining what IBCC (International Baccalaureate Career-Related Certificate) is all about, while Mary takes on the position of the audience. Mary positions herself as a good listener and confirms how academic IB is, in line 5. After that, in line 6, a new storyline initiated by Peter gives a short segment from the life of the
school. Peter’s reference to the school is made by the use of the word “we.” In the case of the teacher, it was the word “I” that provided indexicality, whereas, in the case of the school, it is the word “we” that provides the same function. In Peter’s epic, sequentially to line 6, the word “we” appears six times. After the short performative positioning by Peter, in line 7, Mary seizes the opportunity to write herself into the story line, i.e., to link the new course that she is supposed to teach (and in which she has no experience) with her past teaching profile.

From the evolving storylines, the present analysis will connect to line 22 where Peter is positioned as an administrator by explaining the position (the job). This segment is important, since it shows that even Peter has to convince himself about many things related to this position. While he is saying that it is a full time position, he also adds: “I would think…. ” The use of the word “may” (three times) also contributes to the sense of uncertainty. Then, Peter also admits that he is “not quite sure”.

What this interview segment confirms, which happens many times during the recruitment, is the presence of uncertainty that surrounds many of the advertised job openings. Therefore, this segment may illustrate the difficulty that the candidate teacher might encounter. As a conclusion, Mary’s reply in line 23 summarizes the situation:

“(23) Mary: All right, so you’ve got the B… You’ve got one BTEC teacher, but you’re looking at someone who’s flexible.”

This trait of being flexible is an expected characteristic of the expatriate teacher, and it also refers to the need to make positioning a trait of his or her trade. Although this research inquiry is not focusing on gender issues, gender differences in cases of both discourse and positioning can be observed. Looking at the gender issue in recruitment could be another desired topic of further research. In order to briefly illustrate such an issue, the present study will include a short segment from an interview that was conducted by Sue as administrator.

3.2.6.4 The interview of Sue and Ben

Episodic structures of conversation between the interviewer (Sue) and interviewee (Ben)

1. Sue: Where do you work?
2. Ben: I’m working for a company called G School.
3. Sue: All right. Mm-hm.
4. Ben: And we’re in a local school. So we’re part of the ATIC reform.
5. Sue: Oh, this PPP thing?
By looking at the interview segment, the obvious difference that one can notice right away in comparison with the previous interviews is the layout. One would think that by considering the outline of the interview conducted by Sue, there is no place in it for performative self-positioning or “epic.” In this case, the longer autobiographical segments seem to be missing. However, a closer view might confirm a certain degree of perceptual illusion. What is obvious from the layout of this interview is how much Sue is behind each sentence that Ben is saying. Her positive reinforcement through affirmation provides reassurance and confidence, something she might
feel is important. This affirmation *might* be seen as gender specific. In the interviews conducted by Peter, the number of times he expressed affirmation were much less in comparison to Sue as an interviewer. Coming back to the missing epic phenomena, it is truly not missing. The epic is there; one simply must exclude Sue’s affirmations to find it. Ben’s performative positioning then could be read as follows:

I’m working for a company called G School.
And we’re in a local school. So we’re part of the ATIC reform.
It’s been a great three years. We’ve been at the same school, our team’s been at the same school, for three years.
We’ve had a lotta success, and it’s been uhm.. for me, it’s... it’s allowed me to develop, you know, new skills.
And it’s a leadership role.
Teacher/mentor, teacher/adviser. Uhm… it’s been great.
It’s been great.
I do miss the classroom.
Uhm.. I do miss working with an international curriculum.
But in terms of the opportunity this provides... been amazing.
Yeah. And- and, you know, I- I’ve done various roles over the years, teaching and leadership. So uhm.. it’s- it’s allowed me to kind of either start or hone certain skill sets.
Uhm.. but as I mentioned, you know, I’m an elementary trained teacher and core business is… …working with kids.
And I…I do co-teach now. Uh.. or- or the teacher model, teach-- whatever you’d like to call it uhm.. but it’s-it’s just not the same.
You know?

From the above segment, one can see how Ben’s epic starts at line 2 and runs until line 37 in which he gives a short account of his work. It is interesting to note that Ben is using the expression “you know” repeatedly. The word usage can imply that he is assuming that the other party, Sue, understands the situation. From the point of view the positioning, it is like a double-edged sword: it can either weaken or strengthen the positioning. Strengthen the positioning, if it is used with tactic, or weaken, in a sense, that the user leaves the situation partly unexplained, therefore, leaves room for interpretation (by the other), over which he or she no longer has control. In this scenario of Ben, it can induce both effects. Since Ben’s epic is such that it does not give a clear indication to Sue as to whether he is positioning himself as an administrator or as a teacher, after having been told about these two different openings, in line 37, Sue is asking him to confirm his intention: “So you want to get back to the classroom or are you looking for a leadership position?”

Ben’s answer is: “I’m … I’m looking for either/or.” As the storyline develops, in line 295, Ben’s intention is expressed somewhat differently:
“The role I’m in now is a leadership role. I don’t want to completely disregard that.”

One might see this as inconsistency, however this insert only illustrates the general characteristics of oral autobiographical stories. As Harré and Langenhove (1999) note: “In writing, ‘backwards scanning’ makes it possible to eliminate inconsistencies. There is no equivalence for this in oral performance: a spoken word can never be erased, yet oral expressions can be retrospectively revised and redefined very easily” (p. 66).

Another interesting segment, from the same interview from the point of view the indexicality, is line (217) where Sue says:

217 Sue: We have a very clear vision. We know where we’re going, we know how we’re going to get there, and we’re getting there. So I think probably we somewhat, we’re very focused on where we want to be and what we want to do. And I’m appointing teachers who are passionate about what they do.

218 Ben: Hmm.

219 Sue: Because that will go into the students to make them passionate about learning. And that’s the crux of the whole school, is learning. That’s the most important thing. And so that’s really where we are.

As it can be concluded from the transcribed text above, as in the case of Peter, here, too, the organisational epic story uses the “we” for indexing. However, when Sue also gives voice to the school as an administrator, she switches to I. In that last sentence, the candidate can read Sue’s own biographical segment as she displays her personhood as one who values passion. The interview of Sue and Ben is also important while it evolves further illustrating another kind of positioning. The new story line starts at line (389) as follows:

389. Ben: Uhm.. one other thing is uh.. have a four-year-old son.
390. Sue: Uh-huh?
391. Ben: Julius is uh...--
392. Sue: Yeah.
393. Ben: --have to show his picture to everybody.
394. Sue: I love that.
395. Ben: And, of course, a wife. <laughs>
396. Sue: Yes.
397. Ben: Uh.. so that’s Julius.
398. Sue: Sweet.
399. Ben: Yeah.
400. Sue: He’s really sweet.
401. Ben: He’s in uhm.. he’s in KG. What they call KG1.
402. Sue: Right.
403. Ben: Uh...--
404. Sue: So he’s four?
405. Ben: H-- well, yes. It’s a class of three-year-olds.
406. Sue: Right.
407. Ben: It’s a three, four class.
408. Sue: Right.
409. Ben: He was four a week in and they said, “No, you can’t go to K--” the real, what would be real KG1. So he’s in a pre-KG that they call KG1.
410. Sue: Right.
411. Ben: At X School in--
412. Sue: Right.
413. Ben: --in uh.. the city of Y. And my wife has a back-- uh.. has a finance admin background but ha--
414. Sue: Mm-hm.
415. Ben: --worked at A.
416. Sue: Yeah.
417. Ben: As a TA.
418. Sue: Uh-huh.
419. Ben: And is doing early childhood online.
420. Sue: Oh, okay.
421. Ben: So TA--
422. Sue: Yeah.
423. Ben: --position?
424. Sue: Yes. There might be. There might be.
426. Sue: Yes. There could be. Right. Yeah.
427. Ben: So i- if- if there is a uh.. an offer, please--
428. Sue: Mm-hm.
429. Ben: --uhm.. find out maybe perhaps what- what uh.. she could--
430. Sue: Yeah.
431. Ben: --help the school with.
432. Sue: Okay.

Starting in line 389, Ben positions himself as a parent, since he starts talking about his four-year-old son. Later on, in line 413, he takes on the role of a family man bringing his wife into the discussion as well. This interview ends with Sue’s comment informing the interviewee that she will get back to him. As Ben leaves the room, he will have to assess and evaluate the interview and the positioning. He might compare it with other interviews he has had. Sometimes, such assessment is not so conscious; the candidate might just have had a “feel for the game”. One cannot be sure what Ben might have concluded from Sue’s responses after the interview. What is emerging from the story line above can be summed up here as follows. First, Sue did not engage any further on the topic of the TA (teacher-aid) position. Second, as lines 389-391 indicate, Ben really had to ask for the availability of the TA position. Third, as Sue is repeating the
expressions: “There might be. There might be,” and further on “There could be.” These phrases indicate hesitation and thinking. Her choice of words weakens the illocutionary force, which do not signal a strong reply.

Ben’s positioning exemplifies the way in which expatriate teachers with families have to negotiate not only themselves but also their families into those storylines. It is becoming an increasingly difficult task to do so, especially if the spouse is not a teaching partner.

3.2.6.5 The Mediated or Representational Positioning and the Embodied Story Line

While discussing the mutually determining triad of the administrator, just prior to Figure 14, this chapter posed the following question:

“Is it really the school who hires the new teacher?” From the point of view of the positioning, the answer was given as: “Isn’t it the process of the positioning (initiated by either side: the teacher as a self or the administrator as a self) that is determining the hiring?” After having seen the real illustrations of the episodic engagements between the teacher and administrator, this research inquiry will return to discuss those questions here. In order to illustrate the scenario, I am including a sketch of the social engagement in Figure 15. below.

Figure 17. Mediated or Representational Positioning of the school
For the positioning, as visualised in Figure 15, this inquiry assigned the name of *Mediated or Representational Positioning*. In this conceptualisation, the positioning is not directly administered by the school itself, but rather indirectly through the administrators who are sent to conduct the interviews. On the other hand, the candidate is positioning with the administrator of the school. The author of this inquiry purposefully constrained herself from using the term “indirect positioning.” The term “indirect positioning” was already coined by Harré and Moghaddam (2003) for the type of positioning when the person’s right is denied, such as the case of the positioning someone as “stupid” or in a case where a person was stripped from his or her duties while positioning those persons as “unreliable” (p. 6). In the case of “mediated or representational positioning,” the positioning within the storyline is taken on by the self and the mediator, in our case, by the administrator.

If we look at the interview process more closely, the expatriate teacher’s positioning with the school shows a complex and unique type of positioning. When this research inquiry refers to school, it embraces the meaning of the school as given by Stables (2003, p. 895): “The meaning of school is therefore dependent on actors’ perception,” i.e., the teacher cannot position him- or herself directly with the school: it will be the perceived perception of the administrator about the school that the teacher is engaging with. Therefore, the positioning between the candidate and the school may be referred to as a *Mediated or Representational Positioning*. The question that one might raise legitimately here is: “How can one talk about mediated positioning at all?”

It was shown that positioning is made possible through discursive engagement whereby the “self” and the “other” position themselves within the storyline during the social engagement of the interview. How can one position him- or herself with a storyline that is not present as it is the case for the school? Let us look at the social engagement more closely. Can we say that the school is not present? Even the organizers of the fair make an announcement that “such and such schools are here” while they actually mean the administrators who represent those schools. From the expatriate teacher’s perspective, he or she can see that, during the fair, the school’s administrator, to a certain degree, is *equated* with the school. It is the governing body (or the single owner) that has given the administrator the power to act on its behalf. During the fair, it will be the administrator’s storyline that the candidate is engaging with. However, this storyline is an “embodied” storyline. The storyline is determined by the position that such a governing
body gave to the “administrator” and by investing the power in him or her to make the hiring decisions. Therefore, the school’s story line will be embodied in the administrators’ story line. Arriving at this conclusion, Figure 14 must go through some modification.

In order to achieve this modification, Figure 16 shows the embodied story line in a mediated or representational positioning.

![Diagram of Embodied Story Line in Mediated or Representational Positioning](image)

Figure 18. The Embodied Story Line in Mediated or Representational Positioning

We can conclude from the triad that the self cannot excuse or separate him- or herself from the positions that are determined by the role he or she plays in the social milieu. Similar thoughts resonate in Bourdieu (1991) who explains:

“It is clear that all the efforts to find, in the specifically linguistic logic of different forms of argumentation, rhetoric and style, the source of their symbolic efficacy are destined to fail as long as they do not establish the relationship between the properties of discourses, the properties of the person who pronounces them and [and here he expands the notion of such ‘negative positioning’ further] the properties of the institution which authorizes him to pronounce them” (p. 111).
If we look at dialogical social actors, such as doctors - patients, or teachers - administrators, the social actors are framed by the position or the role that they have taken on. Therefore, positioning cannot bestow upon them extra power but, within its limits, the “ritual of social magic” can be realised by the social actors as they play out the appropriateness nested among those delimiters. Bourdieu (ibid.) also notes that “[T]he law of social physics are only apparently independent of the laws of physics.” This may refer to the limit of positioning. What it can do at its best is that it is capable of delivering an understanding. It can perform changes only within its framework that the mutually determining triad allows.

3.2.6.6 “The Authorized Language”

Bourdieu’s words above are referring to “authorized” language. The dwelling place of authorized language is in the social realm, and it is always related to power. As Bourdieu explains: “A performative utterance is destined to fail each time that it is not pronounced by a person who has the ‘power’ to pronounce it, or, more generally, each time that the ‘particular persons and circumstances in a given case’ are not ‘appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked’; in short, each time that the speaker does not have the authority to emit the words that he utters” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 111).

This kind of authorized language can be observed in the case of what this research inquiry calls a “mediated or representational positioning:” “The power of words is nothing other than the delegated power of the spokesperson and his speech… is no more than a testimony and one among others, of the guarantee of delegation which is vested in him” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 107). The thoughts of Bourdieu can shed more light on the “mediated or representational positioning” and the role of the administrator, in the light of delegated power and authorized speech.

“Ritual of social magic”, as coined by Bourdieu, brings us back to the issue raised earlier: “Who is hiring?” Yet, this time, we should also ask the question: “Who is here to represent the school?” “[T]he substance of discourse depends on the position of the speaker, which governs the access he can have to the language of the institution” (ibid., 109). This quotation from Bourdieu evokes images of job fairs, picturing the administrator being on the phone and calling the school for approval in order to hire a teacher. This happens when the governing body is not in a position to delegate the person who has the highest authority to hire teachers. In such a case, the hiring
delegate’s discourse needs to be confirmed by the governing body of the school in order to offer a contract.

3.2.6.7 Harré and Bourdieu

It had been unavoidable to bring Bourdieu into this inquiry, due to the kindred nature of thoughts Harré and Bourdieu share in their writings. Harré’s ideas are coming from the field of psychology, whereas Bourdieu’s are rooted in social sociology. For both of them, position and positioning embrace a broader sense: struggle. The sense of struggle comes through more directly in Bourdieu’s work. For Harré, it seems as easy as weaving the patterns of the story lines. Hence, one might see how this slight difference at their departure point calls for different naming when it comes to the word choice for their subjects. Harré’s main subject is the singular self, with its multiplicity, which he calls the person, P{S1 S2 S3}; as it enters into the social milieu. Bourdieu, on the other hand, refers to the term “agent.” It is important to reflect on the word “choice” that the two researchers are employing. Bourdieu’s word “agent” takes its origin from the Latin *agere*, meaning “do,” or “act.” On the other hand, what Harré’s concept foreshadows in its word choice is a very complex entity. In spite of the differences in naming, both the “agent” and the “person” are actors of the social realm and they are referring to the same idea. The difference in naming here is referring only to the angle or approach that Harré and Bourdieu are taking in their studies.

Both Bourdieu and Harré have chosen a very dynamic word in order to describe the milieu for their subjects. Bourdieu is placing the agent in the so-called “field,” whereas Harré is observing the person in his or her “social episode.” Yet, again, they are looking at the same phenomenon: the social milieu and the social quadrant. The points described above may prove this kindred nature of their thoughts. While we draw them closer to each other, the benefit is ours as we come to appreciate the understanding of what the two researchers are seeking in their corresponding fields: the study from one field can shed light on our understanding as we bring the other study into the same perspective.

As this complementary view is concerned, here is one aspect that is still important to mention from the point of view of the positioning: “habitus.” One has to point out that habitus plays an
important role in the positioning of the self. Habitus, as described by Bourdieu can be conceived as:

“systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at the ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them” (1990. p. 53).

In this sense, the agent can operate in many fields and still hold on to a core habitus which explains that habitus is transportable. In the case of self positioning, the self can carry his or her habitus to each social episode he or she is engaging.

“To enter a field, to play the game, one must possess the habitus which predisposes one to enter that field, that game, and not another. One must also possess at least the minimum amount of knowledge, or skill, or ‘talent’ to be accepted as a legitimate player. Entering the game, furthermore, means attempting to use that knowledge, or skill, or ‘talent’ in the most advantageous way possible” (Johnson, 1993, p. 8).

This summarization by Johnson will take us to another field, or another social episode, which is the “Social Event”. The so-called “Social” is part of the recruitment program and used to be a sort of a closure in past fairs. However, such events tend to move closer to the beginning of the fair in order to provide more opportunities for all participants to further position themselves.

3.2.7 The “Social Event”

From the point of view of the positioning, the other important event at the recruitment fair is the so called “Social” which allows for positioning in an informal setting. Let me include here a relevant personal testimony about the social event given by a first time attendee.

“At first, I was really bothered by this event and did not know how to behave. I looked around and felt strange. Everyone seemed to feel so comfortable with the set-up. I was asking myself: “Am I the only one not belonging here? Am I in the right place? This is not what I came for. Is it not a job fair?” Soon I realized that I am here and am expected to be one of them. Therefore, I too, took a glass of wine from the tray that was offered and listened carefully to what people
were saying. They were talking about themselves, sharing their own stories. As my interest grew in their stories, unknowingly, the “inappropriate” (i.e., the “not belonging here”) became the appropriate. I realized the only way to learn about international schools was through this shared and lived experience of others” (Personal communication, 1999).

From this personal communication above, one can see how well the recruiting agencies, even if unconsciously, know the "meaning of 'school'" in the sense as Stables (2003) defined it:

“A school, like a nation, is a complex system existing in discursive rather than physical geographical space (other than as a set of buildings). The meaning of ‘school’ is therefore dependent on actors’ perceptions, and these are dependent on factors apparently beyond the school. Research evidence relating to such perceptions comes not as data or phenomena, in the sense of observable behaviour subject to mathematical laws, but rather as phenomenographic fragments: pieces of described experience.” (p. 895).

The social episode of the "Social Event" is the best place to observe the habitus in action. All those dispositions, the adapted representations of the self, can come alive to add to the appropriateness recalled, while placing the emphasis on self to be made, for the inclusion in the game.

The big social discussion topics are not as much about the schools, but rather what is happening around the school: the country, the seaside, the golf courses, etc. “What was it like?” “Have you been there?” Shared or new experiences come alive and have a second life. Such shared social episodes make up the connaissances that provide the connecting link. It is during these social events that previous acquaintances become stronger connections. The self is webbing its sociogramme with other members from the international school arena and starts positioning itself within the field.

From the point of view of the positioning, this social episode connects the self (expatriate teacher) with other selves (expatriate teachers), and it also connects him or her with others (representatives of schools, i.e., administrators). It is a social milieu where story lines are woven into other story lines. One can also observe that the self will display multiple story lines. Among these, two distinct types shall be distinguished. In the presence of the administrator, it will be the initial triad; however, when the self is among other selves, i.e. teachers, the story line might
change where the experienced self, having a stronger self-projection, informs the other selves. The other selves, on the other hand, will endure this subjugation for the sake of gaining information. However, from time to time, the subjugated self will have a stronger self-projection while sharing his or her story line. It is worthwhile to observe that, especially in the presence of an administrator in a group-gathering at the Social, the self will start "competing" with the other selves in order to secure a more predominant place in the group discussion in order that his or her story line would be listened to and not that of the others.

3.2.8 Second Interview – Signing of the Offer

In this second interview, the self, through his or her story line, continues to negotiate the contract details. The success of positioning is concretised here with all the details. How much can be negotiated and, consequently, how much the expatriate teacher can position him- or herself will depend on the individual school. Some schools have a uniform contract practice that includes well-developed schemes and policies applicable for all. Some schools do take into account individual differences and have a more individualised contract system in place where they negotiate the contract distinctively. In the latter case, the individual differences in positioning as well as the “needs and wants” will play a more significant role. The individual’s language usage and negotiation skills can contribute to a better positioning during this second interview. At the end of this interview, such better positioning can be materialised by resulting in better housing, transportation, tuition for children, professional development, and so forth.

CHAPTER IV: Positioning as time elapses during the expatriate journey

4.1. A typical expatriate journey at a school

This chapter aims at demonstrating the importance of change over time. It will consider the story lines and the positioning as the teacher enters into the school environment, stays there, and decides to leave. Through examples, the salience of the expatriate teacher world as a change over time will be illustrated by the continuous readjustment and positioning. This change will be framed by the phases through which the international expatriate teacher moves.
Hence this chapter will follow the new hires on their journey by looking at their engagement in the new milieu, i.e. at the school. It is hoped that this chapter will introduce the reader to the kind of challenge the expatriate teachers face and to the resilience of the character that they must possess in order to continuously adjust to their world. Voices from blogs, dialogues and from personal communications will exemplify how the positioning is changing over time. To illustrate the positioning of the self as an expatriate teacher over time, the present chapter will look at the three main phases of the expatriation cycle:

Phase I: The moving-in;

Phase II: The stay; and

Phase III: The moving-out.

Within each phase, the social episodes are viewed through the lens of positioning, as the expatriate teacher is engaging with all the three encounters mentioned above. Therefore, this chapter follows the natural layout of the expatriation cycle where the difference in positioning is explained. Let us start with the first phase, which is the “moving-in”.

4.1.1 Phase I: Moving-In

This phase can be seen as probably the most interesting and the most intense one among the three phases. As mentioned in Chapter I, within the expatriation cycle, this phase has generated the most interest in early expatriate studies. The invested and continuous research interest in this phase, as illustrated here below, is due to the great deal of implications that this phase has with regard to the expatriate journey as a whole. Past investigations about this first phase of the expatriate journey, within the wider expatriate studies, have been taken on research foci such as “acculturation”, “expatriate adjustment,” or “proactive socialisation.” These types of contributions to the wider expatriate research might also contain transferable and valuable implications for further research that intends to aim at the subject of the expatriate international school teachers. As mentioned earlier, this first phase of the expatriate journey will be discussed through the lens of positioning.

Once the teacher arrives at a new school, socialisation will play a very important role in the first phase of the expatriate journey. Both, organisational and personal socialisation (i.e., social
encounters outside of the organizational set-up) will be essential for the teacher to settle down and to adjust. The following blog segment by one of the experienced expatriate teachers confirms such a situation:

“Once you have your place and are settling in, get out and meet people. This often-heard advice is repeated for good reason! The first few months can be very isolating and wrought with homesickness and culture shock so it is extremely important to get out and start building your friend/support network” (www.internationalschoolsreviews.com).

Meeting people to learn about the place is a good advice. The new situation generates a myriad of questions “What? “Who?” “How can I ...?” etc. are examples to illustrate how much expatriate teachers are overwhelmed in the beginning. The current inquiry will include some segments from personal communication as well. The first one takes place between B, a returning teacher, and A, who is a newly hired expatriate:

A: We got only until end of October to obtain our ID card. I have no clue as to what to do? Where to go? Or how to do it?
B: I have mine from last year. I’m so glad that I don’t need to do it now. I will send you the form that you need to fill out.
A: Thanks.
B: Once you filled out the form, you will need to go to one of the Immigration office, which is located at…” (Personal communication, 2011)

While looking at this social episode from the point of the view of the positioning, it is quite obvious that the newly hired teacher is positioning him- or herself as an information seeker whereas the other does it as an “expert,” having previous knowledge about such situation. Both A and B use the pronoun “I” to give the indexical location. To exemplify this information-seeking position that the new hire is taking on, let us see another example:

A: I will have to go to see the HR to sign my contract.
B: You haven’t signed it yet?
A: No, the HR was away and you know, I was hired late. I only signed the letter of offer, but not the contract. You know, there was not enough time to mail it back. Three years seems so long...So far I have had only two year contracts.
B: Why aren’t you asking for two?
A: Can you?
B: Mine is a two-year contract.
A: Whom can I ask? (Personal communication, 2011)
Here again, the question raised by the new hire positions him-or herself as an information seeker. The difference in positioning between A and B is important, since when professionals are seeking information, they do not want to be considered as someone who is less knowledgeable (even if such questions may relate to “moving-in” issues such as ID cards, housing and so forth).

In addition, administrators who are newly hired, have an even more difficult positioning challenge. While they are information-seekers they face the challenge of their dual positioning, i.e. they also have to position themselves as information providers because teachers rely on them regardless whether they are new or returning administrators. (This could lead to a new avenue of research.)

Interestingly, proactive socialization studies, Ashford and Black (1996) and Fu, Shaffer and Harrison (2005) already took note of “information seeking” as one of the proactive socialization tactics. Fu, Shaffer and Harrison (2005) note that for the “SFEs (Self–initiated Foreign Employees), who initiate their own international relocation, proactive socialization tactics are especially relevant” (p. L3). “Information seeking” positionings, typified in the present study by the above-mentioned examples, corroborate the type of proactive socialization tactics that Fu, Shaffer and Harrison (2005) noted in case of SFEs. The research team of Fu, while studying the proactive socialisation and adjustment, recorded that the information-seeking tactic was positively related to both organizational and community fit (p.L6). Out of necessity, expatriate teachers are positioning themselves as “information seekers” many times during this first phase.

In this phase, the expatriate teachers can also react to the new situations by being critical as they compare things with their previous experience or, in contrast, they can display openness and a positive mind-set. The former had been critiqued on the blog by one of the expatriate teachers:

“When you move, make a mindful decision to stop comparing to your home country. The reason you moved overseas was to move from the circumstances from your home country anyway. Plus, one of the biggest thing is that I hate hearing from expatriates is when they whinge and complain things like this – ‘Back in England, we…’ ‘Back in the UK we did this…””

(www.internationalschoolsreviews.com).
The other, entirely opposite attitude is when one imposes on him or her positive mind-set. An example of a positive cognitive appraisal would be the following string of episodic positioning between C, a newly hired expatriate and D, who is her colleague, an experienced expatriate, at the same school:

C: We are moving out. It is a construction site where they provided us with housing. There is nothing there for the children.”
D: You should.
(One month later.)
D: So where do you live now?
C: Same place. Although, we found a new place, but the paperwork is…
D: Oh! Poor you, it cannot be.
C: It will happen. I’m sure, it will. (Personal communication, 2011)

The first social episode is a complaint where the newly hired positions him-or herself as a victim. However, in the second episode, when the colleague wants to position her as victim, the new hire is repositioning her by using positive cognitive appraisal, “It will happen”. One might consider this as one of the survival skills that newly hired expatriates use in order to gain control over a difficult situation. Similarly, Ashford and Black (1996) list another proactive socialization tactic which they call “framing”. According to that study, “cognitive self-management tactic occurs when individuals attempt to alter their understanding of a situation by explicitly controlling the cognitive frame they place on the situation” (p. 202). Such an example can be also applied to the expatriate teacher who avoids being seen him- or herself (and being seen by others) as a victim, thus he or she is repositioning him-or herself during this social encounter by using “positive framing”.

The study of Fu, Shaffer and Harrison (2005) looked at proactive socialization in case of self-initiated foreign employees and found that “[P]ositive framing had the strongest and most consistent effects on both organizational fit and community fit” (L5). They concluded that “viewing new situations positively and as opportunities rather than threats is a problem-focused coping mechanism that reduces uncertainty and minimizes the stress associated with entering a new environment” (L4). Keeping each other informed is the main theme how the expatriate teachers engage with each other on the ISR’s blog.
In most cases, it is this phase that accounts for the majority of uncertainties that expatriates face during their journey. The uncertainty may be expressed by one of the expatriates who blogged the following:

“Sounds like me. 12 schools, 17 moves and 13 years overseas as a TCK [Third-Culture-Kid]. I took my first teaching job overseas for this coming fall am struggling to divest myself of all we have, and taking the scary leap of faith that the net will appear for my husband who’s leaving his job to accompany me…”
(www.internationalschoolsreview.com).

This segment portrays the trait that binds all expatriates together, i.e., to be able to take “the scary leap of faith”. However, uncertainty surrounds not just how they go about their daily lives but, many times, they are also challenged in their professional lives where they have to cope with something new such as teaching a new curriculum or a new course.

“I read the ISR [International Schools Review] and thought the teachers on your web site were just a bunch of whining, moaning complainers. As it turns out, they were telling the truth. Naturally, the school’s director represented the school location to me in an entirely different light,” blogged another expatriate.
(www.internationalschoolsreview.com).

All these demands compel the expatriate teacher to be resilient, flexible and sensitive to the new environment. This brings us back to the topic of the self and self awareness, which has important implications in this phase.

This inquiry has already pointed out self-awareness and its salience with regard to positioning. Since the self is relational, self-awareness has to be taken into account under such a relational aspect that self-awareness would encompass relations such as: “self-to-self,” “self-to-others,” and the “self to the social episode.” In the first phase, learning about the new social environment and all those that are in it along with their way of relating to each other becomes very important. Apart from the vigilance and awareness of the environment, in this phase, self-presentation also continues to play a major role.

Although individuals always differ in the way they position themselves, it is more noticeable in this phase. As Harrée and Langenhove concluded: “First people will differ in their capacity to position themselves and others, their mastery of the technique so to speak”… or “conversational charisma” (1999, p. 30).
The second aspect, that depicts how people might differ in such situations, is expressed in their “willingness or intention to position and be positioned” (ibid). These first two aspects come under an “individual attribute” (ibid) in Harré. However, with regard to the second aspect, the author of the present inquiry would not agree with Harré, in the sense that he is placing intention under the individual attribute. Wittgenstein’s idea (1976) would be preferred: “[A]n intention is embedded in its situation, in human customs and institutions” (p. 108). He elaborates this further: “If the technique of the game of chess did not exist, I could not intend to play a game of chess” (ibid).

The third aspect, as described by Harré and Langenhove (1999), takes us to the social level: “Thirdly, they will also differ in their power to achieve positioning act” (p.30).

This third aspect resonates with Bourdieu (1991) who views symbolic production as an instrument of domination. He notes that:

“[R]elations of communications are always inseparably, power relations which, in form and content, depend on the material or symbolic power accumulated by the agents (or institutions) involved in these relations and which, like the gift or the potlatch, can enable symbolic power to be accumulated” (p. 167).

(Symbolic power has a role to play in positioning; however, it would be another topic of further research.)

If we look at positioning over time, by asking new hires how they see the school in comparison to the impression that they gained through the interview, here is some feedback which expresses the difficulties or the unexpected aspects of the job:

“It is very different! I had the perception before I started that the school was well resourced and had the curriculum in place – this is not the case. I am currently undertaking the job of rewriting the curriculum map and unit planner” (Survey of the new hires).

“Many contractual obligation on the school’s end have been forgotten or abandoned. I feel the school seemed willing to help then, but now says they have no control” (Survey of the newly hire (Survey of the newly hires).

“I thought the job would be easier and I would fit the position but I’m finding it hard” (Survey of the new hires).

This might resurface in their social lives where they might be portrayed or they might portray themselves as “victims” or overwhelmed.
From the point of view of the positioning, one can observe a re-occurring story line. No matter in which situation one can find the newly hired self, certain phrases such as included below might occur at any time: "At my old school, we used to…,” or "I know; this is how it was at my old school, too…”

The verbal references to the old situations and the old ways show that the teacher is still holding onto his or her old story line. This might be noticeable in the beginning, but as time goes by, the expatriate teacher will realize that he or she cannot hang onto such ways of positioning. The story line that was created in an old social episode or in a different game might not work well anymore. Therefore, the expatriate teachers’ story line will start showing more and more identification with the present school and the present situation while they detach themselves from the previous positioning experiences.

4.1.2 Phase II: The stay

Over time, the new teachers are gaining more and more experience. The school will provide him or her with ample of opportunity to position him or herself in social episodes. Among those opportunities, this inquiry will take into account a few venues for their social engagements. The first venue that this enquiry is looking at from the point of view the positioning is the faculty meetings.

4.1.2.1 Faculty Meetings

Positioning during a faculty meeting is one of the most important encounters where the self (expatriate teacher) has a potential to position him- or herself professionally. He or she can benefit from his or her “professional capital” (education and experience combined). This positioning is quite delicate because it does not mean only the positioning of the expatriate teacher with the other expatriate teachers, but also with the local hires. Therefore, the positioning must take into account also the socio-economic and cultural differences between the expatriate teacher’s positioning and that of the local teachers. This is an important issue from several points of view. From the economic aspect, it is a common practice that the local teachers, in most international schools, are at a lower salary scale, even if they have the same level of education or the same number of years of experience. The other aspect is that the expatriate teacher might have had more exposure to the current educational trends. Not all schools support the local
teachers’ professional development outside of the country, but they would rather offer “in-house” or local workshops that might be of as good value as foreign workshops. However, the fact that an expatriate teacher may “travel” abroad for a workshop, positions him- or herself in the discourse during faculty meeting.

During the faculty meeting, the positioning story line goes along with the discussion topic where all the teachers try to present their story lines as the best fitting in the topic. This is a competitive environment where, eventually, it is the expatriate teachers who will take over during the faculty meeting. It is interesting to note the seating configuration created subconsciously by the teachers, which reflects the different kinds of belonging. The expatriate teachers tend to congregate in the same place, and in the same way, the local teachers are getting together forming two quite distinct groups. It might be an indication that the positioning is best achieved within the comfort zone of the two different groups. The voicing of the expatriate teachers is much stronger because most of the time they project a greater self-confidence. It might be due to the fact that the experience gained in different countries during the expatriate teacher’s career, supplies him or her with a richer story line, in comparison to the local teacher who may not have such experiences.

Moreover, in many countries, especially in Asia, one of the cultural traits is self-effacement which means that, traditionally, local teachers are less likely to engage in discourse in public than their foreign counterparts. Another cultural characteristic in those countries is to avoid disagreements, whereas “Westerners” are perceived to be more argumentative.

There is a subgroup of the local teachers that is called “inpats”. These individuals can also be described in Bourdieu’s terms as “the possessors of strong educational capital who have also inherited some cultural capital and so enjoy… the self-assurance of legitimate membership and the ease given by familiarity…” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 81). This also means a dual familiarity: familiarity with the local culture (originating from the parents) and the familiarity with the foreign one acquired during the years of residency. Hence, such a familiarity provides the inpatriate teachers with the self-assurance to be member of both groups. Since they have this advantage of familiarity, it allows them to take on the role of becoming mediator in case tension should arise between the expatriate and the local teachers.
The faculty meeting can be also used as a place for repositioning. With a strong professional projection, some expatriate teachers, through their story lines, during the social episodes of the faculty meeting, are able to increase their accumulated positioning. This accumulated positioning, in the long run, can be exchanged for a higher positioning within the faculty, e.g., to acquire a leadership position (becoming a department head, grade-level coordinator and, ultimately, even obtaining an administrative position such as that of a curriculum coordinator, programme coordinator, or assistant principal). This is a venue for the expatriate teacher to reposition him-or herself in a substantial manner. The possibility of repositioning that is accumulated by the story line will be determined by the other two factors of the triad, which are the position and the social force. It can only happen when all the components of the triad are in place for the repositioning, and it might happen only after some time. On the other hand, due to the multiple causes discussed above, local teachers are not able to position themselves as quickly or efficiently as the expatriate teachers, and if they do, they can only reach the lower status positions such as department headship or grade-level headship. This may create further divisions between the expatriate and the local groups.

Positioning or repositioning is also influenced by other cultural factors such as gender. In some countries, especially in the Middle-East, women have far less opportunity to project themselves in comparison with men, because the society reserves the leadership positions mainly for men. This tradition is so much rooted in this particular society, which in the case of a woman rising into a leadership position, men usually find it difficult to follow instructions given by a woman. (In some cases, there is a level of acceptance, even if it has not become the norm yet.)

Many people assume that the purpose of the faculty meetings is to discuss curriculum, assessment, discipline or policy issues, which is true up to a certain degree, but in fact, these meetings have developed, especially in recent times, into an arena of competition for jobs and positioning involving the self and the others. From the point of view of the positioning, the faculty meetings are indirectly contributing to the observational bank established about the person by the administrator. The more active a teacher is, the more will he be remembered and repositioned by the administrator. This is important mainly for the expatriate teacher who will depend on confidential references in case he or she wants to move on to another international school.
Positioning is a continuous process that builds on previous positioning. One has his or her positioning history in the form of the accumulated positioning that provides the teacher with the basis of his or her professional biography. The aspect of confidentiality is important for the teacher in order to create his or her professional identity in the recruiting agency’s databank. The teacher is expected to submit a professional evaluation form filled out by the supervisor or the administrator in each school where he or she works. Building the relationship and trust, therefore, is more significant in international schools in comparison with state schools. The expatriate teacher in an international school would have a second thought before confronting administrators in any professional engagement in order to not risk his or her positioning within the hierarchy.

This brings us back to the phenomenon of the triad where we can see how the rights and duties of the parties involved are also determining factors when it comes to how the story line is evolving. This is where Bourdieu’s theory plays a role in relation to the positioning theory developed by Harré. “In fact, the use of language, the manner as much as the substance of discourse depends on the social position of the speaker…” (1991, p. 109). The expatriate teacher does not wish to jeopardize his or her professional future. An example can be provided from the “International Schools Reviews” website:

“International schools, like most entities, tend to be run by the one or two individuals at the top. As teachers, school directors hold our futures in their hands—or so they may like to think. After two years in Africa, a teacher reports he had repeatedly upset the school director and principal with his endless suggestions for school improvement. “You’re the type of person that’s never happy!” was the admin’s response to suggestions. Our teacher reports, “I knew one thing for sure, I wouldn’t be happy with my letter of reference”. (www.internationalschoolsreview.com).

The importance of positioning can be retraced by paying a visit to the principal. Such a visit and such a discourse, on behalf of the teacher, wherever he or she attempts to display part of his or her professional biography, is considered as a “deliberate self-positioning” (Van Langenhove and Harré, 1999, p. 24). “Paraphrasing Goffman’s conception of ‘strategic interaction’, this could be called ‘strategic positioning’” (ibid., p. 25). These types of positioning in the current school as well as in all the previous ones may help develop a special networking with the administrators. “Institutions are interested in positioning persons in two cases: when the institution has the
official power to make moral judgements about people external to the institution, and when
decisions about people inside the institution have to be made” (*ibid.*, p. 26).

Both types of positioning at the institution, in our case, the school, are called “forced self-
positioning.” As we can see, the difference between the deliberate self-positioning, and the
forced self-positioning, differ in the sense of who holds the initiative (*ibid.*). If the initiative is
with the expatriate teacher, this refers to Harré’s type of positioning of the deliberate self-
positioning. If the initiative is with the administrator representing the institution, it means forced
self-positioning. Another social encounter that might be interesting from the point of view the
positioning is the Parent-Teacher Conferences.

**4.1.2.2 Parent-Teacher Conferences**

Parent-Teacher Conferences may serve as a positioning tool for the teacher and especially for the
expatriate teacher. The local teachers cannot take advantage of this social encounter because the
parent speaks the same language as the local teacher and has the same familiarity with the
culture. Moreover, the local teacher is framed by the socio-economic status within the local
hierarchy, which is lower than that of the expatriate teacher. The only exception to this
perception may be the position of the inpatriate teacher who can counterbalance with his or her
foreign-gained positioning. On the other hand, this is an excellent occasion for the expatriate
teacher to position him- or herself in front of the parents. The natural self-confidence that the
expatriate teacher can display by using his or her mother tongue in this social engagement
already positions him- or herself in relation to the parents whose mother tongue is different. This
allows the teacher to escape from the conventional position that might have applied to him or her
in the social hierarchy in the given country.

International schools, in general, are catering to the elite and this might also give the teacher
access to a social class that he or she would not have encountered otherwise. It is not a commun
phenomenon that an expatriate teacher teaches the children of the president (or royalties) of a
given country. Such a social encounter itself positions the teacher, not to mention the
opportunities that are nested in the discourse the two parties may hold during the parent-teacher
conference. Even if this encounter does not develop any further in order to gain social benefits
in positioning, it may be referred to as a social episode, which may help the teacher with future positioning.

Another element in the story line of the positioning teacher might include a reference to where he or she finished university, where he or she worked previously, or to his or her knowledge of certain programmes such IB or IGCSE. During the parent-teacher conference, scenarios about what happened in the classroom might come up. It is interesting to note that the discourse about what happens in the classroom is firstly interpreted at home by the child. The same discourse might also have an interpretation in the principal’s office. This shows how the interpreted discourse brings the constituency together. This might imply that the teacher is positioned by both kinds. More precisely, the classroom discourse that was interpreted by the child at home, offers the parents an opportunity to position the teacher.

Another aspect of the parent-teacher conference is that since the parents are paying for the tuition, they have an assumed claim to expect preferential treatment for their child; i.e., the parents attempt to position their children in relation to other children. This pressure is higher on the local teacher, because he or she will stay at the school for a longer period of time, whereas the expatriate teacher may leave much sooner.

It is not only the expatriate teacher who is positioning him- or herself but the parents do the same. Indeed, the parents are relying on their “Cross-Cultural Capital” as they relate to the expatriate teacher’s language and culture. What this means is that the parents are mobilising their assets (economic capital) to transfer it into a cross-cultural advantage, which implies inclusion in another culture. It translates into buying an estate in a foreign (presumably in a developed, and most likely in an Anglophone) country and even obtaining citizenship of that country. The new phenomenon that can be observed is that some members of the upper-middle class or the elite of a given country use their economic capital, and sometimes even move to the country of predilection for a couple of months in order to ensure citizenship by birth for their offspring.

The parents might connect to the expatriate teacher through their exposure to the language and the culture of the expatriate teacher. This allows the parents to position themselves higher not only because of their socio-economic status but also because of their familiarity with the language and the culture. This social encounter is very interesting from a cultural point of view,
because it shows how much the parties involved respect each other’s culture, and how much they know about it, since this may come up in the discourse. Moreover, the teacher might also attempt to position him- or herself with a lifestyle that may not be commensurable with that of the parents, but some common characteristics may be observable.

4.1.2.3 The Faculty Lounge

Most teachers consider the faculty lounge a place where they may relax and also exchange information about everyday life and school business. Not many of them would think about positioning deliberately in this setting. Cooperation and competition go hand in hand. It is worth noting that, depending on the self, some expatriate teachers are open to share information, whereas others take advantage of the possibility of positioning in order to compete. This may be related to the difference in positioning between the experienced and novice teachers.

The observation that one can make is that experienced teachers tend to be more cooperative and they already have an understanding of with whom they should compete. Many inexperienced teachers, on the other hand, may have the perception that they need to position themselves continuously because of the competition. For the experienced teachers, it is rather the unintentional positioning that occurs as they relate to their personal experiences in other countries or schools during discourse.

One can also refer back to the faculty meeting where the expatriates and local teachers tended to sit in two different groups. A similar phenomenon may be noticed in the faculty lounge, apart from the inpatriates who have already developed a mobility to move between cultures with ease. (Expatriate teachers who stay longer in a host country may develop a similar attitude of mobility between cultural dispositions.)

The teachers’ positioning is also dependent on the composition of the faculty. The more international the faculty is, the freer the teachers feel to engage in discourse. On the other hand, two different scenarios may take place; one, is when the local teachers are in the minority, and the other, when the expatriate teachers are in the minority. In the first case, as we have seen earlier, the local teachers are already at a disadvantage in relation to the expatriate teachers and, if they are in the minority within the faculty, it makes their positioning even more difficult. In the other case, when the expatriate teachers are in the minority, the local teachers can position
themselves better in relation to the expatriate teachers. Although the expatriate teachers may have professional advantage, the local teachers may benefit from knowing the nuances of the local culture, the networking and the local hierarchy, especially within the school community, and especially if the administrators are also from the host country. This may be translated into such simple situations where one knows whose signature to get, or whom to approach in order to have things get done.

The faculty lounge can also provide occasions for professional exchange about students, curriculum, methods and discipline. In this case, one can see a more intense engagement between the expatriate and the local teachers groups. Such engagement may also be promoted by the expectations expressed by the administration.

On the personal side, the faculty lounge can also serve as a venue where, through positioning, the teacher can build friendships or trusting relationships. From this point of view, we may recall Figure 19 where the intercept of the mutual positioning lands in the zone of proximity. If the intercept remains in the zone of proximity for a longer period of time and withstands several social episodes, one may consider that such an engagement can develop into a friendship. It might be assumed that most of the “spontaneous” positioning may occur in the faculty lounge. Another hidden element that is not easily perceivable, can be the initial professional engagement in the faculty lounge that may determine the trajectory of the intercepting point of the positioning during discourse.

All the above social encounters are helping the teacher to develop a sense of belonging. If the new hires find the community the kind he or she can identify with and his or her belonging is strengthened through the positioning encounters, he or she might decide to stay. If the feeling of belonging is weakened through positioning he might decide to move on.

Most of the time, Phase Two is the longest phase – it gives many occasions for positioning or repositioning. This phase alone can account for a separate study. One good example of a typical positioning in this phase could be the one recorded by Redman (2008) that took place in a school during a research planning meeting. It is while staying at the school that the not so new hire weaves his or her positioning in the story line with others. His or her positioning goes along with
the intention of building acceptance and it is here during positioning and in the woven story line where the fine boundaries of competition and cooperation are worked out.

Along with the intention of acceptance, the self is building trust. If the scale points toward the direction of acceptance, the expatriate self can secure a relatively calm stay and ensure a post at that school for that particular school year. The positioning is continuously evolving in each social encounter where the expatriate teacher moves into the story line of the others. It is building and maintaining this delicate balance of acceptance and trust during each positioning in each of those social episodes that counts.

Over time, the new hire becomes not new anymore; indeed, with the start of the next school year, he or she will have to take on the role of the returning expatriate teacher. Therefore, he or she will be positioned and also will be able to position him- or herself as an expert in many of the similar story lines where he or she positioned him- or herself earlier as an information seeker. When similar questions were asked from the returning teachers, i.e., how they see the school as a returning teacher, the answers expressed individual differences and perceptions about the school. The inserts below will show that their foci, in comparison of the new hires, is not so much on the self anymore but more about the school itself:

“A good school with some large flaws. A school that uses technology, at times, for the sake of it rather than because it makes teaching and learning better” or another “Less forward thinking and international I’d like… but basically it’s a job. I wish it was friendlier and more community spirited”. “The student body appreciates staff, especially after they get through year 1”. (Survey response.)

When the question addressed how they see themselves in the school, most of the new hires felt overwhelmed, whereas returning teachers were seeing themselves as:

“Hopefully, an experienced asset to the school”,

“I am more comfortable and feel more appreciated”,

“A cog in the wheel of school life”.

Their perceptions of themselves and that of the school are an indication for the kind of positioning they might engage with.
Another important aspect is that, over time, many things change at the school, too. Changes are part of every organisation that is moving forward. However, the amount of change that takes place at international schools is incommensurable. As the new hires become returning teachers they will engage in social episodes with the new teachers. Over the summer, many teachers might leave the school, along with administrators, who are taking new jobs in new schools. It is here where the remaining faculty might feel the so-called “vacuum effect”.

The departure of an administrator along with other teachers, in case of high turnover might cause a vacuum effect meaning that it could mobilise some of the faculty members’ decision about staying or moving on. This phenomenon can be explained from the point of view of the positioning theory. The mutual storyline that had been created and agreed upon during the interview and consequent social episodes throughout the school year might take another turn with the departure of the administrators or other teachers.

The staying teachers must position themselves again with the new administrator. Since the teachers who had been with the school, one of their storylines will be about how to prove that they are still good teachers and the school can benefit from their contributions.

Although the vacuum-effect is created by the departure of administrators and teachers, what counts for the staying teacher is the new administrator who will have an official social episode, namely the appraisal where he or she will be positioned by the new administrator. We will come back to this later, but this is what is called, in Harré’s term “forced self-positioning” since the initiative is with the other (i.e. institution) and not with the self. If the turnover is high in a given school, the whole faculty network can change dramatically and the teacher needs to engage in new positionings to negotiate his or her professional space. If the teacher is capable of re-establishing his or her social and professional equilibrium within the school community (i.e. having a meaningful and content positioning), he or she is more likely to stay with the school unless other reasons might incite the teacher to move out.

4.1.3Phase III: Moving out – Repositioning story lines

As concluded in Phase II, after a period of time, the expatriate teacher may start noticing, or rather feeling, in more and more social episodes, that he or she finds him- or herself positioned differently from the others. When the differences between the positioning of the self and that of
the others, are representing larger distances, as well as when the intercepts of recent encounters are landing outside of the zone of proximity (c.f. Figure 12), the self might start thinking of moving out.

If the case of such as described above, an expatriate teacher’s pool of experience at the school and his or her positioning of him- or herself are distant from others in several social episodes leading to discord that might place him or her in the zone of dissimilation.


Figure 19. illustrates the assimilation- dissimilation process. Translating this into the case of the self as an expatriate teacher, and to the context of the international school, the following can be said: At the time of arrival, the newly hired teacher may feel excited about many things, since most of the things are new for him or her. His or her intention is to assimilate into the new social milieu. Most of the international schools are trying to assist as much as they can with this exciting but also quite challenging transition that the expatriate teacher is going through. In the case of the expatriate teacher, as discussed earlier, it is not only a new job but also a new country, a new city, new people; meaning a new social and cultural environment. The new teachers’ story lines will imply an intention of assimilation. When locals or other expatriates, who have already established themselves in that country, ask: “How do you like it here?” New
hires would give replies reply, even if it is a “difficult” (i.e., developing) country, such as: “It is a nice city,” or “They are nice people” and “Interesting, I have never thought of it.” All of these phrases show eagerness in the process of accommodation, as was discussed in Phase I. In case of a negative experience the new hires try to use a positive framing in their story positioning that can be implied by the previous comments made by many teachers when they arrive in a (mostly developing) country.

As shown in Phase II, during his or her stay at the school, the expatriate teacher will have plenty of occasions to position him- or herself and, at the same time, to be positioned by others. As illustrated in the previous phase, he or she is engaging in numerous social episodes where mutual positionings are taking place. He or she will encounter positonings by others that are closer or further from his or her own positioning. Therefore, the negotiated intercept will keep the dynamic movement, which will land others with whom he or she had social encounters either in his or her own zone of proximity or outside that zone.

6.3.1 Appraisal

As noted beforehand, the hire will be positioned by the administrator’s observation. This social encounter, from the point of view of the organisation, is called “appraisal”, while from the point of view of the positioning, in Harré’s term, it is called “forced self-positioning”. The forced self-positioning, in this case, refers to a situation where “the institution has the ‘official’ power to make moral judgements... about people inside the institution” (1996, p. 26). This relates to the Appraisal Form that is filled out by the administrator. Following the appraisal, the teacher has an opportunity to discuss the content of the appraisal from his or her point of view. The appraiser “will ask people to account for what they are doing (or not doing). In being asked to account for their behaviour, people are required to position themselves as agent” (ibid.). This will be carried out, most of the time, in a verbal discourse.

4.1.3.1 Repositioning After Appraisal

The content of the appraisal might initiate a repositioning by the teacher. If he or she feels that the appraisal discourse positions him or her in a way that is further than his or her own
positioning of him-or herself (which means a negative appraisal), then he or she might think of repositioning him- or herself and could challenge the positioning made by the principal. A negative appraisal might initiate the intention of moving out. In this case, the self start repositioning him or herself. Repositioning means: “To engage in repositioning oneself or others is to claim a right or a duty to adjust what an actor has taken to be the first order positioning that is dominating the unfolding of the events” as Harré and Moghaddam note (2003, p. 7). The expatriate teacher’s repositioning might lead to the modification to the written appraisal or lead to announcing his or her intention of moving out.

4.1.3.2 Repositioning Independently from the Appraisal

Apart from the hypothetical scenario where the moving-out might be initiated by a negative, forced self–positioning, the expatriate teacher might decide to move out on his or her own. The following segment, expressed by one of the leaving expatriate teachers, illustrates that.

“I was promised I will be doing primary only. I ended up teaching between the two schools. They said for one year only. The second year ended up doing it too because they didn’t hired another person. I knew then that I have to go.” (Personal communication, 2012)

The expatriate teacher’s decision to disengage with or dissimilate from the school might be rooted in his or her accumulated professional positioning. If the expatriate teacher’s “fitting-in” is not confirmed, or confirmed to a lesser degree in his or her positioning with others in several social episodes, he or she might decide to move on as conceptualised in Figure 19. In this case, the expatriate teacher may decide to go to a job fair. The others with their story lines would express interest about the job fair and his or her plans. Once the expatriate teacher received an offer at the job fair and returns to the school, he might be positioned higher by the others, due to the fact that he got the job. This means that he or she is marketable and appreciated by administrators of another school.

4.1.3.3 Positioning After Repositioning

The repositioning will have an effect on the kind of positioning the expatriate teacher will engage with for the remaining time at the school. At the same time, he or she will start engaging with others from the new school and will develop a different storyline in comparison with that
had been presented in the current school. Such a transition period can be illustrated in the following diagram:

![Diagram showing the Assimilation-Dissimilation Process over time.](image)

**Figure 20. The Assimilation - Dissimilation Process over time.**

The above figure illustrates very well the transient nature of the expatriates especially those that are highly mobile. The transient nature of the moving-in and moving out of an expatriate teacher can be exemplified by the following: "Your favorite schools are your next one and your last one’. That is, we tend to be nostalgic for the place we just left and we’re excited about the new place, yet we sometimes neglect (or complain too much about) the place we are right now” (www.internationalschoolsreviews.com).

The leaving expatriate teacher’s story lines, while positioning with others, might convey positive aspects of his or her move while positioning during discursive encounters with others. One might notice how the positive framing becomes negative in order to help the teacher with the transition. This naturally will have an influence on the mutual storylines with others.

Depending on the discourse of the expatriate teacher who has the intention to move on, one might observe differences in the story lines. If the story line of the expatriate is getting negative and critical about the school, one can expect that the others with their connecting story lines may move away from him or her. The remaining expatriates might avoid the leaving teacher in this case in order to avoid ‘negative framing”. Those who are remaining at the school, need to maintain a positive image of their environment. In case a very strong negative framing, the leaving teacher might reach the point where it will be only his or her friends who will remain in
the zone of proximity. If he or she remains neutral, it is more likely that the intercept may remain in the zone of proximity with others as well.

The leaving expatriate teacher’s story lines, while positioning with others, might convey positive aspects of his or her move; therefore, it is a future opportunity of positioning after having a new posting secured.

It is vital to mention, that all the applications to positioning described in this inquiry, whether they are real or hypothetical, do not reveal the degree of intentionality during the positioning act. These applications are showing only the potentiality of positioning in many cases in the social episodes.
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this inquiry was to explore the self as an expatriate international school teacher through the lens of positioning. In order to do so, an attempt was made to locate the expatriate international teacher within its wider context, i.e., the expatriate world. After giving an overall description of the context of the expatriate world, the inquiry described the expatriate international school teacher’s journey mainly from the point of view of the hiring process. This inquiry also concluded that the expatriate international school teacher belongs to a new breed of expatriates called the “Self-initiated Foreign Workers”. The study described the expatriate journey and showed the resilience of expatriate teachers. Since this inquiry has chosen the self as an expatriate international teacher as the subject of its exploration, the self was set out within this wider context of expatriates. This paper grounded the self by referring to Harré who notes that “in the human world it is uniqueness, personal singularity, that is the leitmotif of all our forms of life” (Harré, 1998, p. 2). This study began with observing this singularity in the manifestation of its multiplicity as it enters in the social sphere where it observed the self in its social milieu where a person engages with others in an array of social episodes. It was crucial for the study to overcome the often-perceived dichotomy of the “individual” and the “social.” It was possible to do so with the approach that was taken on by using the Vygotskian space location to locate the self. As Harré notes, “To have a sense of self is to have a sense of one’s location, as a person, in each of several arrays of other beings, relevant to personhood” (Harré, 1998, p. 4).

After the study located the self in the individual quadrant, and considered its engagement as a person in the social milieu. This engagement was observed through the lens of the positioning theory. The rationale for such a choice was that “… positioning theory offers a possibility to shift from the perspective of maze traders, those who are within the labyrinth, to a perspective of maze viewers, those who can see the labyrinth from above” (Harré and Langenhove, 1999, p. 13).

The study has chosen a new context as an application to point out hidden potentials nested in positioning theory as an analytical framework. The decision has fallen onto the expatriate teachers of international schools. The justification for this decision was the lack of research in
the field with such a focus on which this inquiry took on. The inquiry used the positioning theory to explore the self as an expatriate teacher in the context of international schools. The focus of the inquiry was the main social engagement, i.e., recruitment. In order to demonstrate the positioning theory and its application, the present study engaged in illustrations drawing from various sources such as real and hypothetical scenarios, interviews, websites, personal communications, surveys and blogs.

5.2 Strength of the study

What this study achieved through its exploration is that it showed the importance of the theoretical framework of positioning in that it may apply to the expatriate international teachers as well as all other expatriates who are working in an international context.

The author of this inquiry made an attempt to exemplify and extend the use of the theory and its dynamics through several figures and illustrations. The study has considered cumulative positionings as a basis of lived autobiography found in the discourse field, the same way as cumulative professional positionings might form a basis of the career line.

This inquiry also showed how discourse of cumulative positionings at the same organisation might lead to repositioning. While looking at the expatriate teacher’s engagement with the school through positioning, it also brought positioning to the field of recruitment where it showed the relevance of its application as well. It also introduced a new term, “mediated or representational positioning” to explain the scenario of the “vacuum effect” often experienced in international schools. The new term then was linked with Bourdieu’s thoughts on authorized speech and delegated power.

In order to show the relational aspect of positioning, the author of this study attempted to visualise the mutual (self and other) positioning by using the zone of proximity to illustrate the continuous movement of the intercept and the dynamics of positioning. Along the way, this study demonstrated a better understanding of the construction of the professional self. It attempted to open up new avenues for further research by showing the importance of the theoretical framework of the positioning theory. It also offered the simultaneous consideration of the work of Harré and Bourdieu in order to gain a deeper understanding of the self and its social
engagement. It revealed how positioning theory as an analytical framework can be exemplified through its application to expatriate international school teachers.

5.3 Limitations of the study

The study might show multiple limitations. The main limitation is that although it has touched on several topics and aspects of the expatriate world as well as the recruitment, the inquiry was unable to describe these to a greater extent due to the purpose and the focus of this paper. Another restraint is that by focusing on the self as an expatriate teacher, this study couldn’t fully engage with the administrator as a self.

This inquiry is not intended to be a research project in a social science sense but rather it is meant to explore the expatriate international school teacher through the means of the positioning theory. This particular focus has placed a limitation as to the degree of the depth of this research.

Due to the limitations mentioned above, the present study could not explore the positioning of the expatriate teacher over time more intensely, which would require a longitudinal study. (I think this is an avenue for further research.)

5.4 Recommendations

The present study started with the wider context of the expatriate world and now, as the study is brought to conclusion here, the author is bringing the implications back to the wider field of the expatriate world for further research. As the exploration of this study confirmed, proactive socialization studies, as well as studies of expatriates, especially those of the so called new breed of expatriates certainly can benefit from the application of the positioning theory. This inquiry concluded that it would require a longitudinal study to further investigate the positioning of expatriate teachers over time. Such a study would be beneficial not only to better understand the expatriate teacher, as he or she engages in social episodes but could enhance how we see and approach international schools as well. Therefore, this study is advocating a longitudinal research project be carried out in the above mentioned area.

The contribution of this enquiry to the field of recruitment was achieved by being the first to study the field of recruitment through the lens of positioning. However, the study could not explore the field fully; therefore further studies in this direction are still needed.
5.5 Implications of the study

One of the main themes that emerged from the exploration of the use of positioning theory in the case of the expatriate international school teacher is that the self as an expatriate teacher cannot be static; however, out of necessity, he or she must make positioning his or her own “business.” It was shown that for the expatriate teacher to be dynamic and to adopt changes, it is essential not only for the job but also for his or her conduct of everyday life, while working in the international context.

The present application highlighted the importance of the process and skills of positioning in the case of the expatriate teacher. It exemplified how it is crucial for them to be aware of the process and how vital it is to possess the skills of positioning. By doing so, it showed how important positioning is not only for expatriate teachers but expatriates in general.

Moving around the globe is a fast-paced lifestyle, which requires quick thinking and adaptation. Change and challenge is the microcosmos where the globally mobiles are conducting their life. Dealing with great amount of changes and challenges means frequently taking on new positions. The implications presented here are derived from the context of expatriate international school teacher but they are not limited entirely to their case. Any international work, which implies moving around shares these common elements. The emerging implications from this exploratory study are transferable to any of those cases that are dealing with those who lead a globally mobile life.
VI. REFERENCES


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IX. APPENDICES

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Appendix 2. International Teachers’ Bill of Rights

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### Candidate’s Schedule

**Friday January 27th**

- **12:00 noon - 6:00 p.m.** Registration in the Churchill Courtyard 2nd Floor
- **1:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.** Half-hourly presentations by school administrators in Wren A,B, Scott and Rossetti Rooms - separate schedule will be available
- **2:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.** Interviews pre-arranged with recruiters
- **6:30 p.m. - 7:45 p.m.** Candidate orientation session in Churchill Ballroom (attendance required)
- **8:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.** Sign Up for interviews Churchill Ballroom
- **7:30 a.m. - 10:00 p.m.** SEARCH Office open in Churchill Courtyard ** moving to Carlyle Room for Saturday - Monday**

**Saturday, January 28th**

- **7:30 a.m. - 9:30 p.m.** Search Office/Candidate Lounge open in Carlyle Room
- **8:00 a.m. - 6:30 p.m.** Interviews begin in recruiters rooms or where directed
- **9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.** School presentations continue in Wren AB, and Rossetti Rm. - schedule will be posted.
- **7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.** Joint wine and cheese reception for recruiters and candidates in the Churchill Ballroom sponsored by Trowbridge Accounting Firm.

**Sunday, January 30th**

- **8:30 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.** Individual interviews continue
- **8:00 a.m. - 10:00 p.m.** Search Office and Candidate Lounge open in the Carlyle Rm.
- **7:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.** *Sign up #2 Churchill Ball room for new arriving schools and candidates, and those still present. Location TBA

**Monday, January 31st**

- **8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.** Individual interviews continue
- **7:30 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.** Search Office and Candidate Lounge open in Carlyle Rm.
International Teachers' Bill of Rights

1. TEACHERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO ACCURATE INFORMATION
   - Candidates' questions are answered honestly during the recruiting process.
   - School housing, if offered, is clearly represented by photos and written descriptions at recruiting time.
   - If teachers are provided with health care benefits, a copy of the policy is available.
   - Promises made verbally are disclosed in writing, including: all expenses and materials that will be reimbursed, class size, after-school activity expectations, number of class hours per week, how salaries are paid, personnel development allowance and how to receive it.

2. TEACHERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO ETHICAL CONTRACT PRACTICES
   - Teachers are presented with the final wording of their contracts at the recruiting fair.
   - Contracts for foreign-hires are in English and shall not require interpretation.
   - Contracts completely delineate a teacher's duties and benefits.
   - No other contract can ever supersede the contract signed by the teacher.
   - Employment handbooks are available at recruiting fairs and outline policies referred to in the contract.
   - Teachers have access to an up-to-date salary schedule at recruitment time.
   - When signatures by school personnel not present at a recruiting fair are needed to finalize a contract, the original wording of the contract is never changed from that already agreed to by the teacher.
   - Teachers may take up to 48 hours to accept a contract. During that time the school guarantees the position's continued availability.
   - When a host country requires a contract in the host-country language, the school guarantees all statements in the teacher's English language version.
   - Renewal contracts are presented far enough in advance so that teachers may decide not to sign and still have ample time to take the necessary steps to recruit for the next school year.

3. TEACHERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO WORK IN A SAFE, SUPPORTIVE ENVIRONMENT
   - The school will make every effort to ensure all teachers work in an environment free from bullying and harassment from administrators, students, parents and/or teachers.
   - Teachers are supported by administration when confronted with individuals acting outside the bounds of acceptable behavior. Agendas not beneficial to the school/school-community are not permitted.
   - Teachers are provided with the material support and initial orientation required to successfully do their jobs. Non-educator managing directors do not interfere in educational matters beyond their expertise.

4. TEACHERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN A SCHOOL-STAFF ASSOCIATION
   - A School-Staff Association is in place and has a genuine forum for negotiation with administration. Teachers have freedom of speech without fear of reprisal.

5. TEACHERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO ASSISTANCE WITH TRANSITION INTO THE HOST COUNTRY
   - All teachers are assisted in making a smooth financial, cultural and legal transition into the host country.
   - Passports are held only for the purpose of visa renewal and are returned upon request.
   - Teachers are supported and protected, to the extent possible, by school administration against authorities and/or individual members of the host country who wish the teacher harm (possible imprisonment, travel ban) for no justifiable reason.

6. TEACHERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO A TRANSPARENT AND IMPARTIAL EVALUATION PROCESS
   - Teacher evaluation is transparent and as impartial as possible. Visiting accreditation organizations are invited to incorporate a review of fair teacher compliance. Teachers are never dismissed arbitrarily and are given due process.

APPENDIX 2. International Teachers’ Bill of Rights
Appendix 3. Survey

Dear Colleague,

The following questionnaire is voluntary and anonymous. It would help research about teachers moving from one school to another, in the framework of a dissertation at the University of Bath. If you are willing to participate, please write your narrative after each question. Please note that this questionnaire is distributed in other schools as well therefore, it is not, in any way, can be tracked to the schools you worked at. Your input would be greatly appreciated.

New Teacher:

1. What made you look for a new position?

2. In what way the interview contributed to get the current position?

3. What made you a good fit for this school?

4. How do you see the school as you started to work, in comparison with the impression that you got during the interview?

5. How do you see yourself at the school, as you started to work as a new teacher?
6. To what extent the school’s website might have helped you to opt for the current school?

Please indicate how many schools you have worked internationally before coming to this school: _____
How many years you have you worked in international schools before accepting this post? ______

Thank you so much.
Dear Colleague,

The following questionnaire is voluntary and anonymous. It would help research about teachers moving from one school to another, in the framework of a dissertation at the University of Bath. If you are willing to participate, please write your narrative after each question. Please note that this questionnaire is distributed in other schools as well therefore, it is not, in any way, can be tracked to the schools you worked at. Your input would be greatly appreciated.

Returning Teacher:

1. What made you look for a new position before coming to the present school?

2. In what way the interview contributed to get this current position?

3. After having spent some time at the school, what do you think: What made you a good fit to this school?

4. How do you see the school as a returning teacher?

5. How do you see yourself at the school as a returning teacher?
6. Are you thinking to move again? If yes/no, why?

7. To what extent the school’s website might have helped you to opt for the school you are currently working at?

Please indicate how many schools you have worked internationally before coming to this school: ______

How many years have you worked in international schools before accepting this post? ________

Thank you so much.