

**Teaching English in the Shadows: Exploring English Teacher-Tutors' Identities in
Kazakhstan**

Munira Vassilova

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53 Kabanbay Batyr Ave.
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This letter now confirms that your research project entitled: *Teaching English in the Shadows: Exploring English Teacher-Tutors' Identities in Kazakhstan* has been approved by the Graduate School of Education Ethics Committee of Nazarbayev University.

You may proceed with contacting your preferred research site and commencing your participant recruitment strategy.

Yours sincerely

Dr. Anas HAJAR

On behalf of Matthew Courtney
Chair of the GSE Ethics Committee
Assistant Professor
Graduate School of Education
Nazarbayev University

Block C3, Room M027
Office: +7 (7172) 70 9371
Mobile: +7-708-274-95-64
email: matthew.courtney@nu.edu.kz , gse.irec@nu.edu.kz

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Abstract

**Teaching English in the Shadows: Exploring English Teacher-Tutors' Identities in
Kazakhstan**

In recent years, the world has witnessed a considerable expansion of private tutoring (PT), also known as shadow education, a fee-charging educational service provided by tutors outside formal settings in academic subjects such as mathematics and languages. Although research on PT has gained growing recognition with substantial implications for educational practices, English private tutoring (EPT) remains a relatively under-researched area. Besides, most studies on EPT were conducted in the East Asian context, while research in Kazakhstan remains scarce. Therefore, this qualitative study aims to address this glaring lacuna by exploring eight female English language teachers' perceptions of EPT, their professional roles and complex identities as schoolteachers and private tutors and the impact of EPT on mainstream schooling and society as a whole. To answer this question, narrative writing and individual semi-structured interviews were employed as data collection methods for the current research. Drawing on Ball and Youdell's (2008) theory of hidden privatization and Ramarajan's (2014) intrapersonal network identity approach, the study found that the participants were driven into the tutoring profession because of financial interest, professional and personal development opportunities and continuous demand from the consumer. It also revealed that juggling dual roles and identities led to primarily negative consequences, including emotional fatigue, professional burnout and decreased quality of EPT sessions. As for the impact of PT on the wider society, all participants were unanimously positive about PT and its future, highlighting its pivotal role in improving the quality of education in Kazakhstan and beyond. From this qualitative study, pedagogical implications and areas for further research are suggested.

Keywords: shadow education, English private tutoring (EPT), teacher-tutors, dual identities, Central Asia, qualitative study

Аңдатпа

Ағылшын тілін «көлеңкеде» оқыту: Қазақстандағы ағылшын тілі мұғалімі-репетиторларының кәсіби болмыстарын зерттеу

Соңғы жылдары әлемде «көлеңкелі білім» деп аталатын жеке репетиторлықтың, яғни математика және тілдер сияқты академиялық пәндер бойынша формальды ортадан тыс жерде репетиторлар ұсынатын ақылы білім беру қызметінің айтарлықтай кеңеюі орын алды. Репетиторлық бойынша зерттеулер білім беру тәжірибесінде танымалдыққа ие болғанымен, ағылшын тілінен жеке репетиторлық салыстырмалы түрде аз зерттелген сала болып қала береді. Сонымен қатар, осы саладағы зерттеулердің көпшілігі Шығыс Азия контекстінде жүргізілді, ал Қазақстанда зерттеулер әлі де тапшы. Сондықтан, бұл сапалы зерттеу сегіз ағылшын тілі әйел мұғалімінің ағылшын тілі бойынша жеке репетиторлық туралы түсінігін, олардың мектеп мұғалімдері мен жеке репетиторлар ретіндегі кәсіби рөлдері мен күрделі болмыстарын, сондай-ақ репетиторлықтың жалпы білім беру жүйесіне және қоғамға әсерін зерттеу арқылы осы айқын олқылықты шешуге бағытталған. Бұл сұраққа жауап беру үшін ағымдағы зерттеу баяндама жазу және жеке жартылай құрылымдық сұхбаттар сияқты деректер жинау әдістері қолданылды. Болл мен Юделлдің (2008) жасырын жекешелендіру теориясына және Рамараджанның (2014) ішкі тұлғалық желілік сәйкестендіру тәсіліне сүйене отырып, зерттеу қатысушылардың репетиторлыққа келу басты себептерінің қаржылық қызығушылық, кәсіби және жеке даму мүмкіндіктері және тұтынушының үздіксіз сұранысы болуын тапты. Сондай-ақ, ол екі кәсіби рөлдер мен болмыстарды біріктірудің жағымсыз салдарға алып келуін, соның ішінде эмоционалдық шаршауды, кәсіби шаршауды және репетиторлық сабақтарының сапасының төмендеуін көрсетті. Жеке репетиторлықтың қоғамға әсеріне келетін болсақ, барлық қатысушылар репетиторлық және оның болашағы туралы бірауыздан оң пікірлерін білдіріп, оның

Қазақстанда және одан тыс жерлерде білім сапасын арттырудағы шешуші рөлін атап өтті. Осы сапалы зерттеудің негізінде педагогикалық салдар мен келешек зерттеу бағыттары ұсынылды.

Түйін сөздер: көлеңкелі білім беру, ағылшын тіліндегі жеке репетиторлық, мұғалім-репетиторлар, дуальді кәсіби болмыс, Орталық Азия, сапалы зерттеу

Аннотация

Преподавание английского языка «в тени»: изучение личностей учителей-репетиторов английского языка в Казахстане

В последние годы в мире наблюдается значительное расширение услуг частного репетиторства, также известных как теневое образование, т.е. платной образовательной услуги, предоставляемой репетиторами вне формальной среды по академическим предметам, таким как математика и языки. Несмотря на то, что исследования в области частного репетиторства получают всё большее признание в академической среде и имеют существенное значение для образовательной практики, частное репетиторство по английскому языку остается относительно малоизученной областью. Кроме того, большинство исследований в данной сфере было проведено в восточноазиатском контексте, в то время как исследования в Казахстане остаются немногочисленными. Таким образом, данное качественное исследование направлено на устранение вышеупомянутого заметного пробела путем изучения восприятий восьми женщин-учителей английского языка по отношению к частному репетиторству по английскому языку, их профессиональных ролей и сложных личностей в качестве школьных учителей и частных репетиторов, а также влияния репетиторства на школьное образование и общество в целом. Для достижения этой цели, методами сбора данных были выбраны нарративное эссе и индивидуальные полуструктурированные интервью. Опираясь на теорию скрытой приватизации Болла и Юделла (2008) и подход к внутриличностной сетевой идентичности Рамараджана (2014), исследование показало основные причины, мотивирующие участников заниматься частным репетиторством, а именно: финансовый интерес, возможности профессионального и личного развития и постоянный спрос со стороны потребителя. В дополнении, согласно результатам исследования, балансирование двойных ролей и личностей привело к негативным

последствиям, включая эмоциональную усталость, профессиональное выгорание и снижение качества репетиторских занятий. Однако, все участники исследования положительно оценили влияние репетиторства на общество, и отметили перспективы развития теневого образования, подчеркнув его ключевую роль в повышении качества образования в Казахстане и за его пределами. На основе данного исследования были рекомендованы области для дальнейших исследовательских работ и предложения по практическому применению.

Ключевые слова: теневое образование, частное репетиторство по английскому языку, учителя-репетиторы, двойная личность, Центральная Азия, качественное исследование

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In recent years, the world has witnessed a considerable expansion of private tutoring (PT), also known as shadow education, a fee-charging educational service provided by tutors mainly outside formal settings in academic subjects such as mathematics, languages (especially English), and sciences (Bray, 2017). In the education literature, the focus has been largely on schools and schooling, with insufficient attention to the phenomenon of PT, which is *"inevitable, universal, and will likely continue to intensify into the foreseeable future"* (Baker, 2020, p. 311, italics in original). Yung (2022) points out that although research on PT has gained growing recognition with substantial implications for educational practices, English private tutoring (EPT) remains a relatively under-researched area.

A few empirical studies on EPT have been conducted across different parts of the world, especially in contexts where English is used as an additional language (e.g., Luo & Forbes, 2021 and Xiong et al., 2022 in China; Mahmud & Bray, 2017 in Bangladesh; Šťastný et al., 2021 in the Czech Republic; Yung, 2019, 2020a in Hong Kong). To the best of my knowledge, no empirical research has been conducted in Kazakhstan on the context of this study—EPT, and therefore this qualitative study aims to address this glaring lacuna by exploring a group of English language teachers' perceptions of EPT in Kazakhstan, their dual professional roles and complex identities as schoolteachers and private tutors and the impact of EPT on mainstream schooling and the society as a whole.

The motives behind receiving EPT in Kazakhstan and elsewhere have been largely ascribed to the lingua franca status of English, its association with upward social mobility (Yung, 2020a), competitive university entrance examinations (Hajar & Abenova, 2021), and its contribution to personal growth and national promotion (Zhunussova et al., 2021).

Worldwide, schoolteachers are regarded as the leading providers of PT services (Bray, 2022a; Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009; Khaydarov, 2020; Kobakhidze, 2014; Mahmud & Bray, 2017). Several papers published in Central Asia (e.g., Silova, 2009; Hajar et al., 2022) and elsewhere (Bray, 2022b; Bray & Hajar, 2023; Duong & Silova, 2021) have attributed this matter to regular teachers' desire to supplement their incomes through PT. The private sector tends to create favorable conditions for teachers to realize their full professional potential (Graveleau, 2020) and attract them by offering more flexibility and space to experiment with teaching approaches, often with small size classes, and granting an opportunity to give individual attention to their tutees (Duong & Silova, 2021; Gupta, 2021a; Šťastný et al., 2021).

Nevertheless, the practice of offering PT by regular teachers has been criticized by some authors, considering it a form of corruption. This was due to the regular teachers' monopoly in the educational and evaluation processes, which emerges in the forms of favoritism to their tutees, purposeful withholding of official curriculum, and neglecting of professional duties in favor of shadow education services (e.g., Ghosh & Bray, 2020 & Gupta, 2021a in India; Khaydarov, 2020 in Uzbekistan; Werbińska et al., 2019 in Turkey, Portugal and Poland). As a result, the public trust in mainstream schooling and the status of the teaching personnel has been undermined (Bray, 2022a; Duong & Silova, 2021).

From the teacher entrepreneurialism perspective, regular teachers providing PT were reported to have blurred professional boundaries between their professional identity as a teacher and entrepreneurial identity as a tutor because of "ambiguities and overlaps in the roles" (Gupta, 2021a, p. 65). Some previous studies evidenced that teachers acknowledged that their dual roles were "time-consuming, exhausting and stressful" (Khaydarov, 2020, p. 91). Šťastný et al. (2021) also noted that teacher-tutors have to juggle dual identities with two different responsibilities and social expectations, resulting in inner conflict. The impact of PT

on teachers' professional performance in a regular school was often reported as negative on the grounds that most teachers have admitted that they teach "more effectively" in PT sessions rather than in regular ones (Gupta, 2021a, p. 433), implying low quality of dedication and knowledge transmission. This point will be further explained in Chapter 2. The present chapter provides background information about the increasing demand in English in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan. It also illustrates the research problem and purpose, research questions, and the significance of the study.

Background of the Study

Worldwide, governments where English is not a native language respond to globalization and the "English fever" (Fish, Parris & Troilo, 2017; Park, 2009) by updating their language-in-education policies (Hamid et al., 2009; Karabassova, 2021). Such responses are fueled by the common belief that English is a valuable linguistic capital that is worth monetary investment and result in the promotion of the status of the English language, changes in the school curriculum with the introduction of English at the early stages, and the establishment of educational institutions with English as a medium of instruction (Hamid et al., 2009). Apart from that, worried parents across the globe invest in out-of-school paid English lessons to maximize learning opportunities for their children in a competitive environment, where English is considered a language of wealth, career, and opportunities (Hajar & Manan, 2022a; Yung & Zeng, 2021).

A similar pattern can be seen in Kazakhstan, where the increasing awareness of policymakers and families in the usefulness of English led to the introduction of educational reforms with an emphasis on English. Besides, the low ranking in English proficiency of Kazakhstani citizens – 96th out of 112 countries and 20th among 24 Asian countries – in the English First English Proficiency Index (EF EPI) international ranking in 2021 urged local authorities to make appropriate decisions in the language policies. The principal national

project "Trinity of Languages" (2007) distributes the power between the languages in the following way: Kazakh should be used as a state language, Russian as a language of interethnic communication, given the fact that Kazakhstan is a multinational and multicultural country with more than 130 ethnicities residing, and English as a global language (Karabassova, 2020). The main drivers behind the English language being stressed in the language policies are the vector of the Republic called "Kazakhstan-2050" with the purpose of joining the 30 most developed countries in the world (Hajar & Manan, 2022a, 2022b) and the internationalization of higher education (Kuzhabekova, 2020).

The high demand for the English language creates favorable conditions for schoolteachers of English to earn more than teachers of other subjects through PT (Zhunussova et al., 2021). Additionally, schoolteachers are often seen as the most suitable and popular providers of PT since they possess insider information such as knowledge of the state curriculum, acquaintance with teaching approaches and assessment methods (Ghosh & Bray, 2020; Gupta, 2021a, 2021b; Kobakhidze, 2018). In addition, teacher-tutors are easily accessible, respected by society members, and such a choice gives parents and their children a guaranteed good relationship between teacher-students and leaked examination questions (Ghosh & Bray, 2020; Kobakhidze, 2014). Therefore, all three components – the instrumental status of English, parental demand, and teachers' readiness to provide fee-charged private lessons – led to the flourishing of the EPT sector.

Problem Statement

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and gaining independence in 1991, the Kazakhstani education sector went through a crisis, which adversely influenced all educational institutions and stakeholders (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009; Silova, 2009). The prestige of the teaching profession was very low, as were the salaries (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009). Therefore, teachers had no choice but to supplement their income

with PT, which still "forms a growing and unregulated shadow education economy in the country" (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009, p. 99).

From a legal perspective, tutors in Kazakhstan must purchase a license and pay taxes to be officially involved in the PT business. However, the majority of teacher-tutors are reluctant to declare their side incomes, arguing it to be a "survival strategy" (Hajar et al., 2022, p. 15) and continue teaching "in the shadow." Moreover, in implicit support of teacher-tutors, Article five of "Pedagogical ethics" in Kazakhstan (Law on Teachers' Status, 2022) indicated that regular teachers have the right to individual pedagogical activity, without specifying the types of such activities. Therefore, the issue of whether regular teachers can or cannot provide PT remains open, which means that there are still no official PT regulations in Kazakhstan.

Nonetheless, the societal acceptance and spread of PT are growing dramatically (Mendibay, 2021), fueled by distance learning and the mass closure of public schools due to the outbreak of the global pandemic in 2020 (Abdirova et al., 2020; Hajar & Manan, 2022b). In addition, a recent study (Hajar et al., 2022) has evidenced that some Kazakhstani teachers pressured their students to take private lessons with them and tended to teach better in PT sessions than in a regular class; hence, teachers were accused of deliberately decreasing the quality of school lessons. These findings resonate with some previous studies on teacher corruption and power abuse directed at recruiting students for PT (Khaydarov, 2020 in Uzbekistan; Kobakhidze, 2014 & 2018 in Georgia).

The unresponsiveness of the Kazakhstani government towards negative PT consequences implies a *laissez-faire* approach and means that the authorities do not take responsibility for education services provided during out-of-school hours (Hajar et al., 2022). Even though it was suggested that the local government should introduce codes of practice

for teacher-tutors and enact respective regulations (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009; Hajar et al., 2022), there has not been any development to date.

Regarding investigations on PT in the Kazakhstani context, the research remains under-represented. The few available studies on PT are either outdated (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009) or limited to students' perceptions of shadow education services (Akimenko, 2017; Hajar & Abenova, 2021; Hajar et al., 2022; Hajar & Manan, 2022b), not covering the other educational stakeholders' views, particularly teachers. Further, all previous studies on PT in Kazakhstan and other Central Asian countries have focused on PT in general rather than on EPT as the case of this empirical study.

Since regular teachers are the primary agents of PT provision to students in Kazakhstan (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009) and are sometimes accused of educational corruption (Hajar et al., 2022), this research will shed light on the dual identities and roles of English teacher-tutors in the shadow education market to reveal how these English language teachers deal with the consequences of managing their identities and roles at the crossroads of marketized English and educational realities. This is an important area of research since teacher-tutors are primary agents of knowledge transmission within the private sector of shadow education, as they influence the English language learning trends in the country. In addition, studying these themes is pivotal to the teachers' professional and personal lives since their dual roles can influence their teaching practices, motivations, job satisfaction, and system of values (Bray, 2022; Kobakhidze, 2018; Trent, 2016). Previously, no study has been conducted on the dual identities of teacher-tutors of English in Kazakhstan; hence, the example of this country can be illustrative of similar patterns in other countries and serve comparative purposes.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this qualitative research is to explore the factors driving in-service urban EFL teachers to become English private tutors and how the values and beliefs of both identities (teacher and tutor) co-exist. To accomplish the objectives of the current research, the research questions below have been addressed:

1. What factors encouraged Kazakhstani schoolteachers to become English private tutors?
2. How do English language teachers manage their professional roles and identities in and between two education systems (mainstream schooling and private tutoring)?
3. What is the impact of private tutoring on the wider society as perceived by the participants?

Significance of the Study

Regarding the potential significance of the present study, it may shed light on factors motivating teachers' provision of EPT in Kazakhstan by qualitative exploration of those determinants in the context of the country, where the research on shadow education remains scarce and teachers' financial situation, alongside the status of their profession, are still the subjects of concern. Thus, it may help create a comprehensive picture of the current state of the shadow education industry in Kazakhstan and provide a basis for local educational policies to address issues leading to EPT and their potential consequences (e.g., educational corruption).

In addition, this study will be a pioneering attempt in the context of Kazakhstan to explore the issue of EFL teachers' dual identities: a teacher and a tutor. Understanding teacher-tutors' identities in EPT is crucial for the awareness of "teachers' well-being and readiness to enact their values and professional development" (Liu & Sammons, 2021, p. 3).

Therefore, this study may be of practical value for in-service English language teachers to reflect on their perceptions of shadow education and its influence on them. By eliciting their views, it is envisaged that the research on PT practitioners would enrich the database and a more comprehensive understanding of the supply side of EPT can be unveiled.

To sum up, the possible results yielded from the present research will add up "missing pieces" to the "assembly of a jigsaw puzzle" in the shadow education research, as supported in Bray (2021a, p. 460). Also, they can partially cover the existing research gap in the scholarly literature and provide some valuable implications for further research on the dual identities of teacher-tutors in Kazakhstan and beyond, along with emphasizing the importance of regulating the PT market.

Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into six chapters. The first chapter presents background information on PT, the research problem, the purpose of the study, and the research questions to be answered by the present study. Chapter 2 discusses the drivers of PT, its nature and scope, and types of E/PT globally with a focus on the Central Asian context and Kazakhstan, the advantages and disadvantages of EPT, governmental regulations towards PT, and teacher-tutors' identities in the shadow education market. Chapter 3 tackles the main concepts related to methodology regarding contacting participants and collecting data for the study. Chapter 4 presents the findings retrieved from the analysis of the qualitative data. The fifth chapter discusses the findings as they relate to the literature review provided in Chapter 2. The last chapter concludes by presenting an overview of the findings, limitations of the study, implications for future research, and recommendations for different stakeholders.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The previous chapter focused on delineating the background information about the growing nature of English private tutoring (EPT), the state of private tutoring (PT) in Kazakhstan, and teacher-supplied PT services. Moreover, the research problem, purpose, and research questions, along with the significance of the study, were explained. The present chapter is divided into four sections. The first part commences with the definitions and conceptualizations of the phenomenon of PT, its nature, various providers, and the advantages and disadvantages of PT. Afterward, the scale of PT in Central Asian countries and beyond is described. The third part provides information on teachers as providers of E/PT services, their complex identities, the reasons for teachers' involvement in fee-charging PT, and issues related to it in the current research. This chapter ends by describing the theoretical framework that guides the present study reported in this thesis; this framework is based on Ball and Youdell's (2008) notion of privatization of education and Ramarajan's (2014) intrapersonal identity network approach.

Definitions and Conceptualizations of PT

PT is defined as "extra coaching in academic and examinable subjects," and it is often provided "outside school hours for remuneration" (Foondun, 2002, p. 487). PT is widely known in the literature as the metaphor for "shadow education" (Bray, 2017). The word "shadow" implies that PT largely imitates mainstream education and changes following the patterns in its public counterpart (Bray, 1999). It is explained by three dimensions proposed by Bray (1999), namely, (1) *supplementation* – the additive character of shadow education services, which go hand in hand with regular schooling, (2) *privateness* – tutoring provided by individuals or organizations in exchange for a fee and excluding unpaid tutoring offered by families, friends or volunteers, or extra lessons provided by teachers free of charge, and

(3) *academic subjects* – excluding sports, art, and limited to mainstream subjects (e.g., languages).

Alternative names of shadow education persistent in the academic literature are private tutoring, private supplementary tutoring, coaching, private tuition, cram schools, and extra lessons, depending on the research context (Hajar & Karakus, 2022). Globally, PT is known in Japan under the label of "juku," "hagwon" in South Korea, "buxiban" in Taiwan, "parapedia" in Greece, and "repetitorstvo" in Russia (Kobakhidze & Suter, 2020, p. 316). The terms "private tutoring," and "shadow education" will be used interchangeably in this thesis.

EPT, the focus of this research, is defined as paid English teaching services offered to students to supplement their English language learning and use and/or to prepare them for language examinations (Werbińska et al., 2019). EPT is particularly widespread in contexts where English is learned as an additional language (Yung & Hajar, 2023) and is generally offered by individuals with or without professional tutoring qualifications or commercial language centers (Chih-Hao, 2019). Despite the ubiquity of EPT in the shadow education market, the research on EPT is "still in its infancy" (Yung, 2022, p. 215), and the voices of schoolteachers who provide EPT are almost missing. Therefore, the present qualitative study aims to bridge this research gap.

The Scale of E/PT in Central Asia and Beyond

The global spread of PT reached the point where it "can no longer be ignored" (Bray, 2022b, p. 15). Scholarly literature has documented the omnipresence of PT in countries as diverse as the European Union (Bray, 2021a), East Asia (Yung & Zeng, 2021; Xiong et al., 2022), South Asia (Joshi, 2021), Middle East (Bray & Hajar, 2023), Africa (Bray, 2021c), the Mediterranean (Bray et al., 2013) and former Soviet countries (Bray & Lykins, 2012; Silova, 2009). The Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) provided some

indication of overall enrolment rates, combining fee-charging and fee-free PT. It showed statistics for PT received by Grade 8 students for mathematics in 2019 and found that in 13 out of 64 countries (e.g., Egypt, South Korea, Turkey, Morocco, Singapore, and Kazakhstan, the setting of the present study), more than 50% of students participated in various forms of PT (Mullis et al., 2020).

It is worth mentioning that the pervasiveness of PT is not subject to the specific economic status of the country: PT services are well-established in low-income countries such as Bangladesh (Mahmud & Kenayathulla, 2018) and India (Ghosh & Bray, 2020), as well as in the developed Scandinavian countries (Hallsén & Karlsson, 2019). Even in the case of England, which has always been proud of its mainstream education, peer pressure and competitive edge impacted parental decisions to invest in shadow education (Bray, 2021b).

In Central Asian countries – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan – PT has become increasingly visible since the collapse of the socialist bloc in the early 1990s (Silova, 2009). Table 1 shows data on the scale of PT in Central Asia. Although some are rough estimates rather than exact indicators, "they are part of the jigsaw puzzle which can be used to assemble the picture" (Bray 2021a, p. 445).

Table 1

The scale of PT in Central Asia

Central Asian country	PT scale (students)	PT scale (schoolteachers as tutors)
<i>Kazakhstan</i>	In a sample of 1004 first-year university students, 64.8% reported attending PT during their last year of secondary schooling (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009).	70% of students from the same sample reported taking PT sessions from schoolteachers (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009).
<i>Uzbekistan</i>	In a sample of 109 Grade 12 students in two schools, 95% of students reported attending PT over the	The results from the same study, including 109 students and 16 teachers from two

	previous 12 months (Khaydarov, 2020).	different academic lyceums, showed that lyceum teachers were the dominant providers of PT, but the exact number was not given.
<i>Kyrgyzstan</i>	In a sample of 1100 first-year university students, 52.5% visited PT in their last year of secondary schooling (Bagdasarova & Ivanov, 2009).	62.5% of students from the same sample reported purchasing PT sessions from schoolteachers (Bagdasarova & Ivanov, 2009).
<i>Tajikistan</i>	In a sample of 994 first-year university students, 60% reported their PT experiences in their last year of secondary schooling (Kodirov & Amonov, 2009).	73.1% of students from the same sample reported purchasing PT sessions from schoolteachers (Kodirov & Amonov, 2009).
<i>Turkmenistan</i>	After gaining independence in 1991, the extensive emersion of PT was evident in unregistered classes in teachers' homes and elsewhere (Clement, 2006, as cited in Silova, 2009, p. 59).	—

Regarding EPT, the focus of the present study, it is particularly prominent in countries where English is learned as an additional language. Worldwide, EPT is attended by students on the grounds of a common belief that English is the language of social advancement and opportunities (Yung, 2020a). In the Chinese business market, EPT is characterized as the "biggest slice of cake" (Luo & Forbes, 2021, p. 1), with the market value of PT for primary and secondary education students reaching 800 billion RMB (120 billion USD) in 2016 (Luo & Forbes, 2021, p. 1).

In Kazakhstan, English is considered to be one of the most enrolled subjects in the PT market: the vast majority of respondents (35 students from a sample of 144) from Hajar and Abenova's (2021) mixed-methods study reported visiting EPT during their last year of schooling for enrichment and remediation purposes. Also, the quantitative data from a mixed-methods research conducted by Hajar (2023) with 637 grade 6 students showed that 337 respondents (52.75%) received EPT in the last 12 months. These growing numbers of EPT

participants are also pertinent to other developing countries where English is not a native language, such as Taiwan (Chih-Hao, 2019), Thailand (Saengboon, 2019), Hong Kong (Yung, 2019, 2020a, 2020b), and Uzbekistan (Khojееv, 2021).

Motives for Having E/PT

The ubiquitous nature of PT led to shadow education being present in all countries and societies, regardless of socio-economic status and cultural background (Bray, 2022a; Gupta, 2021a). Shadow education has primarily been prominent in East Asian societies such as Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Mainland China because they highly value formal certificated accreditation, which implies diligence, passing high-stakes examinations, and involves family support and obligation (Zhang & Yamato, 2018). Since the new millennium, shadow education has become endemic worldwide on a significant scale.

As reported by OECD, the global expansion of private education is largely due to an increase in urban middle-class in 2019. This factor implies the willingness of parents to provide their children with both mainstream and shadow education (Yung & Bray, 2021). Bray (2022b) postulated that fierce competition between families for social and economic advancement lies behind the significant expansion of PT. Besides, since upper-class families have already been able to afford their offspring better quality of education and other alternatives, including PT, the lower-class strata, for whom access to PT is difficult, were pushed to invest in it "in order to avoid being left behind" (Bray, 2022, p. 69). The need for PT also stems from teachers' inability to cater to students' differentiated needs (Sieverding et al., 2019; Yung & Bray, 2021). During the COVID-19 global pandemic, the demand for PT services was also fueled by the mass closure of schools and parental concerns about their children's academic performance (Hajar & Manan, 2022b).

Shadow education mainly occurs at transitional points, or critical stages, which denote the transition to elite schools or tertiary education institutions (Bray, 1999; Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009; Hajar & Abenova, 2021). In examination-driven cultures fueled by competition between university applicants, test-oriented PT is preferable for families rather than mainstream schooling focused on rounded person development (Bray, 2017; Hamid et al., 2018; Luo & Forbes, 2021; Yung, 2020b). Apart from that, peer pressure (Bray, 2021b; Yung & Zeng, 2021), students' willingness to keep up with the curriculum (Duong & Silova, 2021; Wang & Bray, 2016), and the artificial need created by teachers to engage their students in PT (Kobakhidze 2014 & 2018) stand apart as the drivers of PT.

Concerning the motives for EPT, the reasons pushing families to invest in EPT are the presence of English in almost all national examinations and the subjects taught through English as a medium of instruction (e.g., CLIL in Kazakhstan). Since the English language is the major component of the national curriculum, it has a significant position in the shadow education business (Hamid et al., 2009). In addition, the advertisements promising "native-like pronunciation" and simultaneously diminishing the role of school-taught English lessons intensify the global prevalence of EPT (Luo & Forbes, 2021).

The EPT area is "yet to receive notable attention" (Hamid et al., 2018, p. 869). Hence it is "imperative" (Hamid et al., 2018, p. 869) to conduct research on EPT, as in today's globalized world, one's proficiency in the English language is closely linked with social mobility. Besides, while much attention has been paid to students' and parents' perceptions of EPT (Yung & Zeng, 2021), much remains unknown about the "supply-side teachers' professional identities" (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2015, p. 468). This point will be discussed later in this chapter.

PT Modes and its Providers

The literature analysis showed that the current PT market proposes a variety of services to meet any request: the tutees may select the PT sessions according to the subject they want to study, delivery mode, size of the class, duration of the lesson, and fee (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009; Yung & Bray, 2021).

According to the class size, PT sessions can be individual, small- and large-size, and lecture-style tutoring. The research has also documented that some cross-national variations exist in the format of PT provision: while in some countries, PT is provided on a one-to-one basis (e.g., Hallsén & Karlsson, 2019 in Sweden), in other parts of the world, lecture-style tutoring is prevailing (e.g., Yung & Zeng, 2021 in Hong Kong). Within the modes, PT can take place in offline settings such as private venues (homes of tutors or tutees) or public places like libraries, cafes, and tutoring centers (Bray & Hajar, 2023). Along with face-to-face tutoring, PT can be delivered in online mode, which was boosted by the complete shutdown of public places due to the global COVID-19 pandemic. As for the season and timing of PT, it can take place during public holidays and vacations and the academic semester, including school days and weekends (Zhang & Bray, 2020). Moreover, the demand for PT can be intensified with the approaching examinations in the critical stages that signify the transition from school to the university (Bray & Hajar, 2023).

Based on the providers, time, and tutoring place, Brehm (2017) categorized PT into four subcategories. The first category – "regular private tutoring" – refers to PT services provided by mainstream schoolteachers to mirror the school curriculum. Another subcategory is called "special private tutoring," as it is usually conducted in small-size classes for specific purposes by a tutor "who might or might not be the mainstreaming schoolteacher" (Brehm, 2017, p. 4). The remaining categories are "private tutoring during holidays" with seasonal

demand and "private tutoring at private school," meaning PT services offered by non-profit organizations, business centers, and informal agents.

This thesis focuses only on the tutoring provided by schoolteachers and excludes tutoring provided by other professionals. The teacher-supplied PT will be discussed further in this chapter.

The Advantages and Disadvantages of PT

Shadow education is intended to serve as compensation for poor mainstream schooling. In other words, parents and students from all over the world choose to invest in PT services to deal with the public schooling deficiencies such as overcrowded classrooms, incompetent teachers, and a national curriculum not covering examination preparation (Bray, 2017). Specifically for the area of EPT, the reasons for parental investment in EPT are their inability to assist their children in doing homework for English classes due to their business at work and low proficiency in the foreign language (Hamid et al., 2018; Saengboon, 2019; Yung & Zeng, 2021). Moreover, EPT is believed to compensate for the poor quality of English taught in mainstream schooling, where the focus is on rote learning and memorization while listening and speaking skills are overlooked (Mahmud & Bray, 2017).

Among the primary advantages of PT, the scholars (Hajar & Abenova, 2021; Wang & Bray, 2016; Yung, 2022) pinpoint two main strategies: enrichment and remedial. Since the mainstream curriculum targets average learners, the high-achievers may experience boredom, while low-achievers fall behind. As a solution, when provided as the *enrichment strategy*, PT can help high-achievers to prepare for university entrance examinations, while the *remedial strategy* assists low-achievers in improving their academic performance. Moreover, PT attracts both parents and students as it is learner-oriented: every child receives

personal attention, which is challenging in a regular class with more than twenty students (Hajar et al., 2023). This personalized approach, accompanied by the friendliness and lack of hierarchical relationships, leads to the "tutor-tutee" relationships being stronger than "teacher-student," as PT caters to students' individual needs (Gupta, 2021b; Hajar & Abenova, 2021). Besides evident benefits such as educational advancement in school subjects, PT sessions also provide students with intangible benefits. These include enhancement in communicative skills, self-confidence, and desire to be actively involved in the educational process (Hajar & Karakus, 2022; Luo & Forbes, 2021; Mahmud & Bray, 2017).

In contrast to the positive features of shadow education, it also brings adverse outcomes. The primary disadvantage is that PT maintains and fosters educational inequality between privileged and disadvantaged socio-economic groups, as evidenced in the empirical studies conducted in Kazakhstan (e.g., Hajar & Abenova, 2021) and elsewhere (e.g., Ghosh & Bray, 2020 in India; Liu & Bray, 2020 in Myanmar; Yung, 2022 in Hong Kong) thus leading to the "non-inclusive education system" (Nhem & Kobakhidze, 2022, p. 2). While prosperous families can afford a variety of PT services (Bray, 2017), low-income parents view PT as a financial burden, which leads to their children experiencing additional psychological pressure (e.g., anxiety, fear of failure, stress) and responsibility for household budget (Hajar & Abenova, 2021).

The last issue is the quality of knowledge delivered from tutors to tutees. The marketplace of shadow education in most countries is open and unregulated: anybody can become a private tutor, starting from a university student and ending with amateur pensioners. Some of them are not mandatorily qualified to teach, which, in turn, raises questions about quality knowledge transmission (Yung & Bray, 2021).

Overview of E/PT Research in Central Asia

The phenomenon of PT has expanded in Central Asia mainly due to the test-based examination system, leading to the growing demand for enrollment in tertiary education institutions and teachers' low salaries in the public education sector (Carlsen, 2020). These factors were initially identified by Silova (2009) when she described the socio-political changes that resulted as a consequence of the collapse of the Soviet Union, including lower rates of funding directed at the education system, low quality of mainstream schooling, and deteriorating status of the teaching profession.

During the first years of independence, the educational sector of Central Asian countries witnessed a significant outflow of teaching personnel from schools to the private sector. The main reason was a considerable decrease in the teachers' salaries, which made them among the least-paid job holders (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009). In this regard, teachers had to shift and alter their identities according to the updated market, which made them pursue a private tutor career to make ends meet and financially support their families (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009; Silova, 2009).

PT has been present in Kazakhstan since the Soviet period, yet it existed in a more covert form (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009). Reporting on a qualitative study on teacher-tutors and their identities in Georgia, Kobakhidze (2018) explained why there was no official declaration of PT in Soviet Georgia. Those justifications resonate with the Central Asian context (Silova, 2009) because these countries share the same historical past as parts of the Soviet Union. As Kobakhidze (2018) explained, PT was not widespread in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) because Soviet education was believed to be perfect and did not need any supplementation from alternative educational institutions. In fact, the recognition of PT by the Soviet authorities would indicate weakness in public schooling. In addition, PT's personalized and fee-charging nature sharply contrasted with the

universal and free Soviet public education (Kobakhidze, 2018, p. 42). Only after the collapse of the USSR, the PT market became more displayed, though it was difficult to define its exact scope and gain reliable data due to the challenging nature of data collection (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009; Silova, 2009).

Nonetheless, there are a few studies on PT in Kazakhstan (Hajar & Abenova, 2021; Hajar & Manan, 2022a, 2022b; Hajar et al., 2022; Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009) and, to a lesser extent, on EPT (e.g., Hajar, 2023). The first attempt to define the nature of PT services in the country was made by Kalikova and Rakhimzhanova in 2009 as part of the more extensive mixed-methods study on PT in Central Asia (Silova, 2009). They collected the quantitative data through a survey from 1004 first-year students and qualitative interview data from 37 university professors from six universities in two major cities of Almaty and Shymkent. The study's main findings included the general characteristics of PT in Kazakhstan and its impact on mainstream schooling and society. According to the scholars (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009), the PT enrolment rates were higher in urban areas and among students in the last year of secondary school (73.2%), as they had to prepare for the university-entrance examinations and supplement the poor quality of mainstream school teaching. In addition, most students (70.4%) reported taking PT sessions with schoolteachers (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009).

At the school level, Hajar et al. (2022) explored grade 6 students' perceptions of their PT participation in Kazakhstan through three participatory methods: children's drawings, photographs, and group interviews. The participants regarded PT as an essential instrument through which they could improve exam scores to enroll in highly selective Nazarbayev Intellectual Schools (NIS), keep up with the school curriculum, and study abroad (Hajar et al., 2022). Interestingly, 2 out of 30 interviewed students reported schoolteachers coercing their students to attend fee-charging PT sessions with them and treating the tutees better than

those who did not opt for PT (Hajar et al., 2022). These instances of teachers' unethical behavior to force their students to visit PT echo the studies on educational corruption in Georgia (Kobakhidze, 2014 & 2018), Egypt (Sieverding et al., 2019), Cambodia (Nhem & Kobakhidze, 2022), India (Ghosh & Bray, 2020), and Myanmar (Liu & Bray, 2020).

In Tajikistan, Kodirov and Amonov (2009) included the voices of 999 first-year university students from the country's four largest universities and showed that 60% of them purchased PT sessions during their last year of secondary schooling. The common reasons for students' enrollment in PT were the preparation for university entrance examinations and compensation for the low quality of teaching at state schools. Similar to Kazakhstan (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009), PT was more widespread in Tajikistan among urban students (49.9%) rather than students from rural (41%) regions (Kodirov & Amonov, 2009). From the supply side, 73.1% of students reported taking PT sessions with the schoolteachers (Kodirov & Amonov, 2009). This percentage is quite similar to the Kazakhstani context, as 70% of the first-year university students had been tutored by schoolteachers (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009).

As for PT research in Kyrgyzstan, Bagdasarova, and Ivanov (2009) based their findings on quantitative data administered to 1100 first-year university students in five different universities. Approximately half of the surveyed respondents (52.5%) attended PT during the last year of secondary education for almost the same reasons as in Kazakhstan (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009) and Tajikistan (Kodirov & Amonov, 2009). Specifically, the Kyrgyzstani students' enrollment in PT denoted the deteriorating quality of knowledge at schools and the need to prepare for examinations. Another commonality was the tendency of urban students to purchase PT services at a higher rate (61.9%) than their peers from rural areas (37.7%). In addition, secondary school teachers were among the most

common PT providers in Kyrgyzstan (62.5%), similar to other Central Asian countries (Silova, 2009).

Regarding Uzbekistan, which was not included in the larger study on PT in Central Asia (Silova, 2009) due to its government not granting permission for research in 2009, there are a few empirical studies on PT (Khaydarov, 2020; Khojeev, 2021). Khaydarov's (2020) mixed-methods study explored the general characteristics of PT in Uzbekistan by recruiting eight teachers and 109 grade 12 students from two academic lyceums. The key findings showed that 95% of surveyed students had received PT in the last 12 months (Khaydarov, 2020). This pervasiveness of PT is linked to the entrance examinations, as in other Central Asian countries (Silova, 2009), which depend highly on testing systems.

As for the government responses to PT in Central Asia, the shadow education market remains unregulated (e.g., Hajar et al., 2022 in Kazakhstan; Khaydarov, 2020 in Uzbekistan). Although some scholars (Hajar et al., 2022; Silova, 2009) underlined the salience of systematically monitoring the PT market, enforcing the legal regulations of PT, and developing and spreading the code of ethics for teachers, still those recommendations have not been addressed by the policymakers in Central Asia as well as in many other parts of the world.

In summary, the research on shadow education in the Central Asian region is introduced with very few studies. While Kazakhstan seems to stand apart with more research focused on the demand side of PT (Hajar, 2023; Hajar & Abenova, 2021; Hajar et al., 2022; Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009), the Uzbekistani scholars (Khaydarov, 2020; Khojeev, 2021) explored the supply side in the face of regular teachers and university professors. As for the remaining Central Asian countries, the research on PT in Kyrgyzstan (Bagdasarova & Ivanov, 2009), Tajikistan (Kodirov & Amonov, 2009), and Turkmenistan (Clement, 2006,

as cited in Silova, 2009) remain relatively scarce. Thereby, Silova (2009) concluded that more research on PT in Central Asia is needed to understand "the dynamics of the private tutoring market" (p. 175) in the region.

Teachers as PT Providers and Their Drivers for PT Supply

Schoolteachers constitute a major category of shadow education service providers across the globe. A recent study in Cambodia (Nhem & Kobakhidze, 2022) identified that about 97% of Cambodian schoolteachers provided fee-charging PT classes to their own students or students from other grades/schools. This spread of teacher-supplied tutoring has been discussed in several empirical studies (e.g., Ghosh & Bray, 2020 in India; Silova, 2009 in Central Asia; Kobakhidze, 2014, 2018 in Georgia; Nhem & Kobakhidze, 2022 in Cambodia). Based on a qualitative content analysis of international research on PT published between 1980 and 2018, Duong and Silova (2021) identified six categories of teacher-tutors' portraits in academic papers: poor, corrupt, criminal, entrepreneurial, and irresponsible. The sympathetic images of teacher-tutors are primarily held by parents and students, who depict teachers as having financial constraints yet being innovative and caring. The same category of stakeholders described teacher-tutors as corrupt, pointing to the cases of teachers blackmailing their students into attending PT. Moreover, teacher-tutors can have a reputation for breaking the law by still providing tutoring "in the shadow" while it is prohibited, and not being accountable to tax agencies.

The entrepreneurial portrayal of teacher-tutors stems from the theory of privatization of education (Ball & Youdell, 2008), which refers to introducing free market principles to educational institutions and stakeholders. Following those principles, schools are becoming more business-like and competing for students, parents are given a choice to select schools from the perspective of consumers, and teachers are granted more authority in profiting from the market (Ball & Youdell, 2008). This theory will be discussed in more detail in the next

section. As for the bond between PT and the privatization of education, schools began to "serve as tutoring marketplaces" (Ghosh & Bray, 2020, p. 355), where teachers can sell their services and students constitute the consumer side. For example, a Georgian qualitative study on 18 teacher-tutors and their dual roles and identities (Kobakhidze, 2014) reported various marketing strategies utilized by teacher-tutors to recruit potential PT participants (Kobakhidze, 2014). Bray et al. (2016) categorized these marketing strategies as indirect (e.g., granting higher marks to tutored students) and direct (e.g., publicly announcing the availability of PT places) strategies. In the case of Georgia, word-of-mouth promotions, discounts for students from one family, a bonus fee-free tutoring lesson as "Robin Hood" teachers (Kobakhidze, 2014, p. 465), along with teachers' direct inquiry from parents whether their child needs tutoring (Kobakhidze, 2018) were reported.

Regarding teachers' self-reflection on tutoring their students, the interview data from 16 secondary schoolteachers in two academic lyceums in Uzbekistan indicated two opposite views (Khaydarov, 2020). Specifically, while half of the respondents considered tutoring their own students as a standard practice, others asserted that it might lead to "irresponsibility and inattentiveness of students" (Khaydarov, 2020, p. 92) since they know that the material would be explained again in tutoring class by the same teacher.

The majority of PT literature (e.g., Bray & Hajar, 2023 in the Middle East; Bray et al., 2016 in Cambodia; Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009 in Kazakhstan; Sieverding et al., 2019 in Egypt) on teacher-supplied PT agreed that schoolteachers conduct PT classes mainly for financial remuneration purposes. Concerning the costs of PT, the Kazakhstani university teacher-tutors were reported to charging on average US\$5 (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009, p. 106). According to the respondents, 1004 first-year university students who received PT in their last year of secondary school – from the same study, the costs of PT depended on the qualifications of a tutor, the student's knowledge level, the prestige of the

university where the potential applicants wish to study (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009). In other words, PT costs are lower for students from primary and secondary education and higher for students from higher grades in Kazakhstan. This is because of university-entrance examinations, which brought high competitiveness among applicants to secure a scholarship (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009).

The analysis of the scholarly literature on teacher-supplied PT showed that apart from generating a side income, PT was regarded by teacher-tutors as a way of deepening professional development, bringing enjoyment and self-fulfillment stemming from helping their tutees to learn and achieve good academic results (e.g., Kobakhidze, 2014 in Georgia; Werbińska et al., 2019 in Poland, Portugal, and Turkey).

Within professional development, English teacher-tutors from three different countries – Poland, Portugal, and Turkey – perceived tutoring as threefold: "learning from a learner, learning with a learner, or learning because of a learner" (Werbińska et al., 2019, p. 187). The first type of learning occurs when a tutee needs assistance in a specific area yet unfamiliar to the tutor so that the latter can learn and excel as a professional. In the case of "learning with a learner," the tutor deals with a learner who offers more teaching challenges; thus, they learn together. The final situation occurs when the lesson is perceived as a learning opportunity from the tutors' perspective. Furthermore, Werbińska et al. (2019) portrayed three conceptualizations of EPT from the viewpoint of its providers – teacher-tutors. They saw EPT as a source of income, professional development, and helping their tutees, which echoes the studies from other contexts (e.g., Kobakhidze, 2014 & 2018 in Georgia; Šťastný et al., 2021 in the Czech Republic).

Issues Associated with Schoolteachers Providing PT

The threat of schoolteachers operating in an "unprofessional" way by giving fee-charging PT is a major concern in the research on shadow education literature (Bray, 2022a). It leads to teachers saving efforts in regular lessons by treating schools as "resting and napping places" (Liu & Bray, 2020, p. 5), neglecting their professional duties in favor of PT services (Bray, 2022a; Gupta, 2021a), and creating a demand for fee-charging PT sessions (Le & Edwards, 2022; Yung, 2022). Those malpractices can be summarized under the notion of educational corruption, defined by Bray (2003) as the instances of teachers abusing their positions over the students.

The educational corruption within the scope of teacher-supplied PT can be either client-initiated or provider-initiated (Kobakhidze, 2014). In the first case, parents deliberately send their children to the teachers for PT sessions so that they will not be ignored for non-enrolment in PT and get the opportunities to obtain higher marks and disclose examination questions and answers at the end (Liu & Bray, 2020). The provider-initiated corruption includes teachers coercing their students to purchase PT through tutees' favoritism and deflating marks for non-tutees (Kobakhidze, 2014). This was evident in the context of Saudi Arabia, where teachers leaked the examination questions to their tutees, thus creating unequal educational opportunities for those students who were not enrolled in PT (Bray & Hajar, 2023). Interestingly, despite the common condemnation of teachers offering fee-charging lessons and forcing their students to enroll in PT, the qualitative evidence from six Indian secondary schoolteachers who also provide tutoring showed that their PT provision was simply a response to the parental demand (Ghosh & Bray, 2020). In addition, Gupta's (2021a) qualitative study drawing on the interviews with 38 secondary schoolteachers in two private schools in India confirmed that since parents had the capital to

pay and teachers had expertise in the subject taught, this made it a "win-win situation" (p. 431) for both sides.

Concerning the consequences of teacher-supplied PT from their perspectives, Kobakhidze's (2018) longitudinal qualitative interview study recruiting 68 teacher-tutors in Georgia identified the effects of PT on teachers' personal lives. For instance, most teachers who participated in the study showed their preference for their identity as teachers more than tutors, underscoring the fact that PT had taken the time dedicated to their families, the upbringing of their children, and affected motherhood (Kobakhidze, 2018). Moreover, juggling two parallel jobs for many teachers "meant being in a state of constant fatigue" (Kobakhidze, 2018, p. 135) and resulted in PT leading to health issues, emotional exhaustion, and professional burnout.

Complex Identities of Teachers Giving PT

The construct of identity is described as a personality type in a particular discourse (Gee, 2000), a combination of influences on one's identity, along with the different contexts, self-knowledge, social status, and meaning systems (Olsen, 2008). A teacher identity poses difficulties for the authors to define, yet Sachs's (2005) definition of a teacher's identity being a frame that tells "how to be," "how to act," and "how to understand their work and place in society" (Sachs, 2005, p. 311) serves as a helpful starting point to understand it. It is worth pointing out that a teacher's identity is not stable; it changes over time due to the teachers' professional and personal development and under the influence of internal (e.g., emotion) and external (e.g., life experience) factors (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). It can co-exist with other identities, which can direct teachers' professional activities and impact the teaching process (Khojiev, 2021).

One remarkable study on teacher-tutors' hybrid identities was conducted by Kobakhidze (2018) in Georgia with 68 teachers who taught different subjects (e.g., Math, foreign languages) in grades 9-12 and provided PT. The findings of her study revealed that the teacher identity was reported to be of greater importance and status in comparison with an "adopted" and "self-imposed" tutor identity (Kobakhidze, 2018, p. 115). The separation of both roles was based on the different functions, behaviors, and degree of commitment. Concerning the levels of responsibility, the opinions of Georgian teachers differed: some defined tutoring as more demanding due to direct payment from students and their families and felt a higher degree of responsibility for their tutees' learning process and examination results (Kobakhidze, 2018). On the contrary, the remaining teachers reported teaching roles having more responsibility because of numerous organizational works and accountability (Kobakhidze, 2018). The tutoring identity was positively linked with the sense of stability since teachers were self-employed in the private sector and did not depend on the Ministry of Education or school principals. PT was believed to contribute to teachers' professionalism and subject knowledge since teachers "learn more to stay in tutoring "business" (Kobakhidze, 2018, p. 141).

Another study on university English teacher-tutors' identities in Uzbekistan (Khojiev, 2021) stands out as a pioneering attempt to describe the supply side of EPT in Central Asia. Guided by the intrapersonal identity network approach (Ramarajan, 2014), this study revealed that the teacher identity held more power over tutor identity because of a stable fixed income, higher social status, availability of students to teach, and other benefits (e.g., pension as a sense of security). In turn, tutor identity was treated as a temporary occupation, existing solely for financial purposes. This negligent attitude towards the tutor identity made teachers unsatisfied since they felt they did not deserve the PT payment and were not fully committed to the private lessons.

The above studies (Khojiev, 2021; Kobakhidze, 2018) have commonalities in the aspect that teacher-tutors put more value on their teacher identity while treating their tutor identity as self-imposed and linking its existence only with financial constraints. Moreover, there is an overlap in both Uzbekistani and Georgian contexts in the conflict between teacher-tutors' dual identities leading to fulfilling the duties of one professional identity at the expense of the other. The only difference was that in Georgia (Kobakhidze, 2018), both teacher and tutor identities were influenced, while the Uzbekistani case (Khojiev, 2021) demonstrated that only the tutor's identity suffered in terms of time dedication and lesson quality.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted in the present study is based on Ball and Youdell's (2008) concept of hidden privatization in education, suggesting that two types of privatization can be identified: endogenous and exogenous. The former is characterized by the public sector's transition to a "business-like" model through adopting ideas, instruments, and practices from the private sector (Ball & Youdell, 2008, p. 16). The latter works under the belief of "public education for private profit" and makes the private sector provide education independently with its design and management of the programs (Ball & Youdell, 2008, p. 21).

Ball and Youdell (2008) further discussed the issue of privatizing the current educational field and defined PT as an exogenous type of marketization of education, as it complements public schooling by providing educational services for private profit. Hamid et al. (2018) supported this suggestion by noting that there is a need to complement the applied linguistics view on EPT as a language learning opportunity with an additional perspective that considers EPT as an "educational commodity available for purchase" (p. 869). Thus, the emphasis is on making education "owned by and benefiting the individual" rather than being

"a public good that benefits the society as a whole" (Ball & Youdell, 2008, p. 53). Those values proved accurate, as a particular form of education – shadow education – is not accessible to all interested consumers (Bray et al., 2016). Thus, the marketization of education enhances social stratification by maintaining and exacerbating social and educational inequalities between prosperous and disadvantaged families (e.g., Bray, 2017; Yung, 2020a).

Apart from widening the gap between social classes, the marketization of education brings a new role for teachers, "threatens to alter their perceptions on the nature of their work and their degree of control over the educational process" (Ball & Youdell, 2008, p. 59), and modifies the relationship models to more of a client/consumer and provider (Ball & Youdell, 2008), which is already happening in a PT industry worldwide. Moreover, this hidden privatization of education juxtaposes the professional and market values of teachers tutoring their own students by creating space for educational corruption, leaving educators in an ethical dilemma and ambivalent attitudes (e.g., Carlsen, 2020; Hamid et al., 2018; Kobakhidze, 2014 & 2018). Therefore, those changes in the professional values of teachers resulted because of the marketization of education and will be used as a framework to understand English language teachers' perceptions of EPT provision, along with their dual identities as mainstream schoolteachers and private tutors.

Ramarajan's (2014) intrapersonal identity network approach is also adopted in this study to explore how the English language teacher-tutors participating in the current research manage their dual identities. This concept incorporates the central beliefs from the socio-psychological, micro-sociological, psychodynamic, critical, and intersectional paradigms focusing on multiple identities. Adopting Ramarajan's (2014) intrapersonal identity network approach in this study would allow the researcher to capture her participants' dual professional identities (teacher-tutor) from miscellaneous perspectives.

According to Ramarajan's (2014) framework, various identities represent the nodes of the network, and the exact number of those nodes should correspond to "the number of identities relevant to the scholar's research question" (p. 621). That is, two core identities – a teacher and a private tutor – will be considered the nodes of the network. The next point in the framework relates to the ties – the different relationships and their types between the nodes. Precisely, one's complex identities can be in the following types of relationships: conflicting, enhancing, integrating, power, temporal and mixed relationships. A detailed explanation is given in Table 2.

Table 2

The types of relationships between multiple identities (Ramarajan, 2014)

Types of relationships between multiple identities (Ramarajan, 2014)	Explanation	Examples
<i>Conflicting ties</i>	One's multiple identities can conflict with each other due to personal feelings or unsatisfactory performance	Teacher identity conflicts with tutor identity because of the illegal nature of the latter
<i>Enhancing ties</i>	One's multiple identities can enhance and benefit each other's experiences	Teachers gain professional growth due to their tutoring practices
<i>Integrating ties</i>	One's multiple identities can overlap with each other if they have similar interests, beliefs, and values	Both teacher and tutor identities focus on helping the students with their academic achievements
<i>Power ties</i>	One identity is prioritized over another depending on the status and power of an identity	Teacher identity has more power due to the higher social status, financial security, and stable income
<i>Temporal ties</i>	One identity exists temporarily and is intended to	Tutor identity is in a temporal relationship

	be shifted once an individual decides to progress with their professional life	with teacher identity, as teachers engage in PT only for financial purposes and are willing to stop tutoring once they have higher official salaries
<i>Mixed ties</i>	Two and more identities can simultaneously have different types of relationships with each other	Teacher and tutor identities can be in conflicting and enhancing positions at the same time

Those types are assumed to influence a person's professional and non-professional activities. With this in mind, the present research also attempts to identify the type of ties existing between the teacher and private tutor identities and their impact on English teachers' professional activities.

Conclusion

Overall, this chapter presented the definitions and conceptualization of E/PT alongside its nature, scale, various providers, advantages and disadvantages. The next part discussed the teachers as providers of PT, starting with the reasons for teacher-supplied PT and moving toward the issues associated with teachers' PT practices, including educational corruption and its impact on their personal and professional lives. Furthermore, it dwelt upon teacher-tutors' identities and the influence of shadow education on those hybrid identities. Finally, the hidden marketization of education (Ball & Youdell, 2008) and the intrapersonal identity network approach (Ramarajan, 2014) were presented as the theoretical framework for this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The previous chapter focused on reviewing the literature connected to the scale and nature of private tutoring (PT) in Central Asia with a specific focus on English private tutoring (EPT). It also explained the motives for having E/PT, its modes, and various providers, along with the advantages and disadvantages of PT. Moreover, the teacher-supplied PT, the factors driving teachers into the PT sector, and issues associated with their PT practices were discussed. In addition, the complex identities of teacher-tutors were explained, together with rationalizing the adoption of the theory of hidden marketization of education (Ball & Youdell, 2008) and the intrapersonal identity network approach (Ramarajan, 2014) in the present study. To accomplish the objectives of this study, the following research questions, presented at the end of Chapter 1, need to be answered:

1. What factors encouraged Kazakhstani schoolteachers to become English private tutors?
2. How do English language teachers manage their professional roles and identities in and between two education systems (mainstream schooling and private tutoring)?
3. What is the impact of private tutoring on the wider society as perceived by the participants?

This chapter focuses on a research design that identifies reasons for implementing a qualitative case-study method, along with the process of data collection tools, namely, narrative writing and individual semi-structured interviews. The research site and sample, data collection procedures, data analysis, and ethical considerations related to this study will be also explained.

Research Design

This section describes the research design of the present study and justifies the chosen methods of research applied to the study. The present study deployed a qualitative research approach for several reasons. Firstly, the qualitative approach allows flexibility during research, while the quantitative approach is characterized as being "tightly controlled" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 36). Thus, considering the absence of previous research on EPT from the teacher-tutors' perspective in the context of Kazakhstan and the possibility of gaining various outcomes, the "emergent research design" and "exploratory nature" (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 37, 39) of qualitative approach is preferable. Secondly, since the present study seeks to capture the voices of English language teacher-tutors and investigate their perceptions of EPT and dual identities, the qualitative approach meets these needs by focusing on a small sample (Dörnyei, 2007). Hence, the researcher can develop information-rich data for the report and get an in-depth understanding of the participants' contextualized experiences of the phenomenon (Dörnyei, 2007).

Within the qualitative approach, a case study was utilized as a research design for the present study. Gall et al. (2007) defined a case study as an "in-depth study of instances of a phenomenon in its natural context and from the perspective of the participants involved in the phenomenon" (p. 436). Case study, as Simons (2009) suggests, is "flexible" because it is "neither time-dependent nor constrained by method" (p. 23). Moreover, given the paucity of research on English teacher-tutors' identities (Bray, 2022a), a case study was adopted to shed light on the individual experiences of the research participants, as "it draws attention to the question of what specially can be learned from the single case" (Stake, 2008, p. 135).

Within the case study design, a multiple instrumental case study was adopted in this research, on the grounds that it enables the researcher to gain an understanding of one phenomenon "within each setting and across settings" and generates robust and reliable data

(Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 550). Albeit the multiple instrumental case studies illustrate the cases collectively, "each single case study is portrayed with its unique features and context" (Shkedi, 2005, p. 21). Therefore, for the purposes of entering into the lifeworld of the English language teacher-tutors and capturing a contextualized picture of them holding dual identities and its impact on their professional practices, the multiple instrumental case study was considered to be the appropriate research design.

Research Site and Sample

PT often takes place in urban areas due to the higher socioeconomic status of its residents, and hence there is a tendency for quality teacher-tutors to stay in cities (Mahmud & Bray, 2017). In this regard, Khaydarov (2020) urges language researchers to understand the phenomenon of EPT in the context of mainstream schools located in urban areas. Thus, the data of this qualitative multiple instrumental case study was collected from secondary mainstream schools in Astana, the capital of Kazakhstan. Due to the time constraint, the study is restricted to four schools. The schools in Astana were a convenient research site due to the researcher's residency and higher possibilities of reaching out to gatekeepers and finding research participants. Following that, it was easier for the researcher to access the research site to collect the required data.

For the recruitment of the participants for the narrative writing and individual semi-structured interviews, non-probability purposeful sampling was used, as it is not aimed at generalization but rather the solution of "qualitative problems" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 96). Purposeful sampling allowed a researcher to select the participants who met the study's specific criteria and shared the experience of a given phenomenon – EPT – thus yielding information-rich cases (Patton, 2014). In addition, this sampling method is cost-effective and time effective. Thus, the target group of this study fits the requirements of being in-service English language teachers with no less than two years of work experience at a secondary

mainstream school in an urban area in Kazakhstan and no less than two years of work experience as English tutors, and willing to participate in the study. The sufficient time spent in both professions is assumed to construct their dual professional identities to a considerable extent. It is worth noting that none of the teacher-tutors were known by the researcher before data collection. In terms of the sample size, Stake (2008) stated that in a multiple-case study design, a researcher should choose four to ten participants. Thus, the number of recruited participants was eight teachers of English who also provided EPT. The participants were given pseudonyms, and their profiles are provided in the following table:

Table 3

Demographic data of the participants

№	Name	Gender	Age	Nationality	Educational background	Years of teaching experience	Years of tutoring experience
1	Daneliya	Female	26	Kazakhstani	BA in Foreign Philology	7 years	6 years
2	Gulmira	Female	32	Kazakhstani	PhD in Kazakh Philology	13 years	12 years
3	Ayaulym	Female	30	Kazakhstani	MA in Early Childhood Education and Language Teaching	8 years	12 years
4	Zhazira	Female	25	Kazakhstani	MA in Multilingual Education	2 years	7 years
5	Raushan	Female	22	Kazakhstani	B.Ed. in Two Foreign Languages	2 years	4 years
6	Dana	Female	22	Kazakhstani	B.Ed. in Two	2 years	3 years

					Foreign Languages		
7	Ailana	Female	29	Kazakhstani	B.Ed. in Two Foreign Languages	3 years	8 years
8	Amina	Female	22	Kazakhstani	BA in Foreign Philology	2 years	3 years

Data Collection Instruments

Two qualitative research methods – narrative writing and individual semi-structured interviews – were adopted to answer the research questions of this study. Narrative writing was employed to collect the participants' background information, develop the rapport between the researcher and her participants and help the researcher construct the subsequent interview questions. Fenstermacher (1997) highlighted the importance of narrative inquiry in educational research, which is the "revelation of the intentions and beliefs of teachers" (p. 123). Pavlenko (2007) postulates that the advantage of using narrative writing as a research method is that it can allow the researcher to obtain insights into their participants' "private worlds, inaccessible to experimental methodologies, and thus provide the insider's view of the processes of language learning and teaching, attrition, and use" (pp. 164-165). In addition, the personal narratives of teachers are the most convenient tools designed to investigate the professional experiences defining teachers' identities (Barkhuizen, 2016). Thus, through narrative essays, the researcher can "understand the actor's reasons for action," i.e., the reasons behind teachers' involvement in EPT, and "make sense of these actions through the eyes of the actor" (Fenstermacher, 1997, p. 123).

In this research study, the prompts for the narrative essay consisted of open-ended questions designed to facilitate the research participants' narratives on the explicit and implicit representation of their identities, the relationship between them, and the impact of

those identities on their professional life. Examples of these questions are "How do you manage having two professional roles (English teacher and English tutor)?" or "What motivated you to tutor?" Moreover, some research participants found narrative essays an opportunity to express their views in a written form, especially the researcher giving the participants the option to choose the language of writing their essays, whether in Kazakh, Russian, or English. This is because the researcher focused on the participants' words and ideas rather than on their English language proficiency. To assist the participants in writing their essays, a set of questions were sent in three languages (Kazakh, Russian, and English) (see Appendix A). They were given two weeks to write their essay before sending them back to the researcher via WhatsApp, as per participants' preferences.

The second qualitative research method used in this research is a semi-structured individual interview. The rationale for using this method is that semi-structured interviews unite the advantages of both structured and unstructured interview formats. i.e., a presence of pre-determined questions and leaving a room for flexibility (Dörnyei, 2007; Clarke & Braun, 2013). Since the researcher sought to empower the interviewees to share their viewpoints of EPT and gain rich data from their own experiences of providing EPT, the semi-structured interview format provided such an opportunity by avoiding the usage of "ready-made categories that would limit the depth and breadth of the respondent's story" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 136). Moreover, the interviews allowed the researcher to probe answers, come up with deeper insights, and analyze the non-verbal communicative means (e.g., facial expressions, vocalization) during the interviewing process, "which the questionnaire can never do" (Bell, 2005, p. 157; Magnusson & Marecek, 2015).

Following the guidelines of interview question types and their order (Dörnyei, 2007; Clarke & Braun, 2013), the interview protocol (see Appendix B), including a set of fifteen questions with several probes, was developed. The interview questions were mainly adapted

from Bray et al. (2015), and some sections related to teacher-tutors were borrowed from Kobakhidze (2018). The aspects covered by interview questions were the practices of the research participants at schools and EPT sessions, their preferred roles and identities, the motives for providing EPT, and others. The interviewees were given the opportunity to choose any of the three languages (Kazakh, Russian, English) they felt comfortable with to express their ideas freely and confidently. All participants were interviewed once, and their interviews were audio- and video-recorded after obtaining their permission. Each interview lasted 40-45 minutes and was conducted online through a Zoom platform in line with the participants' preferences.

Data Collection Procedures

After obtaining ethical approval from the GSE Ethics Committee for conducting this research, to ensure quality (Dörnyei, 2007), the interview questions were piloted and tested with fellow students from Nazarbayev University Graduate School of Education after being reviewed by the researcher's thesis supervisor. The next step was to get permission from potential gatekeepers to access the site. They were contacted a month prior to the data collection procedure, informed about the purpose of this study, and requested permission to interview English language teachers who conduct lessons at the secondary level in that school (see Appendix C for the invitation letter). Once permission was granted, English language teachers were contacted via telephone and asked to participate in narrative essay writing and interviews to share their views on EPT.

The agreed participants received an informed consent form describing the study's research purpose, risks and benefits, and the information on withdrawal from the interview in three languages (see Appendix D). After getting familiar with the consent forms and signing them, the respondents returned them to the researcher. Afterward, the narrative essay prompts in three languages (see Appendix A) were sent to the agreed participants via WhatsApp and

they were given two weeks to send their essay back to the researcher. The researcher proceeded to the next step (semi-structured interviews) as soon as the essays were received.

Prior to one-to-one interviewing, all participants were reminded about the purpose of the study and their right to withdraw from participation at any moment (Clarke & Braun, 2013; Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2014). Luckily, none of them withdrew from the study. The interviewing site was online through Zoom, as per participants' preferences and requests. The interviews were conducted in a language familiar to the participants: four participants chose English as the language for the interview, while the remaining half were interviewed in Russian. Using semi-structured interviews, the researcher asked interviewees to elaborate further on the cases they described in narrative writing. The interviews were recorded with the participants' permission and later analyzed by the researcher.

Regarding the schedule of the interviews, the time and day were discussed and appointed in accordance with the time convenient for each participant, as "people who agree to be interviewed deserve some consideration" (Bell, 2005, p. 167). Each interview lasted between 40-45 minutes. The data collection process took place between October and December 2022.

Data Analysis

As soon as the qualitative data from the narrative essays and individual semi-structured interviews were obtained, they were analyzed and interpreted following the six steps of a thematic analysis suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006). The thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). By themes, the authors meant the patterns in the collected dataset that are important and further used to address the study's research questions or the issue of interest (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Firstly, the researcher familiarized herself with the collected data by transcribing the audio recordings with the assistance of transcribing software Otter.ai and Sonix.ai, which facilitated the process of "organizing, storing, analyzing, sorting and representing" the text data in one platform (Creswell, 2014, p. 203). After that, the researcher checked the transcripts against the audio recording for accuracy (Benson & Clarke, 2006). Then the researcher immersed herself in the dataset on narrative essays and interview transcripts by reading and re-reading the data "*actively, analytically and critically*" (Clarke & Braun, 2013, p. 205, *italics in original*), "noticing interesting features" (Braun et al., 2019) and making initial notes, shaped by the research questions of the study.

The second phase of thematic analysis included the generation of initial codes from the dataset through the complete coding approach, which means that the researcher coded all the data holistically in relation to the research questions of the present study (Clarke & Braun, 2013). During this stage, the dataset resulted in several initial codes (see Table 4) in relation to the focus of the study inquiry (for more elaboration about the initial codes in this study, see Appendix E).

Table 4

Code samples

Interview extracts	Codes	Subthemes	Themes
And even though I had a lot of workload from my course, I usually try to get some <u>additional income by private tutoring</u>	EPT as an additional income	Additional income	Factors driving EFL teachers to tutor
I'll be honest, I get tired. And I've been working like this for maybe two years, I'm	Having both jobs is tiring	Balancing is challenging	Management of both professional roles

kind of used to it, but at the same time, it's very tiring. So you always have to be energetic for days. Because as I did to myself, I got sick.

Yeah, there were some meetings at the time, then it was, of course, difficult to manage it. I had to postpone it [EPT] sometimes.

Difficult to manage two jobs

Postponing EPT sessions

Power ties

Conflicting ties

Balancing is challenging

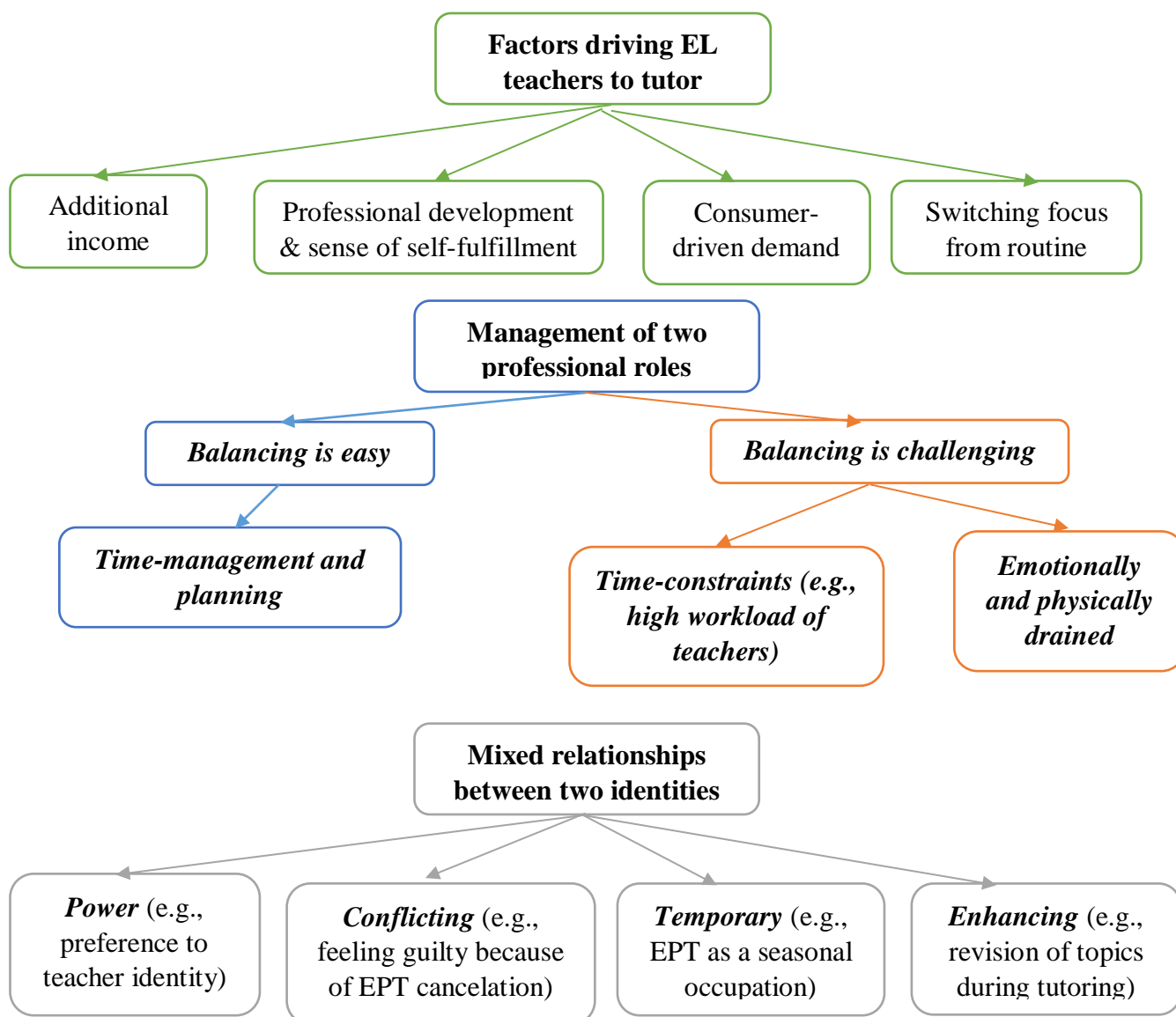
Mixed relationships between two identities

Management of both professional roles

For the "coder reliability check" the initial codes and the participants' transcripts were sent to the researcher's supervisor after obtaining the participants' permission (Creswell, 2014). Afterward, the initially extracted codes were clustered into three major thematic categories for further analysis (see Figure 1). Within the thematic data analysis, themes "capture something important about the data in relation to the research question and represent some level of patterned response or meaning within the dataset" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). Moreover, themes demonstrate a central organizing concept, which unites several ideas (codes). The four main themes that emerged after the data analysis were: "*factors driving English language (EL) teachers to tutor*", "*management of two professional roles*", "*mixed relationships between two identities*" and "*impact of PT on the wider society from the English teachers' perspectives*." This relatively small number of themes is explained with the purpose of qualitative research to provide in-depth information on a few topics rather than "general information about many themes" (Creswell, 2014, p. 187).

Figure 1

Thematic map



Note. The final thematic map derived from the English teacher-tutors' data and compiled by the researcher.

Ethical Considerations

Before the interview, the respondents received informed consent forms containing information on the purpose of the research, the length of the interview, the details on how the obtained data will be stored and used for further analysis, and their rights to withdraw from the participation and not to answer the questions they find inappropriate without any negative

consequences (Roberts & Priest, 2010). With the narrative essays, the participants were informed in advance that their writing would not be assessed in any way and that there is no "right" or "wrong" in terms of their provisions of EPT.

Before taking the semi-structured interviews, the teachers were also reminded that their participation was voluntary and that they had the right to ask questions or share their concerns about the research project (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2014). In addition to the written format of informed consent, the verbal assent of the participants for audio recording was obtained and reviewed on the interviewing day. These audiotapes and interview transcriptions are stored in a password-protected cloud, and only the researcher and her supervisor have access to those materials. The researcher will destroy all interview data obtained from the research participants three years after data collection. This is because the researcher may use the data to publish a paper in the future.

All participants' data were protected in terms of anonymity, confidentiality, non-traceability, and freedom from harm. To specify, the researcher cannot ensure complete anonymity for the research participants since this information was revealed to the researcher when she came to the interview (Dörnyei, 2007). However, the confidentiality of interviewees was protected, as all participants were given pseudonyms, which were used in the research report (Clarke & Braun, 2013; Cohen et al., 2007).

The researcher assured no harm or minimal risks to the participants' professional and personal lives as their identities were not declared in the final report (Clarke & Braun, 2013). Nonetheless, as the complete absence of risks is impossible, the participants might feel discomfort answering some interview questions. To minimize that risk, they were reassured about their right not to give the answer or withdraw from participation at any point without any negative repercussions (Dörnyei, 2007).

Conclusion

This chapter presented the description of the methodology of this study by providing information about the research design, the research site and sample, data collection instruments and procedures, followed by data analysis and ethical considerations of this research. Specifically, this study adopted the instrumental multiple case study method in which eight English teacher-tutors were selected as research participants through non-probability purposeful sampling. For data collection purposes, narrative writing and individual semi-structured interviews were used. The next chapter will provide the main findings of this study.

Chapter 4: Findings

The previous chapter focused on the research design and data collection methods – narrative writing and individual semi-structured interviews – used in the present study. It also discussed the thematic data analysis approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006 & 2019) deployed in this research. The characteristics of each step of the data analysis, the criteria for choosing participants in this study, and the study's ethical considerations were also explained in Chapter 3. This chapter synthesizes and presents the main findings obtained from eight participants, who were female English language teacher-tutors from four mainstream schools in Astana, the capital of Kazakhstan. The study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What factors encouraged Kazakhstani schoolteachers to become English private tutors?
2. How do English language teachers manage their professional roles and identities in and between two education systems (mainstream schooling and private tutoring)?
3. What is the impact of private tutoring on the wider society as perceived by the participants?

The following section will present the biographical accounts based on their narrative essays. This will be followed by the description of the factors driving the participants to engage in English private tutoring (EPT), their management of dual roles and identities (teacher and tutor), and perceptions towards the impact of PT on the wider society according to the resultant themes and sub-themes that emerged after data analysis (see Figure 1 for the thematic map in Chapter 3, p. 42).

Biographical Vignettes of the Research Participants

This section displays the eight female participants' biographical vignettes based on their written accounts of their experiences as schoolteachers of the English language and English private tutors.

Gulmira

Gulmira is a second-year Ph.D. student specializing in Kazakh Philology. Her teaching experience is thirteen years, and she has been providing EPT for twelve years. The primary reason for Gulmira's decision to provide EPT was to earn an extra income because of the low salaries of schoolteachers at the beginning of her teaching career. Although there were improvements in teachers' wages in Kazakhstan, Gulmira indicated that she continued offering EPT because she did not want to disappoint some students' parents who asked to help their children with English learning. She asserted that she often gave EPT only to a few students yearly to avoid interfering with her main job as a schoolteacher. Concerning the balance between two roles as a schoolteacher and private tutor, she pinpointed financial, pedagogical, and psychological challenges. Gulmira highlighted the issue of well-being of schoolteachers, indicating that they should not provide PT to many students for the sake of money without prioritizing their health.

Daneliya

Daneliya holds a Bachelor's degree in Foreign Philology. Her overall work experience as a schoolteacher of English is seven years. As for her EPT experience, Daneliya has provided EPT classes for six years for secondary school students. The main factor driving her to provide EPT sessions was financial remuneration. Regarding managing both roles, she faced no major difficulties balancing her dual identities and jobs since Daneliya was engaged in EPT after official school hours and had a relatively small number of tutees.

Ayaulym

Ayaulym obtained a Bachelor of Education in Language Teaching from one university in Astana. After graduating, she held a position as an English teacher at one of the mainstream schools, where she mainly taught small groups of children and provided one-to-one support. Her overall teaching experience at school was eight years.

As for tutoring, it permeated her university years along with her professional career at school. Ayaulym has been providing EPT for twelve years, indicating that she particularly enjoyed giving individual EPT sessions, where she could fully concentrate on a student's academic needs and produce better results. Ayaulym indicated that she could keep a balance between two jobs as a schoolteacher and tutor by providing EPT after official school hours and preparing private lesson materials on weekends.

Zhazira

Zhazira was a Master's student in Multilingual Education program. Her teaching experience as a schoolteacher was two years, but she had given individual and group EPT for almost seven years. Zhazira was motivated to tutor mainly to generate additional income. She believed that managing two roles was quite challenging because of time constraints, as the work of an English teacher required plenty of paperwork apart from regular classes and office hours. Zhazira pointed out that being an English teacher for a whole class at school was less effective due to a large number of students per class and lots of additional responsibilities, so there was less one-to-one connection between a teacher and a student.

Raushan

Raushan holds a Bachelor of Education in Two Foreign Languages from one university in Almaty. The main driver for Raushan to engage in EPT was to generate

additional income. Another essential reason was professional development and avoidance of career stagnation. Precisely, the language level of her students at school corresponds to Elementary and Pre-Intermediate, while at EPT sessions, Raushan teaches Intermediate and Intermediate+ level students. As for her English language teaching experience, Raushan has been an English schoolteacher for two years, while she has been tutoring English for four years. Regarding the management of both jobs, she mentioned the lack of time to prepare for her EPT sessions. Due to her primary work and irregular schedule, Raushan sometimes had to cancel or reschedule her EPT classes, which sometimes affected the quality of her tutoring.

Dana

Dana graduated from one university in Kazakhstan with a Bachelor of Education in Two Foreign Languages. Dana had two years of English teaching experience at a public school and three years of EPT experience. Her main reason for providing EPT alongside her formal job as a schoolteacher was to avoid career stagnation. Dana said that at school, students tended to have different language levels, but most of them were of Elementary and Pre-Intermediate levels. Therefore, it was difficult for her to maintain a high competency in English. She also mentioned that as a schoolteacher, she held many other responsibilities, including paperwork. Consequently, Dana decided to give EPT to maintain her English competence. In terms of managing her dual role as a schoolteacher and tutor, Dana found it difficult due to the lack of time for preparation and the high workload at school. In such situations, she sometimes postponed her EPT lessons, which affected their quality.

Ailana

Ailana holds a Bachelor of Education in Two Foreign Languages. Her teaching experience as a schoolteacher was three years, while she had been tutoring English for eight years. The primary motivation for engaging in EPT was to secure additional income since

teacher salaries were low. In addition, the flexibility of EPT attracted Ailana because she could choose her working schedule. Another reason was to switch focus from an overloaded teacher job, including paperwork, class supervision, communication with parents, and the continuous need to be accountable to the school administration. Ailana noted that in EPT sessions, she had higher levels of responsibility for students' results than at school because of the paid nature of the former. She complained about some impatient parents who wanted immediate improvement in their children's exam scores and capability to use English after having EPT with her. This, in turn, created pressure on her.

Amina

Amina graduated from one university in Almaty with a Bachelor of Arts in Foreign Philology. Her teaching experience at school was two years, and she had been giving EPT for three years. Amina's motivation to tutor originated from her willingness to gain extra income. She was proud when her tutees enjoyed the classes and when she strengthened her English teaching methods. In terms of management of both roles, Amina believed that there were no significant problems. In Amina's words, she had more freedom to design the lesson plan and use certain activities in EPT sessions than at school.

Interpreting the Participants' Experiential Accounts

This section explains the main themes that emerged from the analysis of the interview data: These themes are (1) *factors driving EFL teachers to become English private tutors*; (2) *the participants' management of two professional roles*; (3) *mixed relationships between the participants' dual identities*, and (4) *the impact of PT on the wider society from the participants' perspectives*.

Factors Driving the Participants to Provide EPT

The data analysis revealed that four main factors encouraged the participants of this qualitative study to provide EPT in Kazakhstan. These factors were: *the need to generate additional income, professional development and self-fulfillment, consumer-driven demand, and switching focus from routine work.*

Additional Income

It emerged from the data analysis that all eight participants mentioned financial remuneration as the leading factor in entering the English private tutor profession. The participants, on the whole, reported that they had regarded EPT as a means to improve their financial capabilities. This point was aptly articulated by Ailana and Gulmira, as shown in Extracts 1 and 2.

Extract 1:

When I first got a job at school in 2013, my salary was 28,000 tenge. And for this time, it was very, very little ... And because of this, I was engaged in English private tutoring. Then tutoring was accompanying my main job as a schoolteacher because I needed more money (Ailana, November 15, 2022).

Extract 2:

The main reason that encouraged me to give English private tutoring was to earn extra income. This is mainly because the schoolteacher's salary was not high at the beginning of my career in 2004 (Gulmira, October 10, 2022).

Also, two participants (Dana and Raushan) indicated that EPT could serve as a "financial cushion," meaning that EPT catered to teacher-tutors' financial needs by offering financial security and providing continuous daily income, as opposed to a monthly schoolteacher's salary.

Another recurrent theme in the interviews was a sense amongst most participants that even after the recent pay increase in Kazakhstan (Law on Teachers' status, 2022), "practice shows that this is not enough at the moment for us, as teachers," as shown in the case of

Raushan. Thus, the participants continued providing EPT sessions. In this regard, when the participants were asked the question, "There is a common perception that if the teachers' salaries were increased, they would stop providing EPT – what are your thoughts on this?" all participants unanimously pointed out that they would not completely stop giving EPT but rather reduce the hours of tutoring and number of tutees. This point can be illustrated in Extracts 3 and 4:

Extract 3:

If I received a higher salary in my main job as a schoolteacher, I wouldn't say I would completely stop giving tutoring. I may decrease the number of hours I teach as a tutor because of a work-life balance. I do enjoy tutoring (Ayaulym, October 26, 2022).

Extract 4:

If a teacher is energetic, and he or she knows that they can give tutoring, then why not? I mean, I like to tutor, and I'm happy that my salary gets higher. So, both ways are good (Amina, December 3, 2022).

The picture that emerged from the above extracts displayed that the financial gains of EPT represented the main reason for participants to give EPT. Nevertheless, they indicated that their motivation to tutor was also accompanied by their love for teaching and other reasons that will be explained in the following section.

Professional Development and Sense of Self-Fulfillment

Apart from treating EPT as a way to augment their official incomes, all participants considered EPT as a means for deepening their professional development and self-fulfillment stemming from helping their tutees to excel academically and improve their self-esteem. Moreover, this ongoing satisfaction brought acknowledgment of teacher-tutors from students and their parents, which positively influenced the expansion of their pool of clientele.

Commenting on professional growth, three participants (Dana, Raushan, and Zhazira) alluded to the notion of avoiding career stagnation through giving EPT sessions. Specifically,

since all participants were not native speakers of English, they pinpointed the opportunity to maintain high English language proficiency through the provision of EPT:

Extract 5:

When I work at a school, my English skills do not improve because almost all the students are at the same level. And I want to maintain my English proficiency. To keep my competence in English, I often take higher levels like Intermediate and Upper-Intermediate for tutoring so that I can use only English during the tutorial sessions and keep it in good shape (Dana, November 8, 2022).

Extract 6:

When I give tutoring in English, I often go through the same teaching material several times. This is useful to both students and teachers themselves. I believe revision is the mother of education. This practice enables me not to forget the topics and practice my English (Zhazira, October 31, 2022).

In addition to preserving language abilities, EPT was seen as a viable option for developing other professional competencies of teachers. Raushan noted that giving EPT sessions helped her to get immediate feedback from her tutees and adjust the lesson accordingly. Also, EPT was regarded as a means to better understand the teaching material and test several methods to identify which activities work best and could be transferred to public teaching.

Extract 7:

I hear more feedback about my teaching when I give individual tutoring or in small groups. At schools, we have 12-13 students in a group. This is a relatively small number of students, but it is not always possible to get feedback from children because I had to cover the curriculum. Conversely, in tutorial sessions, I often receive immediate feedback from my tutees. This, in turn, helps me improve my teaching skills. In addition, during tutoring sessions, I have the opportunity to hone my skills by learning or re-learning some topics to which I am weak or was not introduced yet, like preparation for the NIS entrance examination (Raushan, November 3, 2022).

The above extract portrayed that EPT was seen as a source of professional growth, providing teacher-tutors with favorable conditions to get feedback on their teaching approaches and, as Werbinska et al. (2019) put it, "learn from a learner" (p. 187).

The data analysis also showed that another reason that motivated the participants to give EPT was that it gave them leeway in choosing their tutees and working hours and created a space for pedagogical experiments and creativity. This view was expressed by four participants (Dana, Ayaulym, Ailana, and Amina), as elucidated in the following extracts:

Extract 8:

In my tutorial sessions, I have the freedom how to teach a lesson. I can make my own plans. There is more room for creativity. Therefore, my private sessions are often of better quality than the English classes at school (Dana, November 8, 2022).

Extract 9:

One of the advantages of tutoring is that I can choose my clients. If parents are not happy if I sometimes postpone some sessions due to other responsibilities, they can stop sending their child to me. Also, if a child doesn't do homework or study, I can inform their parents that I don't want to tutor their child anymore because it would be a waste of money for them. (Ailana, November 15, 2022).

Two participants (Ayaulym and Zhazira) reported that they could devote their full attention to one student during tutorial sessions, as opposed to teaching English at school. The following extracts explain this point.

Extract 10:

In a classroom setting, I find it difficult to manage discipline due to the larger number of students. I enjoy one-to-one sessions where I can fully concentrate on one student's needs and better results are often produced (Ayaulym, October 26, 2022).

Extract 11:

Being an English teacher for a whole class at school is less effective due to a large number of students per class and lots of additional responsibilities, so there is less connection between me and my student. Conversely, in tutorial sessions, much more effective communication exists, and the tutoring process goes smoother (Zhazira, October 31, 2022).

In terms of personal satisfaction and sense of fulfillment, five participants (Gulmira, Zhazira, Daneliya, Ayaulym, and Amina) indicated that working with one tutee and witnessing their success at academic and personal levels (e.g., growth in self-confidence) brought them joy and happiness:

Extract 12:

When my tutees get admitted to a highly selective school or university, or when they win a scholarship, it really gives me a lot of satisfaction and pleasure from the activity I do. I feel very valued. It gives me self-appreciation and also high self-esteem. I really enjoy sharing their happiness when they get high grades (Zhazira, October 31, 2022).

Extract 13:

The best present for me as a tutor is when my tutees appreciate the effort I put in with them. I feel special when my former tutees came to greet me. In such cases, I start appreciating myself and believing that I am a good tutor. In addition, I feel excited when I see good results from my tutees who were preparing to enter Nazarbayev Intellectual Schools (Gulmira, October 10, 2022).

Consumer-Driven Demand

While financial gains and professional development were internal factors motivating participants to tutor, the requests from the parents, students, and other interested individuals, constituted the demand coming from the outside world, as stated by four participants (Gulmira, Amina, Daneliya, Ailana). Ailana, for instance, highlighted that "if there was no request from customers, then the business would not go like this." Likewise, Gulmira pointed out that even when an extra income from her tutoring job was enough, there were occasions when she could not refuse potential customers' pleadings to take their child for English tutoring, as revealed in the following extract:

Extract 14:

I give tutoring to some children because I didn't want to disappoint their parents. There are times when they say to me: "please take care of my child for a while." Sometimes my colleagues asked me to teach their children, and sometimes my neighbors and their acquaintances. I go to their homes and teach them at my convenience (Gulmira, October 10, 2022).

The data also show that two participants (Ailana and Ayaulym) revealed the complicated nature of the updated school curriculum and parents' inability to help their children with home assignments because of their low competence in English. As a result, these parents invested in EPT and motivated teachers to "fill in these gaps" (Ailana,

November 15, 2022). The comment below illustrates a metaphorical explanation of why students received tutoring and why the participants came to the EPT provision:

Extract 15:

I think in any field, when there are certain gaps, then people try to fill them in. For example, if your public transport lags, you would have taxis and other things ... So, whenever we have those gaps, someone comes in and fills those gaps. For me, this is the main mission of tutoring. That is if students cannot get quality education in their own school, they attend tutoring (Ayaulym, October 26, 2022).

In other words, the poor school teaching of English, accompanied by parental concerns about their child's future and teachers' willingness to generate side income, led to the teacher-supplied EPT and created a "win-win situation for everyone" (Ayaulym, October 26, 2022). As a result, parents are satisfied with the idea of having their children receive quality EPT lessons, and schoolteachers found a decent second job to earn extra income.

Switching Focus from Routine Work

The last factor driving the participants of this study to become English private tutors was that they regarded tutoring as an opportunity to free themselves from a routine and overloaded teaching job, bureaucracy, and pressure from the school administration. This point was fittingly articulated by Ailana and Dana:

Extract 16:

One of the reasons that demotivated me to work at school was the endless bureaucracy. I always had to prepare reports, show them to the head teachers every quarter, and at the end of the year, go through a bypass sheet and hand in a bunch of reports before going on vacation. If the teacher is given class supervision, the work with documents increases. All of that was also accompanied by working with the students and their parents. As a result, I no longer wanted to work at school and just wanted to teach lessons without distraction. That is how I came into this profession of private tutoring (Ailana, November 15, 2022).

Extract 17:

I tutor not only because I am interested in generating an additional income but also to help me unwind and switch focus from my repetitive and overloaded teaching job. I understand that if I limited my career to teaching at a public school, it would be very

boring, and I would not have any opportunities for my professional development (Dana, November 8, 2022).

Managing Two Professional Roles: English Schoolteacher and English Private Tutor

The second main theme that emerged from the data analysis was related to the issue of managing two professional roles: a teacher and a tutor. The data analysis reveals that two perspectives of English teacher-tutors were observed: *balancing is easy*, and *balancing is challenging*. In this vein, the focus of this section is to describe how the participants managed to balance their professional roles in and between two different educational institutions: a mainstream school and a private venue, and what challenges they encountered in these processes.

Balancing is Easy

Time management and Planning. As evident from the collected data, three out of eight participants (Gulmira, Ayaulym, and Daneliya) agreed that good time-management skills and prior planning of tutoring sessions laid the ground for them to practice EPT in parallel with public teaching. Specifically, these participants indicated that they had often allocated the first half of the day to finish their official teaching hours while giving tutoring after lunchtime. As a result, the reconciliation process of both roles and identities did not create noticeable difficulties, as shown in Extract 18.

Extract 18:

Timewise is important. I worked full-time from 8 am to 5 pm and held tutorial sessions after 6 pm. Preparation-wise, I planned for my school lessons during free periods at work and prepared for my tutoring during weekends. Maintaining the two roles is much easier now because I got used to it. I know how it works, and know the nuances (Ayaulym, October 26, 2022).

Talking about this issue of managing both professional roles, Gulmira expressed her concerns, saying that everything depends on an individual's willingness to carry both jobs and highlighting the importance of one's wellbeing:

Extract 19:

In general, I think that a person should know their capabilities. They should either manage both jobs properly or confine themselves to one job. There is no final point when money becomes enough. It is also necessary for teachers to think about their health (Gulmira, October 10, 2022).

Balancing is Challenging

Time Constraints. When asked about the challenges in managing both roles, six participants (Dana, Raushan, Ailana, Amina, Zhazira, and Gulmira) mentioned time constraints and the high workload at the teachers' official workplace. In other words, schoolteachers encountered and dealt with "plenty of paperwork apart from regular classes and office hours" (Zhazira, October 31, 2022), negatively affecting the quality of EPT sessions. Moreover, the "amount of given tasks at school" (Dana, November 8, 2022) frequently led to the rescheduling and cancelations of EPT in favor of the former. The following extract illustrates these points:

Extract 20:

Generally, I do not have enough time to be well-prepared for private sessions because my main work is a priority for me. However, since private tutoring provides additional income and grounds for maintaining my English proficiency, I try to balance my jobs by allocating time for preparation for PT sessions. But when I have unexpectedly organized meetings at school or emergencies, I have to cancel or reschedule private classes for another time (Raushan, November 3, 2022).

Balancing both roles was also complicated by the unfamiliar kinds of tutees, whose profiles English teachers did not know from school. For example, Gulmira noted that because she taught secondary school students at her official workplace but tutored students from second grade, the preparation for EPT took more time, making her job tiresome.

Being Emotionally and Physically Drained. The data analysis shows that four participants (Dana, Raushan, Amina, and Gulmira) complained about mental and emotional fatigue, emotional burnout, and health issues resulting from having two different jobs and tight schedules. This is especially evident in Extracts 21 and 22:

Extract 21:

Sometimes it's really tiring that I led six lessons a day at school, then six hours in tutoring. It is just working all day. Yes, it is difficult and exhausting to the extent that I come home at the end of the day and think, "I don't want to talk to anyone" (Dana, November 8, 2022).

Extract 22:

I get tired. I've been working in this mode at two jobs for two years, I'm kind of used to it, but at the same time, it's very tiring. Both roles require me to be energetic, but it is important to find time to relax. Unfortunately, I understood it very late because, as I did to myself, I got sick (Amina, December 3, 2022).

Mixed Relationship Between Two Identities

Based on the theoretical framework adopted in this study, Ramarajan (2014) describes how multiple identities shape people's actions. Specifically, he identifies seven types of identities: conflicting, power, temporary, enhancing, integrating, and mixed ties (for more explanation, see Chapter 2). The data analysis demonstrated that all eight participants indicated multiple ties between their teacher and tutor professional identities. Namely, the mixed relationship between their identities was reported as the intersection of power, conflicting and temporary ties, and enhancing ties.

Power Ties, Conflicting Ties, and Temporary Ties

The data analysis shows that five participants (Daneliya, Dana, Gulmira, Raushan, Amina) pointed out that their teacher identity had more power over their tutor identity because of the higher social status of the former. This preference was seen in these participants' comments stating that they were highly committed to their teacher identity because they spent most of their time at school and had to focus not only on educating children but also on their upbringing. In this regard, Dana made the following comment:

Extract 23:

At school, it's not only about education and teaching English, but it also concerns a student's upbringing. By contrast, in private sessions, I understand that a client comes with a precise goal of learning English and nothing more. And I simply give him or her what they need. At school, I need to help my students improve their soft skills,

moral values, and their ability to work with their peers. Therefore, I believe a teacher role is more demanding than my tutoring activity (Dana, November 8, 2022).

Dana further referred to the "unstable nature of EPT: one client leaves, another comes" and this in turn made the teacher identity more valuable to her, attributable to her stable fixed income and the availability of students at school.

On the contrary, three other participants (Ailana, Ayaulym, and Zhazira) held the view that the tutoring role entailed a higher level of responsibility than their teaching role due to the fee-paid nature of EPT, accountability to tutees' parents and the need to adequately prepare their tutees for high-stakes examinations such as the international language and college entrance ones. This concern was referred to by one participant – Ayaulym – as "a bit intimidating."

The power ties were also revealed in the cases when some participants chose to sacrifice their tutoring hours by postponing or canceling them in favor of their official job responsibilities. Echoing this idea, Dana indicated,

Extract 24:

Sometimes it is difficult to manage two roles due to the lack of time and high workload at school. However, in such situations, I often change the time of my private sessions, so I can have some time to prepare for them. Honestly, it can affect the quality of my private lessons (Dana, November 8, 2022).

As can be seen from the above extract, teacher and tutor identities were reported to be not only in power ties but also in a conflicting relationship due to the fact that English teachers had to postpone their tutoring sessions or did not have enough time to prepare for EPT, which negatively impacted the quality of the paid lessons and made them feel as not fully committed and "guilty" (Raushan, November 3, 2022).

It also emerges from the data analysis that two participants (Gulmira and Ayaulym) considered EPT as a temporary and seasonal occupation, which is in a lower position than their job at school, referring to the mixed ties of power and temporary ties. This was

particularly evident in their comments, stating that EPT was "simply an additional activity" (Ayaulym, October 26, 2022), which they were planning to do "till some period" (Gulmira, October 10, 2022).

Enhancing Ties

Apart from power, conflicting, and temporary ties, teacher-tutors' dual identities were reported to enhance and benefit from each other's professional experiences. This view was evident from all participants' favorable attitudes towards EPT, which served as a space for pedagogical experiments before implementing new teaching approaches to their public teaching. This point was aptly articulated by Ayaulym as shown in Extract 25.

Extract 25:

For me, tutoring is like a launching pad where I can try whatever new approaches I find online, and I want to test them on my tutees. If it works, I can incorporate it into my public classroom teaching (Ayaulym, October 26, 2022).

In other words, the English private tutor identity seemed to enhance the teacher identity by allowing schoolteachers to test new teaching approaches on EPT grounds prior to introducing them to their class at school.

Participants' Evaluation of the Impact of PT on the Wider Society

As shown in the thematic map presented in Chapter 3, one of the resultant themes pertained to the consequences of PT on society from the perspectives of participants. In this regard, the following section provides the respective findings in accordance with the subthemes of "*teacher-supplied tutoring and educational corruption*," "*need for a PT controlling body*," and "*marketization of education*."

The data analysis reveals that when the participants were asked about their perceptions of PT in general and its impact on wider society, all of them agreed that PT

should be encouraged because of its positive effects on students. This point is illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 26:

I believe if the quality of education increases, the demand for tutoring will most likely decrease. But private tutoring will remain. As it was ten years ago, it will be in the future. This is because children take tutoring not only because they don't understand a specific subject, but also because the children and their parents want to excel academically. And private tutoring can help (Dana, November 11, 2022).

The notions of "high illiteracy levels in the rural areas of Kazakhstan" (Zhazira, October 31, 2022) and the need for PT investment recurred throughout the interview data of three participants (Zhazira, Gulmira, and Ayaulym). To illustrate, there were instances when new students from rural areas arrived in their classrooms without any prior knowledge of English and thus could not catch up with their peers and the program. Therefore, to cater to the needs of such kinds of learners, PT should have "its place in the society like the other jobs" (Gulmira, October 10, 2022).

This view of poor English language skills of students from the small villages was echoed by Ayaulym, who recalled her own experience of studying in a rural area and not excelling in English language learning. An illustrative comment is given below:

Extract 27:

I'm from a small village and didn't learn anything in those 11 years of English. At school, I learned only basic knowledge of English such as the grammatical rules and colors. There was little or no room to communicate with my teachers and peers in English. So, I think we have a high demand for tutoring (Ayaulym, October 26, 2022).

In their accounts of events surrounding the future of PT, the participants noted that most of the changes would come with technology and digitalization (e.g., a complete shift from offline tutoring to online format). A view of the PT expansion and people's readiness to invest more in PT services was also common among the interviewees.

Teacher-Supplied Tutoring and Educational Corruption

Regarding the teacher corruption issue, some schoolteachers might coerce their own students to purchase fee-charging PT sessions. In the present study, two divergent and often conflicting views emerged from the dataset. Apart from Amina, the other participants declared that they did not tutor their own students, including those from their class and those from the same school, for two reasons: (1) school policy prohibiting teachers from providing fee-paying tutoring services, and (2) own perceptions of this activity being of unethical and immoral behavior. These participants noted that they never treated the classroom as a recruiting ground for EPT and declined the request coming from their own students. Extracts 28-29 exemplify this idea.

Extract 28:

I do not give tutoring to the students I teach at school. It is stated in our contract that we shouldn't teach students from our school. However, there's no problem with teaching students from other schools (Raushan, November 3, 2022).

Extract 29:

Taking money from my students at school is a big no for me. It crosses this very line of ethics between teachers' work and business. For me, a student is a pupil rather than a client. I could assist them for free during my office hours at school but charging them for help is not the right decision. If they are willing to go to tutoring sessions, they should go to other teachers and learn from them (Dana, November 8, 2022).

Unlike the other participants, Amina indicated that she had provided tutoring services for students from the same school, arguing that tutoring students that she used to teach before was not beyond the ethical borders. Another argument raised by Amina was that she was already familiar with those students and knew their academic needs and individual preferences:

Extract 30:

I happened to tutor students from my own school; it was last year. It was normal for me because I was already familiar with those students, so I knew how to approach them in their English learning journey best. My students always knew that if they sought a private tutor of English and were confident in my competency, they could

come to me, and I would assist them. Those tutees were not from my own class but the students I used to teach before, so I think it's okay (Amina, December 3, 2022).

Need for a PT Controlling Body

The data analysis also reveals that four participants (Ailana, Raushan, Gulmira, and Dana) underlined the importance of having a controlling body that focuses on regulating the PT market in Kazakhstan and managing frequent checking of the PT providers. This urge was explained by the open-door market of PT, meaning that anybody in Kazakhstan can become a tutor, and the following need to prevent customers from purchasing low-quality services. The participants elaborated that they came across situations where some tutors embellished their profiles regarding their higher education degrees and certifications to look more competitive and professional in the PT market.

The interview data also shows that the uncontrolled nature of PT in Kazakhstan was related to the low or no job requirements put forward to private tutors since "there is no need to pass an interview or write a resume" (Raushan, November 3, 2022). On these grounds, people who pursue the sole goal of generating additional income through PT provision but are unfamiliar with pedagogy might abuse their power and lead their tutees to "little or no progress" (Raushan, November 3, 2022). As a result, this unscrupulous attitude towards clients "spoils the overall picture of tutoring" (Raushan, November 3, 2022). Thereby, all participants agreed that it is necessary to establish an organization that verifies tutoring sources and keeps things under control. An interesting suggestion was that there should be a gradation for tutoring criteria: if a person had average knowledge of the subject, they might work with primary school students and assist them in doing homework, whereas more proficient tutors could take the requests such as preparations for international language examinations for older tutees.

Marketization of Education

Three participants (Ailana, Gulmira, and Raushan) expressed their views on profiting from the free market and shared their plans of establishing individual entrepreneurship of EPT provision in the future. Gulmira suggested that the university course programs for pre-service education teachers should cover the topics related to marketing, such as teaching through Instagram because it has recently been in demand. She also suggested that university students should not limit themselves to a pedagogical internship at school during their senior years but learn how to use social media accounts for their teaching profits.

Conclusion

This chapter illustrated the main findings related to the schoolteachers of English providing English private tutoring services and their identities in Kazakhstan. Firstly, biographical vignettes of eight research participants were presented. Next, the findings were organized according to four themes that emerged after data analysis, including the factors driving teachers to become private tutors, management of their dual professional roles, mixed relationships between their identities, and the impact of PT on the wider society from their perspectives. The presented findings will be delineated in more detail in relation to the theoretical framework and previous research on the topic in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The previous chapter reported the findings of the present qualitative study which aimed at exploring a group of mainstream teachers' experiences of giving fee-charging English private tutoring (EPT) in Kazakhstan, underlying their dual identities and their evaluation of the effectiveness of EPT.

This chapter discusses the findings of the current research guided by the theoretical framework adopted in this study, based on the concept of hidden privatization of education (Ball & Youdell, 2008) and the intrapersonal identity network approach (Ramarajan, 2014) and in relation to the existing relevant literature on PT.

The present study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What factors encouraged Kazakhstani schoolteachers to become English private tutors?
2. How do English language teachers manage their professional roles and identities in and between two education systems (mainstream schooling and private tutoring)?
3. What is the impact of private tutoring on the wider society as perceived by the participants?

This chapter is divided into three sections that emerged according to the research questions mentioned above.

Revisiting the Theoretical Framework Adopted in this Study

As explained in Chapter 2, the current research adopted Ball and Youdell's (2008) concept of hidden privatization of education, which describes how the marketization of education allows teachers to benefit from the market through the provision of private

educational services for personal profit and contributes to the modification of the relationship model from a teacher/student to a provider/customer. Moreover, since the marketization of education is believed to juxtapose the professional and market values of teachers involved in PT, this theoretical framework was adopted to understand the participants' perceptions of EPT provision alongside their complex identities as schoolteachers and tutors of English.

In addition, to identify the types of relationship between the participants' dual identities – a schoolteacher of English and an English private tutor – the present study embraced Ramarajan's (2014) intrapersonal identity network approach. In accordance with this framework, one's complex identities can be classified into six different types of relationships: conflicting, enhancing, power, temporary, integrating, and mixed relationship. These types are believed to impact a person's professional and non-professional activities (for a more detailed explanation of this theoretical framework, see Chapter 2, pages 28-30). In the coming sections, this framework deployed in the current research will be further elucidated while discussing the research questions and the relevant literature on PT.

RQ1: What Factors Encouraged Kazakhstani Schoolteachers to Become English Private Tutors?

The data analysis of this study showed that the participants were driven into the English private tutor profession because of four main factors; namely, *the need to generate additional income, professional development and self-fulfillment opportunities, consumer-driven demand, and switching focus from routine work*. These factors will be discussed in the coming subsections.

Additional Income

The analysis of the factors driving the participants to become English private tutors revealed the unanimous leading determinant, that is, "to generate additional income." This

economic incentive resonates with the concept of privatization of education, which led to its transformation "from a public good to a private commodity owned by and benefiting the individual" (Ball & Youdell, 2008, p. 53). This finding concurs with what most previous studies reported (e.g., Bray & Hajar, 2023 in the Middle East; Khaydarov, 2020 in Uzbekistan; Kobakhidze, 2018 in Georgia; Petsiotis, 2022 in Greece), in relation to the fact that the teacher-supplied tutoring is primarily attributed to financial remuneration purposes. Specifically, in this study, the regular teachers' desire to improve their financial capabilities through EPT was linked to their low salaries at their official workplace.

The interest in giving fee-charging PT for financial gains may be partially ascribed to the negative economic consequences of the collapse of the Soviet Union, which resulted in the crisis in the Kazakhstani educational sector and low prestige and salaries of regular teachers (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009; Silova, 2009). As evidenced by the participants, their official salaries at the beginning of their teaching career were low; consequently, they had to resort to EPT as a means of a socio-economic survival strategy (Silova, 2009). Even though recently there has been salary growth for Kazakhstani schoolteachers, following the updated Law "On the status of a teacher" adopted in 2019 (National Report, 2021), the participants commented that it was not enough; hence, they turned to PT (see Extracts 1-2 in Chapter 4).

The present study also found that the EPT provision was positively linked with a sense of financial stability. In other words, participants were optimistic about being self-employed in the private sector, having a "financial cushion" catering to their daily financial needs, and were not dependent on the school principal. Similar reports were described in Kobakhidze's (2018) study, where most of her participants in Georgia treated PT as "the sort of guarantee" (p. 127) for financial provision and space to stay in the teaching profession in the context of unforeseen circumstances in their official job.

To verify whether the financial motive was the sole determinant of teachers' EPT provision, the participants were asked whether they would provide tutoring services if they had a higher salary. The findings demonstrated that all participants would continue to conduct EPT sessions but would reduce the hours of tutoring and the number of tutored students. As a rationale for this response, the participants listed an opportunity to make more income and their love for tutoring (see Extracts 3-4), which aligned with the findings of some studies (Kobakhidze, 2018 in Georgia; Šťastný et al., 2021 in the Czech Republic; Petsiotis, 2022 in Greece). This point will be further discussed in the following subsection.

Professional Development and Sense of Self-Fulfillment

As revealed in Chapter 4, another frequently emerged factor that encouraged the participants to enter the EPT market and provide fee-charging EPT sessions was teachers' need for professional development and a sense of self-fulfillment. For instance, one participant (Raushan) declared that providing small group EPT sessions helped her obtain immediate feedback on her teaching approaches and adjust the lesson accordingly, and hone her teaching skills while preparing her tutees for high-stakes examinations to enter highly selective schools in Kazakhstan. This finding recalls what Werbińska et al. (2019) referred to as "learning from a learner" (p. 187). That is, when a tutee needs assistance in a specific area yet unfamiliar to the tutor, the latter can learn and excel as a professional.

Similar to what a number of previous studies on PT found (e.g., Khaydarov, 2020 in Uzbekistan; Kobakhidze, 2014 in Georgia; Šťastný et al., 2021 in the Czech Republic; Petsiotis, 2022 in Greece), the E/PT sector creates conducive conditions for schoolteachers to fulfill their full professional potential. To illustrate, three participants (Dana, Raushan, and Zhazira) alluded to the notion of avoiding career stagnation and an opportunity to maintain high English language proficiency through EPT provision (see Extracts 5–6) since the

participants were non-native speakers and teachers of English. This also echoes the previous findings reported by Kobakhidze (2018) who found that PT was believed to deepen teachers' professionalism and subject knowledge. In addition to preserving foreign language abilities, the participants regarded tutoring as an opportunity to test new teaching approaches before transferring them to public teaching, which echoes what Khaydarov (2020) found in his empirical study in Uzbekistan.

In terms of personal satisfaction and sense of self-fulfillment, the findings showed that the participants felt satisfied when they witnessed their tutees get admitted to highly selective schools and universities. Moreover, one participant – Daneliya – shared that the EPT provision contributed to her self-realization when she positively impacted her tutee's motivation to learn English and increased their self-confidence and independence. These findings align with a study conducted by Kobakhidze (2018), who revealed how teacher-tutors in Georgia experienced self-fulfillment and a sense of pride for impacting their tutees' successful examinations.

Switching Focus from a Routine Work

As shown in Chapter 4, tutoring was an opportunity for most participants of this study to free themselves from a routine and overloaded teaching job, bureaucracy, and pressure from school administration. They also highlighted being continuously overwhelmed by "endless reports" (see Extract 16) at mainstream schools and feeling grateful for professional development opportunities granted by the EPT sector. Another advantage of EPT over mainstream school teaching for participants was the leeway in choosing their own students and work schedules. These results were also portrayed in Gupta's (2021a) study in India, stating that the PT industry offers teachers "a sense of freedom and autonomy, which

motivates them to realize their full academic potential" (p. 434), which is deficient in formal educational settings.

Consumer-Driven Demand

The results of this study revealed that along with financial and professional development motives, a consumer-driven demand influenced the participants' decisions to become English private tutors. Four teachers (Gulmira, Amina, Daneliya, and Ailana) pointed out that their tutoring career began when parents and other acquaintances approached them with requests to take their children for EPT. Those requests seem to stem from (1) parental inability to assist their children with home assignments because of their low competence in English and (2) the complicated nature of the updated school curriculum. As a result, low quality of school-taught English, accompanied by parental concerns about their child's future and following teachers' willingness to generate side income and satisfy client's needs, led to the teacher-supplied EPT and created a "win-win situation" (Gupta, 2021a, p. 431) for everyone. In accordance with the present results, previous studies (Ghosh & Bray, 2020 and Gupta, 2021a in India) have also demonstrated that teachers' provision of tutoring services was simply a logical response to parental demand.

Overall, the participants viewed the EPT provision as an opportunity to generate additional income and as a place to "reclaim their professional identity and autonomy" (Kobakhidze, 2018, p. 114), contrasted with their tightly controlled public teaching with the prescribed curriculum. Also, beyond profit-seeking and professional growth incentives, teachers were driven into the tutoring profession because of self-fulfillment opportunities and consumer-initiated demand.

RQ2: How do English Language Teachers Manage Their Professional Roles and Identities in and Between Two Education Systems (Mainstream Schooling and Private Tutoring)?

This section discusses how the participants managed their dual identities and roles (a schoolteacher of English and an English private tutor) and dealt with its consequences at the crossroads of marketized English and public educational realities. Only few studies (Khaydarov, 2020; Kobakhidze, 2018; Petsiotis, 2022) have focused on teacher-tutors' perspectives on shadow education and their mixed roles and identities in the PT market. Hence, understanding the Kazakhstani teachers' professional identities is essential because it is a vivid example of a professional identity shift from a teacher to an entrepreneurial teacher-tutor identity, and the first empirical study focused on this point in Kazakhstan.

In general, the findings indicate that some teachers did not experience noticeable difficulties in juggling two jobs because of good time-management skills and prior planning of tutoring sessions. A possible explanation for this outcome might be the small number of tutees these participants had (e.g., 2-4 students per academic year), which allowed them to distribute their dedication and time equally between two roles.

However, the majority still struggled to fulfill their dual roles due to the time constraints and high workload at the teachers' official workplace. As evidenced in the findings, their official job restricted the time that could be used for tutoring session planning and preparation. The participants often had to reschedule or cancel EPT sessions in favor of emergency administrative issues or school faculty meetings. Furthermore, the difference between grade levels of students at school and tutees at a private venue required more time for EPT preparation and made participants' jobs tiresome. Moreover, juggling two parallel jobs and having tight schedules resulted in emotional and physical fatigue, professional

burnout, and health issues for some teachers (Extracts 21–22). These findings are in accord with previous research indicating that management of two roles for teachers "meant being in a state of a constant fatigue" (Kobakhidze, 2018, p. 135), and they acknowledged that their dual roles were "time-consuming, exhausting, and stressful" (Khaydarov, 2020, p. 91).

Mixed Relationship Between Two Identities

Ramarajan's (2014) intrapersonal identity framework was a useful lens for understanding a mixed relationship between teachers' two professional identities – a schoolteacher of English and an English private tutor and the dynamics of the intersection of power, conflicting and temporary types, and enhancing type of the relationship. In accordance with the present results, some previous studies (Bray, 2022; Khaydarov, 2020; Khojeev, 2021) have also shown that regular teachers providing PT had blurred professional boundaries.

The findings revealed that all participants viewed themselves first as teachers and then as tutors, referring to the power relationship (Ramarajan, 2014) between their dual identities. This importance of the role of a teacher was justified by its higher social status, stable fixed income, and more time spent at their official job. This finding is consistent with that of Kobakhidze (2018) in Georgia and Khojeev (2021) in Uzbekistan, where teachers showed their preference for their teacher role and referred to their tutor identity as of secondary role. However, unlike in Kobakhidze's (2018) study in Georgia, where teachers referred to their tutor identity primarily negatively, the participants of the present research were unanimously positive about their tutor identities, linking it with professional and personal development opportunities and a source of additional income. Specifically, most Georgian teachers underlined their tutor identity as uncomfortable and "self-imposed" (Kobakhidze, 2018, p. 115) because they needed it solely to augment their financial capabilities. Moreover, some

Georgian teachers had a negative sense of their tutoring identity, explained by the time PT took from their families. Khojееv's (2021) study with Uzbekistani university teacher-tutors echoes the findings of Kobakhidze (2018) on the point that teachers were involved in PT only for economic motives "rather than professional interests" (Khojееv, 2021, p. 238). On the contrary, for the Kazakhstani teachers in the current research, tutor identity was chosen rather than imposed and was associated with professional growth and self-efficacy, and their willingness to share their knowledge in the private sector for a fee.

In the scholarly literature, the conflicting ties between teacher-tutors' identities were primarily stemming from the illegal nature of a tutoring job, as was reported in Georgia (Kobakhidze, 2014 & 2018), Greece (Petsiotis, 2022) and Uzbekistan (Khaydarov, 2020; Khojееv, 2021). On the contrary, the participants in the present study were not concerned about the illegal tutoring job, and the conflicting ties between the identities were mainly associated with the frequent cancellations and low quality of EPT sessions. Specifically, there are similarities between the conflicting relationship between two identities expressed by five participants (Daneliya, Dana, Gulmira, Raushan, Amina) and those described by Khojееv (2021) and Khaydarov (2020) in Uzbekistan, which also revealed the risky trade-offs between the participants' identities, leading to commitment issues in terms of tutoring role, resulted in poor quality of PT sessions. Nevertheless, a comparison of the conflicting relationship between teacher-tutors' identities with Kobakhidze's (2018) study shows that Georgian teachers, in contrast, felt guilty for not investing enough in their public teaching and being "on energy-saving mode" (p. 220) during regular lessons.

The enhancing ties between the participants' teacher and tutor identities were reported to be closely related to EPT's potential of offering a space for pedagogical experiments. In other words, tutor identity benefited a teacher identity and allowed all participants to test innovative approaches before introducing them to their class in mainstream school. As a

result, this "identity synergy" (Khojeev, 2021, p. 232) contributed to the participants' positive attitudes toward EPT and granted them a conducive environment and autonomy, which they lacked in public teaching, where teachers had to adhere to the state standards. Apart from that, the tutor role brought economic benefits to the teacher role, also referred to as "mutual support" (Kobakhidze, 2018, p. 118) in the literature.

As for the different responsibilities of the two roles, the participants greatly disagreed on which role involved higher degrees of responsibility (see Table 5). As shown in Chapter 4, five participants (Daneliya, Dana, Raushan, Gulmira, and Amina) reported that the teacher role is linked with more responsibilities due to the accountability to school administration, parents, and the Ministry of Education, dual focus on education and upbringing, and many organizational responsibilities. By contrast, for some participants, tutoring identity was reported to be of greater importance because of higher levels of responsibility due to the fee-charging nature of EPT, accountability to tutees' parents, and pressure to prepare their tutees for high-stake examinations adequately. This preference was also supported by Kobakhidze (2018), referring to tutoring responsibility as "an obligation and burden" (p. 116).

Table 5

Participants' Perceived Roles and Identities

<i>Role and identity of a teacher</i>	<i>Role and identity of a tutor</i>
<u>Role:</u> primary	<u>Role:</u> secondary
<u>Identity:</u> positive	<u>Identity:</u> positive
<u>Responsibilities:</u> Official responsibilities at school (e.g., paperwork) Accountability to school administration Upbringing of children and their safety	<u>Responsibilities:</u> Ensuring tutees achieve higher marks on exams Accountability to parents

Need to comply with the prescribed state curriculum

Sources of comfort:

Higher social status

Fixed income & sense of security

Sources of discomfort:

Overcrowded classrooms & discipline issues

Sources of comfort:

Pedagogical freedom

Choice of tutees and work schedule

Full concentration on one student

Sources of discomfort:

Unstable nature of tutoring (e.g., availability of clients)

Need to prepare teaching material if tutees' age is different from students taught at school

Note. Table 5 derived from Kobakhidze's (2018) study and compiled by the researcher based on the present study's findings.

Overall, the mixed identities and roles of teachers acting as providers of EPT demonstrated that most participants struggled to fulfill their double roles, leading to positive and negative consequences of juggling teaching and tutoring related to teachers' well-being. As reported by a number of previous studies (Khaydarov, 2020; Khojeev, 2021; Kobakhidze, 2018), teacher role and identity were considered to be central, "while tutoring was secondary but economically significant" (Kobakhidze, 2018, p. 120).

RQ3: What is the Impact of PT on the Wider Society as Perceived by the Participants?

This section discusses the participants' perceptions regarding the impact of PT on the wider society and teacher-supplied PT, regulations towards the PT market in Kazakhstan, and the influence of hidden marketization of education (Ball & Youdell, 2008) on teachers' entrepreneurial identity.

The participants' views on PT were predominantly positive. It was found to have several advantages: PT was considered as a means of remedial and enrichment strategies for students, especially for those from rural areas of Kazakhstan. This finding concurs with

Khaydarov's (2020) study in Uzbekistan, which found that teachers (both teachers and teacher-tutors) believed PT to be efficient practice for strengthening students' academic performances, allowing them to receive personalized teaching and developing a sense of motivation for learning. Commenting on the geographical inequality between urban and rural students and access to PT services in Kazakhstan, Hajar and Abenova (2021) found quantitative evidence that "the coverage of PT is likely to be higher in urban areas than in rural areas" (p. 7). Hence, the participants voicing the need for PT for rural students might be attributed to the small number of available tutoring services in the regions and the knowledge disparity between urban and rural areas in Kazakhstan (State Program 2020–2025).

However, on the reverse side, PT being an open-door market, meaning that anybody can become a tutor, regardless of their professional qualifications, raises concerns about the potential negative impact of PT on the wider society. Particularly, four participants (Ailana, Raushan, Gulmira, and Dana) noted that unqualified tutors might deliver low-quality knowledge to tutees and spoil the overall picture of tutoring in Kazakhstan. These results mirror the critical issue of private tutors and their qualifications, persistent in the international literature (Bray & Hajar, 2023 in the Middle East; Nhem & Kobakhidze, 2022 in Cambodia; Yung & Bray, 2021 in Hong Kong).

On these grounds, one practical implication of the study is to have a controlling body that focuses on regulating the PT market in Kazakhstan. Prior studies in the Kazakhstani context (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009; Hajar et al., 2023) have shown that the State follows a *laissez-faire* approach and did not introduce any regulations towards the nascent PT industry yet. This negligent attitude towards shadow education is common among Central Asian countries (e.g., Bagdasarova & Ivanov, 2009 in Kyrgyzstan; Kodirov & Amonov, 2009 in Tajikistan; Khaydarov, 2020 in Uzbekistan). Following this policy, the local PT market remains largely unregulated, with schoolteachers reluctant to declare their side income

sources and the government failing to provide flexible taxation and rigorous monitoring of the PT sector (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009).

Nonetheless, the findings imply that albeit the PT market is not regulated on a state level, some school policies explicitly (e.g., a working contract) and implicitly (e.g., unwritten rule) prohibited teacher-supplied tutoring dedicated to their own and same-school students. These results are in agreement with the literature described in Chapter 2, stating that teacher-supplied tutoring is related to high risks of schoolteachers operating unprofessionally and abusing their power (Bray, 2022a), coined as a term of educational corruption (Bray, 2003). The most frequent examples of these malpractices reported in the scholarly literature were the cases of teachers coercing their students to purchase PT sessions with them through tutees' favoritism and deflating marks for non-tutees (Le & Edwards, 2022; Kobakhidze, 2014 & 2018; Yung, 2022) and saving efforts in regular lessons at public schools (Bray & Hajar, 2023; Gupta, 2021a; Liu & Bray, 2020).

Consistent with the literature, the present research found that one participant (Amina) provided tutoring services for her students from the same school. However, it is important to note that Amina's tutees were not her current students but those she used to teach before, which she described as not necessarily corrupt. Moreover, Amina highlighted that her familiarity with these students' academic needs and individual preferences helped her provide necessary assistance from the beginning and resulted in the tutees' exemplary academic achievements. This is consistent with previous studies (e.g., Khaydarov, 2020 in Uzbekistan; Kobakhidze, 2018 in Georgia), which have also demonstrated teachers' perceptions of tutoring own students being "a normal or positive procedure" (Khaydarov, 2020, p. 96), leading to effective pedagogy, since it made teachers' work easier because they had prior knowledge about their students' "strengths and weaknesses" (Kobakhidze, 2018, p. 159).

Nonetheless, the findings indicate that most teachers tend not to provide tutoring services for their own students or students from the same school. The rationale behind this is two-fold: (1) strict school policies prohibiting teacher-supplied tutoring, and (2) condemnation of this provision because of its unethical and immoral behavior (see Extracts 28-29). For instance, one participant's opinion that taking her students as clients would mean crossing the ethical line between teachers' work and business is a good example of teachers viewing market relations as inappropriate, as they would undermine teacher-student relations. These results are in line with Kobakhidze's (2018) study, where teacher-tutors "looked at the tutoring market through a morality perspective" (p. 219) and categorized teacher-supplied tutoring as wrong.

With reference to the theoretical framework of this study (Ball & Youdell, 2008), which highlighted the free-market principles impacting teachers' entrepreneurial identities, the most interesting finding was a suggestion to restructure the university curriculum for pre-service education teachers in Kazakhstan following current marketing trends. Specifically, one participant (Gulmira) proposed covering topics related to teaching through Instagram and including a marketing-oriented internship module, where students would learn how to utilize social media accounts for their individual tutoring profits. A possible explanation for this proposal might lie within the impact of privatization on altering teachers' professional values into market values in a particular shift from "serving community needs," i.e., pedagogical internship of pre-service teachers at a public school, to the "attraction of clients and customers," i.e., marketing internship on Instagram for personal benefit (Ball & Youdell, 2008, pp. 52–53).

As for the case of Raushan, who envisioned opening an EPT tutorial center, it corroborates with the "culture of self-interest" described as the "orientation toward the internal well-being of ... its members and a shift away from concern with more general social

and educational issues within the community" by Ball and Youdell (2008, p. 52). In other words, her decision to establish an EPT business reflects the strengthening free-market principles that change the teachers' "degree of control over the educational process" (Ball & Youdell, 2008, p. 59), and grant them with more authority to sell their educational services.

When asked about the future of the PT market in Kazakhstan and beyond, various perspectives were expressed. A majority believed that face-to-face tutoring would move to the digital space, allowing students to choose English tutors not only from local teachers but also native speakers from abroad. Also, the predominant beliefs of the expansion of the PT business and people's readiness to invest more in tutoring services in the coming years were present, which echoes those of Kobakhidze (2018) in Georgia and Khaydarov (2020) in Uzbekistan.

Conclusion

This chapter delineated the findings presented in Chapter 4 in the light of existing theoretical and empirical studies related to the current research topic as well as Ball and Youdell's (2008) concept of hidden privatization of education and Ramarajan's (2014) intrapersonal identity network approach which was employed as the theoretical framework for this study. Thus, this chapter provided information about the main factors driving Kazakhstani English language teachers to become English private tutors, how they managed to balance their dual roles and identities, and their perceptions of the PT impact on the wider society.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The previous chapter discussed the main findings of this research study, which explored the factors driving a group of schoolteachers of English to become English private tutors, along with the ways the participants managed their dual professional identities. This study also sought to identify the type of relationship between teachers' identities and their perspectives on the impact of private tutoring (PT) on the wider society. This chapter outlines this study's main conclusions and its strengths and limitations. It also proposes further implications for policy and practice and recommendations for further research.

Major Conclusions of the Study

The present study explored the factors driving in-service mainstream schoolteachers of English to become English private tutors in Astana and how the values and beliefs of participants' both identities (teacher and tutor) co-existed. The study was underpinned by Ball and Youdell's (2008) concept of hidden privatization of education, which allowed the researcher to disentangle participants' perceptions of English private tutoring (EPT) at the crossroads of professional and market values, resulting in teachers benefiting from the market through the fee-charging provision of private educational services for personal profit and their complex identities as schoolteachers and private tutors. Ramarajan's (2014) intrapersonal identity network approach was also adopted in this study to identify the types of relationship between the participants' dual identities – a schoolteacher of English and an English private tutor (for more elaboration about this theoretical framework, see Chapter 2). Specifically, the findings showed that the participants' dual identities were in power, conflicting, temporary, and enhancing relationships, which further impacted their professional activities both in public and private teaching. Overall, the participants' motivations to enter the English tutoring market, the ways they managed to balance their complex identities between two educational institutions, and the impact of PT on the wider

society, as perceived by schoolteachers of English, was displayed in Chapter 4 and further discussed in relation to the scholarly literature and theoretical framework in Chapter 5.

The data analysis of this study showed that four main factors had encouraged the participants who were schoolteachers to enter the EPT market as English private tutors. These determinants were the *need to generate additional income, professional development and self-fulfillment opportunities, consumer-driven demand, and switching focus from routine work*. The most obvious and frequently mentioned factor found from this study, also common amongst international literature (Bray & Hajar, 2023 in the Middle East; Khaydarov, 2020 in Uzbekistan; Petsiotis, 2022 in Greece), is that teacher-supplied EPT was primarily linked to participants' desire to improve their financial capabilities. This economic incentive is believed to stem from the low salaries of schoolteachers, despite the recent pay increase for serving teachers across Kazakhstan (National Report, 2021) and financial cushion opportunities in a sense that EPT offered teachers financial security and guarantees for unforeseen circumstances at their official workplace (Kobakhidze, 2018). This signals that the mainstream teachers in Kazakhstan still struggle to address their financial needs by living only on an official salary, and there has been no significant improvement in this issue in the last few years (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009).

The present research has also confirmed that professional development and achieving a sense of self-fulfillment were critical factors in attracting schoolteachers into the EPT business (Khaydarov, 2020; Kobakhidze, 2018; Šťastný et al., 2021; Werbińska et al., 2019). Specifically, all participants highlighted the potential of EPT in providing them with a conducive environment for fulfilling their professional potential, testing new teaching approaches, and improving their subject knowledge. As for self-fulfillment opportunities, witnessing their tutees' academic achievements (e.g., enrolling in a highly competitive school/university) and contributing to students' increased motivation to study were listed by

the participants as the reasons for positively impacting their self-realization. Further, the participants could switch focus from a routine overloaded teacher job and escape from endless reports and continuous pressure from school administration to meet the state standards in education via the EPT provision (Gupta, 2021a). Taken together, these results suggest that the tightly controlled curriculum at Kazakhstani schools, including accountability to higher educational bodies and excessive paperwork, restricts schoolteachers' creativity and does not offer challenging and interesting opportunities for personal and professional development, which are plentiful in the EPT market.

Consumer-driven demand was another determining factor in participants' decision to enroll in the EPT market as providers (Ball & Youdell, 2008). Similar to the findings of some previous studies on PT (e.g., Ghosh & Bray, 2020 and Gupta, 2021a in India), the participants of the current research were approached by parents, neighbors, and other acquaintances with a request to give paid EPT sessions to their children. The rationale for this business deal between the customers (e.g., parents) and providers (teachers) was parental concerns stemming largely from the poor quality of school-taught English and their own inability to assist their children with homework because of their low competency in the English language.

Given the participants' willingness to share their expertise in a subject in exchange for a fee and parental readiness to invest in EPT services, this created a "win-win situation" for everyone (Gupta, 2021a, p. 431). Hence, these results signal the urgent need to improve the quality of delivered knowledge of the English language in Kazakhstani public schools to lessen the growing demand for out-of-school fee-charging tutoring sessions to cover gaps and further expansion of educational inequality, where students from financially disadvantaged families are often incapable of affording E/PT sessions or at least high-quality ones (e.g., Yung, 2020a).

As regards the management of two professional roles – a schoolteacher of English and an English private tutor – the findings of the present research have provided some insights into understanding the struggles of participants, serving both as a teacher and as a tutor. Specifically, they reported difficulties in having two parallel jobs, including a constant sense of fatigue, absence of time for preparation for EPT sessions, and subsequently low quality of knowledge delivered to their tutees. Consistent with the prior literature from similar contexts (Khaydarov, 2020 and Khojeev, 2021 in Uzbekistan; Kobakhidze, 2018 in Georgia), juggling two parallel jobs was challenging for the participants, on the grounds that they had to frequently reschedule or cancel their EPT sessions because of a tight schedule and high workload at their official workplace. In addition to the quality of EPT sessions being negatively affected, the participants' well-being issues, including emotional and physical fatigue, professional burnout, and health condition, were also reported as adverse consequences of negotiating two professional roles.

As a result, the participants' dual identities were in a conflicting relationship (Ramarajan, 2014) since teachers had to sacrifice their tutoring hours in favor of their main official job (e.g., unexpected staff meetings) and felt as not fully committed to EPT and their tutees. This demonstration of a preference for their teacher identity and an indicator of a power relationship between dual identities (Ramarajan, 2014) was justified by the higher social status, stable fixed income (including pension contributions), and more time and effort spent at their official job as schoolteachers. Although the findings of this research revealed the secondary and temporary role of a tutor identity, unlike some previous studies (Kobakhidze, 2019; Khojeev, 2021), the participants were positive about their tutor identity and linked it with professional development and a source of additional income, categorized as enhancing the relationship between dual identities (Ramarajan, 2014).

Apart from the advantages of EPT provision for individual use, the participants also highlighted the importance of PT for the wider society, arguing that PT is and should be used as a tool enhancing students' academic performances (e.g., Hajar & Abenova, 2021), especially in rural areas of Kazakhstan. This concern of urban-rural disparity in the quality of knowledge delivered at mainstream schools and the shortage of PT services in villages was also raised, suggesting that geographical inequality remains a topical issue in the Kazakhstani educational context (National Report, 2019 & 2021).

While the benefits of PT for students' academic performances were persistent in the results of previous studies (e.g., Hajar & Manan, 2022; Khaydarov, 2020), a reverse side of PT allowing any interested individual to become a private tutor to generate additional income and consequently leading to poor knowledge transmission, along with the spoil of the overall picture of tutors in Kazakhstan, were also raised by the participants.

The controversial nature of teachers providing PT for their own students or students from the same school was also persistent across the interview data of the present study. While most participants did not tutor their own students because of strict school policies and moral code, one participant saw tutoring her students as an effective pedagogy and did not think of it as necessarily a corrupt action. These conflicting views on tutoring one's own students are also common in other countries, such as Georgia (Kobakhidze, 2014 & 2018), Uzbekistan (Khaydarov, 2020), and Cambodia (Nhem & Kobakhidze, 2022).

Following the theory of hidden privatization of education by Ball and Youdell (2008), which stressed the impact of free-market principles on teachers' entrepreneurial identities, this study has shown an interesting suggestion to alter the curriculum for pre-service education teachers by introducing them to marketing in education modules, including the guidelines on how to recruit tutees from Instagram. Another instance of an entrepreneurial identity was

evident in one participant's decision to step out from the shadow market of EPT and open an EPT tutorial center. Overall, the current research findings suggest that the participants recognized the opportunity to benefit from the EPT provision and were willing to use it for personal profit-making purposes (Ball & Youdell, 2008).

Strengths and Limitations of the Study

As noted in Chapter 2, although research on PT has gained growing recognition with substantial implications for educational practices, EPT remains a relatively under-researched area (Yung, 2023). It is worth mentioning that the lion's share of empirical studies on EPT was conducted in contexts where English is used as an additional language (Mahmud & Bray, 2017 in Bangladesh; Šťastný et al., 2021 in the Czech Republic; Xiong et al., 2022 in China). However, to the best of my knowledge, no empirical research was conducted in the Kazakhstani context on EPT matters. Therefore, the present qualitative study attempted to address this glaring lacuna and enhance our understanding of EPT from the perspectives of its most popular providers – schoolteachers of English (Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009).

Since the majority of the Kazakhstani research (Hajar et al., 2023; Hajar & Abenova, 2021; Kalikova & Rakhimzhanova, 2009) focused on the demand side of PT (i.e., students), the current study on the supply side (i.e., teachers) added up "missing pieces" to the "assembly of a jigsaw puzzle" in the growing body of shadow education research, as supported in Bray (2021a, p. 460). As a pioneering attempt to explore the teacher-supplied EPT in Kazakhstan, the current study has provided deeper insight into the four main factors that encourage schoolteachers to become English private tutors. Also, the findings reported here shed new light on the EPT's potential to help the participants maintain high English language proficiency, which was not discussed in previous studies on EPT from the teacher-tutors' perspectives in non-English dominant countries. Therefore, the current study lays the

groundwork for future research into the role of EPT involvement in teachers' foreign language knowledge and professional development.

Moreover, the empirical findings in this study provide a new understanding of the issues pertaining to dual professional roles and identities of English teacher-tutors in and between two different educational settings – mainstream schooling and a private venue. Hence, the present research was of practical value for the teachers to reflect on their teaching and tutoring practices and perceptions of PT and its influence on them. Although this study focuses on teacher-tutors and EPT, the findings may have a bearing on students and parents in the shadow education market, their decisions to purchase EPT services, and the dire need to improve the quality of knowledge at schools, especially in the rural areas of Kazakhstan.

Overall, the present research has its value in helping create a comprehensive picture of the current state of the EPT industry in Kazakhstan, and an example of this context can be illustrative of similar patterns in other countries. Furthermore, the results of this research may be of assistance to state policymakers in addressing issues leading to E/PT expansion in Kazakhstan (e.g., low quality of school-taught English) and its potential consequences (e.g., educational corruption).

In line with the strengths of the present study, it has several limitations, which should be taken into account in further research. First of all, in light of the small sample size from urban areas of the present study, which cannot be generalized to all teacher-tutors in Kazakhstan, it would be fruitful to conduct a large mixed-methods study across the country with a specific focus on rural regions. Moreover, by using a mixed-methods research approach, further research could generate large numerical data, contributing to the comparative analysis of teacher-tutors' practices across regions in Kazakhstan. Last but not least, due to the space limitation, all obtained findings and interview extracts could not be

presented in the current thesis. Therefore, the researcher is likely to include those findings in the near future, when she will be writing a scholarly paper to participate in an academic conference. For instance, one of these findings is linked with the participants' definitions of an ideal English private tutor and the attributes necessary for recruitment purposes in Kazakhstan. Despite its limitations, the study certainly added to our understanding of the EPT field and revealed the factors driving schoolteachers of English to become English private tutors and gave insights into how the participants managed to balance their dual identities in and between two educational settings.

Implications of This Research Study

On the grounds of the analysis of the data obtained from the research participants of this study, the following policy implications can be endorsed to contribute to understanding the experiences of Kazakhstani educational stakeholders in the EPT market.

In line with the *laissez-faire* approach towards the shadow education market in Kazakhstan, meaning the absence of regulations, and the suggestions obtained from the study participants, one practical implication is establishing a controlling body that will focus on regulating the PT market in Kazakhstan. Most importantly, a reasonable approach to tackle the critical issue of educational corruption could be to officially forbid all schoolteachers from providing PT for their own students on a state level. In addition, all participants of the present research declared that if their salaries were increased, they would lessen the number of tutees and tutoring hours. In this regard, the systematic and continuous improvements in teachers' payment and status might yield more positive outcomes in dealing with the decrease in teacher-supplied tutoring in Kazakhstan.

Bearing in mind that teachers are not the sole providers of PT services, the PT regulating body could monitor the supply side and hold all private tutors accountable,

regardless of their professional qualifications. This might help parents and students avoid poorly delivered PT sessions and irresponsible and unqualified private tutors and invest in a reliable tutoring service. In addition, as one participant of the present research aptly pointed out, the overall picture of private tutors in Kazakhstan would not be distorted.

As for the recommendations for further research, a natural progression of this work is to explore how Kazakhstani teacher-tutors set a price for their tutoring sessions and their attitudes towards educational inequality and free-of-charge tutoring. Furthermore, investigating the perceptions of students from the same class – both those receiving tutoring and those who do not – would be a fruitful area for further work. More information on the shadow education market from different perspectives would contribute to the establishment of a holistic view on this matter and could serve as an essential step in recognizing its growing role and impact on mainstream schooling and wider society in Kazakhstan and beyond.

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Appendix A

Prompts for narrative essay

Dear research participant,

Please, write an essay that covers the following points:

1. Could you please write general information about your background (e.g., your name, education/degree, work experience as an English language teacher and private tutor)?
2. How long have you been providing English private tutoring?
3. What motivated you to provide English private tutoring sessions?
4. How do you manage having two roles (English teacher and English tutor)? How do you balance them?
5. Did you experience any challenges related to your teaching English at school and a private venue? How do you deal with these challenges?

Вопросы к повествовательному эссе

Напишите эссе, которое охватывает следующие моменты:

1. Расскажите, пожалуйста, общую информацию о себе (например, Ваше имя, образование/степень, опыт работы учителем английского языка и частным репетитором)?
2. Как долго Вы занимаетесь частным репетиторством по английскому языку?
3. Что побудило Вас проводить частные уроки английского языка?
4. Как Вы справляетесь с двумя ролями (учитель английского языка и репетитор английского языка)? Как Вы их балансируете?

5. Испытывали ли Вы какие-либо трудности, связанные с преподаванием английского языка в школе и на частной основе? Как Вы справляетесь с этими проблемами?

Баяндау эсеге арналған сұрақтар

Төмендегі тармақтарды қамтитын эссе жазуыңызды сұраймыз:

1. Өзіңіз туралы жалпы ақпарат беріңіз (мысалы, аты-жөніңіз, білім/дәрежеңіз, ағылшын тілі мұғалімі және жеке репетитор ретіндегі тәжірибеңіз)?
2. Сіз қанша уақыттан бері жеке ағылшын тілінен сабақ бересіз?
3. Ағылшын тілінен жеке сабақтар өткізуге не түрткі болды?
4. Сіз екі рөлдің (ағылшын тілі мұғалімі және ағылшын тілі репетиторі) міндеттерін қалай атқарасыз? Сіз оларды қалай теңестіресіз?
5. Ағылшын тілінен мектепте және жеке оқытуда сабақ беруде қиындықтар кездесті ме? Сіз бұл мәселелермен қалай күресесіз?

Appendix B

Individual semi-structured interview protocol for English language teacher-tutors on their perceptions of English private tutoring, their dual identities (teacher and tutor) and impact of English private tutoring on their professional practices

Interviewer: Munira Vassilova, Master of Arts in Multilingual Education second year student at Nazarbayev University Graduate School of Education

Interviewee:

The purpose of this qualitative research is to explore the motives driving in-service urban EFL teachers to become English private tutors and how the values and beliefs of both identities (teacher and tutor) co-exist and are projected on their professional activities.

Questions:

1. Can you tell me about your background as an English teacher? **Probe:** *What grades do you teach in? How long have you been teaching English?*
2. What do you think about private tutoring in general? Is private tutoring a widespread phenomenon in Kazakhstan?
3. How long have you been an English language private tutor?
4. Why have you started offering English private tutoring? What motivates you to tutor?
5. Can you think of the advantages of being an English private tutor? **Probe:** *What aspects of tutoring are beneficial as perceived by teachers?*
6. What do students get from EPT that they cannot get from school?

7. Can you name any disadvantages of being an English private tutor? **Probe:** *What impact does EPT have on your private life? Have you had any professional or emotional burdens due to the high business rate?*
8. In your opinion, what makes a good English language private tutor? Should there be formal preparations for the job?
9. How do you plan a EPT lesson? What teaching aids do you use?
10. What does juggling two jobs mean in the lives of teachers? How do you manage it?
How can you balance two jobs?
11. What responsibilities were attached to these roles?
12. How do you reconcile the two roles? To which roles you think you are most committed?
13. What actions do you perform during tutoring that cannot be performed while teaching in mainstream schools?
14. How do you recruit tutees? What challenges and opportunities do you encounter in these processes?
15. There is a common perception that if the teachers' salaries would be increased, they would stop providing EPT – what are your thoughts on this?
16. What do you think about the impact of English private tutoring on mainstream schooling? **Probe:** *On a scale from 1 to 5, how would you rate the importance of English private tutoring for school, from really important to not so important?*
17. What do you feel about the impact of tutoring on the wider society? Do you feel that it is something to be encouraged or discouraged? Can you tell me why?

18. What do you think about the future of private tutoring? *Probe*: Do you expect tutoring to change in scale and nature? If so, what changes do you predict and/or desire?

19. Do you have any other idea or concern regarding English private tutoring?

Appendix C

Gatekeeper E-mail/Letter

Dear [Gatekeeper Name],

My name is Munira Vassilova and I'm currently beginning a research project for my Master's thesis at Nazarbayev University Graduate School of Education.

Subject to approval by Nazarbayev University Research Ethics Committee this research entails narrative essay and individual semi-structured interviews to explore the motives driving in-service urban English language teachers to become English private tutors and how the values and beliefs of both identities (teacher and tutor) co-exist and are projected on their professional activities.

I'm writing to ask your permission to be allowed access to your secondary school to seek research participants – English language teachers with no less than twelve years of work experience – for individual semi-structured interviews. This should take a month – a period between November and December 2022 – and can be conducted at a convenient time and date to be arranged with the research participants and school schedule. All I will need is to arrange a suitable time to conduct individual interviews with the English language teachers.

All answers and results from the research are kept strictly confidential.

If this is possible, please could you e-mail me at munira.vassilova@nu.edu.kz or by phone number +7 707 717 9858 to confirm that you are willing to allow access to your employees providing they agree and are happy to take part.

Thank you for your time and I hope to hear from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

Munira Vassilova

Appendix D

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Teaching English in the Shadows: Exploring English Teacher-Tutors Identities in Kazakhstan

DESCRIPTION: You are invited to participate in a **research study**, undertaken by Munira Vassilova, a second year Master of Arts in Multilingual Education student at Nazarbayev University Graduate School of Education aimed at exploring the motives driving in-service urban English language teachers to become English private tutors and how the values and beliefs of both identities (teacher and tutor) co-exist and are projected on their professional activities. You will be asked to answer 15–20 questions about your experiences of being an English tutor, as well as the challenges and opportunities that you encounter being both a teacher and a tutor, through a narrative essay and individual interview. With your permission, I will tape-record the responses, as they will be used in further analysis. In case you do not wish to be recorded, I can take notes instead while you are answering the questions.

TIME INVOLVEMENT: Prior to individual interviews, you will be given 7 to 10 days to write your narrative essay. The individual semi-structured interviews will take approximately 30 to 40 minutes of your time.

RISKS AND BENEFITS: There are minimal risks associated with participation in the study. To protect you from the possible risks, I intend to take every necessary step to ensure your confidentiality. I will use a pseudonym instead of your name and instead of the name of the school on the interview transcript and will keep the transcripts and the file linking the pseudonyms with actual names in a password-protected location on the computer. At the end of the research project, the voice file will be deleted. I will remove any identifying information from the final version of the dissertation/written report so that your identity is not revealed. I will remove all password-protected files from the computer after completing the study.

No tangible compensation will be given for you. You will receive no direct benefits from participating in this research study. However, your responses may help the researcher learn more about the phenomena of "shadow education" and "English private tutoring" in Kazakhstan. The indirect benefit of this research is the possibility of sharing information about the challenges and opportunities of having dual roles – as an English language teacher and English tutor. Any report of this research that is made available to the public will not include your name or any other individual information by which you could be identified.

PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS: If you have read this form and have decided to participate in this project, please understand that your **participation is voluntary**, and you have the **right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. The alternative is not to participate.** You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. The results of this research study may also be presented at scientific or professional meetings or published in scientific journals. If you have questions or want a copy or summary of this study's results, you can contact the Master's Thesis supervisor at the email address or telephone provided below.

CONTACT INFORMATION:

Researcher: Munira Vassilova

Master of Arts in Multilingual Education second-year student
Nazarbayev University Graduate School of Education

Phone number: +7 707 717 9858

Email: munira.vassilova@nu.edu.kz

Questions: If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this research, its procedures, risks and benefits, contact the Master's Thesis Supervisor for this student work, Anas Hajar, via email anas.hajar@nu.edu.kz or telephone +7 747 323 15 62

Independent Contact: If you are not satisfied with how this study is being conducted, or if you have any concerns, complaints, or general questions about the research or your rights as a participant, please contact the NUGSE Research Committee at gse_researchcommittee@nu.edu.kz

Please sign this consent form if you agree to participate in this study.

- I have carefully read the information provided;
- I have been given full information regarding the purpose and procedures of the study;
- I understand how the data collected will be used, and that any confidential information will be seen only by the researcher and will not be revealed to anyone else;
- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason;
- With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.
- I give my permission to audio record the interview: Yes No

Participant

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Researcher

Signature: _____

Date: _____

ФОРМА ИНФОРМИРОВАННОГО СОГЛАСИЯ

Преподавание английского языка «в тени»: изучение идентичностей учителей-репетиторов английского языка в Казахстане

ОПИСАНИЕ: Вы приглашены принять участие в **исследовании**, проводимым студенткой второго курса магистратуры в области полиязычного образования Высшей школы образования Назарбаев Университета, Мунирой Василовой, направленным на изучение мотивов, побудивших городских учителей английского языка стать частными репетиторами английского языка, и как ценности и убеждения обеих идентичностей (учителя и репетитора) сосуществуют и проецируются на их профессиональную деятельность. Вам будет предложено ответить на 15–20 вопросов о Вашем опыте работы репетитором английского языка, а также о проблемах и возможностях, с которыми Вы сталкиваетесь, работая как учителем, так и репетитором, с помощью нарративного эссе и индивидуального интервью. С Вашего разрешения я запишу ответы на диктофон, так как они будут использованы в дальнейшем анализе. Если Вы не хотите, чтобы Вас записывали, я могу вместо этого делать записи, пока Вы отвечаете на вопросы.

ВРЕМЯ УЧАСТИЯ: Если Вы хотите принять участие в этом исследовании, Вам будет предложено написать нарративное эссе, на написание которого будет выделено от 7 до 10 дней. Индивидуальное интервью займет примерно 30–40 минут.

РИСКИ И ПРЕИМУЩЕСТВА: Существуют минимальные риски, связанные с Вашим участием в данном исследовании. Чтобы защитить Вас от возможных рисков, я намерена предпринять все необходимые шаги для обеспечения Вашей конфиденциальности. Ваше имя и название учреждения будут анонимными на всех этапах исследования, включая документы, электронные файлы и саму диссертацию. Все собранные данные, записи и документы, связанные с исследованием, включая формы согласия будут сохранены на персональном компьютере, защищенном паролем и биометрическими данными. После написания черновой версии статьи голосовой файл с записью будет удален. Я также удалю любую идентифицирующую информацию из окончательной версии статьи и отчетов, чтобы Ваша личная информация не была идентифицирована после завершения исследования.

Участие в данном исследовании не подразумевает материальной компенсации или любой другой прямой выгоды от участия. Однако Ваши ответы могут помочь исследователю узнать больше о явлениях «теневого образования» и «частного репетиторства по английскому языку» в Казахстане. Косвенным преимуществом этого исследования является возможность обмена информацией о проблемах и возможностях выполнения двойной роли — учителя английского языка и репетитора английского языка. Любой отчет об этом исследовании, доступный для общественности, не будет включать Ваше имя или любую другую личную информацию, по которой Вас можно было бы идентифицировать.

ПРАВА УЧАСТНИКА: Ваше участие в данном исследовании является **добровольным**, и у Вас есть **право отозвать свое согласие или прекратить участие в любое время без каких-либо последствий**, в этом случае запись и заметки будут уничтожены. Хотя вопросы и не предполагают затрагивание каких-либо деликатных тем, Вы имеете право отказаться отвечать на определенные вопросы. Если у Вас есть

вопросы или Вы хотите получить копию или краткое изложение результатов этого исследования, Вы можете связаться с научным руководителем магистерской работы по адресу электронной почты или телефону, указанным ниже. Результаты этого исследования также могут быть представлены на научных или профессиональных встречах или опубликованы в научных журналах.

КОНТАКТНАЯ ИНФОРМАЦИЯ:

Исследователь: Мунира Василова

Магистр гуманитарных и социальных наук в области многоязычного образования,
студентка второго курса

Высшая школа образования Назарбаев Университета

Телефон: +7 707 717 9858

Электронная почта: munira.vassilova@nu.edu.kz

Вопросы: Если у Вас есть какие-либо вопросы, опасения или жалобы по поводу этого исследования, его процедур, рисков и преимуществ, свяжитесь с руководителем магистерской работы по этой студенческой работе Анасом Хаджаром по электронной почте anas.hajar@nu.edu.kz или по телефону +7 747 323 15 62.

Независимое контактное лицо: Если Вы не удовлетворены тем, как проводится это исследование, или если у Вас есть какие-либо опасения, жалобы или общие вопросы об исследовании или ваших правах в качестве участника, пожалуйста, свяжитесь с Исследовательским комитетом NUGSE по адресу gse_researchcommittee@nu.edu.kz

Пожалуйста, подпишите данную форму согласия, если Вы согласны принять участие в этом исследовании.

- Я внимательно изучил(а) предоставленную информацию;
- Мне была предоставлена полная информация о целях и процедуре исследования;
- Я понимаю, как будут использоваться собранные данные, и что доступ к любой конфиденциальной информации будет иметь только исследователь;
- Я понимаю, что могу отказаться от участия в исследовании в любое время без объяснения причин;
- С полным осознанием всего вышеизложенного я добровольно соглашаюсь участвовать в этом исследовании.
- Я даю разрешение на аудиозапись интервью: Да Нет

Участник исследования

Подпись: _____

Дата: _____

Исследователь

Подпись: _____

Дата: _____

АҚПАРАТТЫҚ КЕЛІСІМ НЫСАНЫ

Ағылшын тілін «көлеңкеде» оқыту: Қазақстандағы ағылшын тілі мұғалімі-репетиторларының кәсіби болмыстарын зерттеу

СИПАТТАМА: Сізді Назарбаев Университеті Жоғары білім беру мектебінің көптілді білім беру мамандығының 2 курс магистратурасының студенті Мунира Василованың қалалық ағылшын тілі мұғалімдерінің ағылшын тілінің тьюторы болуға мотивациясын, екі кәсіби болмыстың құндылықтары мен нанымдары және осы сәйкестіктердің мұғалімдердің кәсіби қызметіне проекциялануын зерттеу мақсатында жүргізетін зерттеуіне қатысуға шақырамыз. Сізден ағылшын тілінің тьюторы ретіндегі тәжірибеңіз және мұғалім және тьютор ретінде кездесетін қиындықтар мен мүмкіндіктер туралы баяндау эссе және жеке сұхбат арқылы 15-20 сұраққа жауап беру сұралады. Сіздің рұқсатыңызбен сұхбаттар диктофонға жазылады, бұл талдау үшін қажет. Егер әңгіменің диктофонға жазылуын қаламасаңыз, онда біз сіздің жауаптарыңызды жазбаша түрде жазып аламыз.

ӨТКІЗІЛЕТІН УАҚЫТЫ: Егер сіз осы зерттеуге қатысқыңыз келсе, сізден баяндау эссе жазуыңыз сұралады, оны аяқтауға 7-10 күн беріледі. Жеке сұхбат шамамен 30-40 минутты алады.

ЗЕРТТЕУ ЖҰМЫСЫНА ҚАТЫСУДЫҢ ҚАУІПТЕРІ МЕН АРТЫҚШЫЛЫҚТАРЫ: Осы зерттеуге қатысуыңызға байланысты біршама қауіптер бар. Сізді ықтимал қауіптерден қорғау үшін мен барлық қажетті шараларды қабылдауға ниеттімін. Сіздің аты-жөніңіз және мекеменің атауы зерттеудің барлық кезеңдерінде, соның ішінде құжаттарда, электронды файлдарда және диссертацияның өзінде жасырын болады. Зерттеуге қатысты барлық жиналған деректер, жазбалар мен құжаттар, соның ішінде келісім нысандары парольмен және биометриялық деректермен қорғалған дербес компьютерде сақталады. Мақаланың жобалық нұсқасын жазғаннан кейін жазбасы бар дауыстық файл жойылады. Зерттеу аяқталғаннан кейін сіздің жеке ақпаратыңыз анықталмауы үшін мен қорытынды мақала мен есептердегі кез келген сәйкестендіретін ақпаратты алып тастаймын.

Бұл зерттеуге қатысу қаржылық өтемақы немесе қатысудан басқа тікелей пайданы білдірмейді. Дегенмен, сіздің жауаптарыңыз зерттеушіге Қазақстандағы «көлеңкелі білім» және «жеке ағылшын тілінен сабақ беру» құбылыстары туралы көбірек білуге көмектесуі мүмкін. Бұл зерттеудің жанама пайдасы – ағылшын тілі мұғалімі мен ағылшын тілі тьюторының қосарлы рөлімен байланысты қиындықтары мен мүмкіндіктері туралы ақпаратпен бөлісу мүмкіндігі. Бұл зерттеудің көпшілікке қолжетімді есебінде сіздің атыңыз немесе сізді анықтауға болатын кез келген басқа жеке ақпарат қамтылмайды.

ҚАТЫСУШЫ ҚҰҚЫҚТАРЫ: Сіздің зерттеуге қатысуыңыз ерікті болып табылады және сіз кез-келген уақытта ешқандай салдарсыз қатысуды тоқтатуға құқығыңыз бар, бұл жағдайда барлық жазбалар жойылады. Сұрақтар сезімтал тақырыптарды қозғамаса да, сіз кейбір сұрақтарға жауап беруден бас тартуға құқығыңыз бар. Егер сізде сұрақтар туындаса немесе осы зерттеу нәтижелерінің көшірмесін немесе қысқаша мазмұнын алғыңыз келсе, төменде көрсетілген электрондық пошта мекенжайы немесе телефон

нөмірі бойынша диссертация жұмысының жетекшісіне хабарласуға болады. Бұл зерттеудің нәтижелері ғылыми немесе кәсіби жиналыстарда ұсынылуы немесе ғылыми журналдарда жариялануы мүмкін.

БАЙЛАНЫС АҚПАРАТЫ:

Зерттеуші: Мунира Василова

Көптілді білім беру саласындағы өнер және әлеуметтік ғылымдар магистрі, екінші курс студенті

Назарбаев Университеті Жоғары білім беру мектебі

Телефон: +7 707 717 9858

Электрондық пошта: munira.vassilova@nu.edu.kz

Сұрақтарыңыз: Егер жүргізіліп отырған зерттеу жұмысының процесі, қаупі мен артықшылықтары туралы сұрағыңыз немесе шағымыңыз болса, келесі байланыс құралдары арқылы зерттеушінің магистрлық тезисі бойынша жетекшісі Анас Хаджармен anas.hajar@nu.edu.kz немесе телефон арқылы +7 747 323 15 62 хабарласуыңызға болады.

ДЕРБЕС БАЙЛАНЫС АҚПАРАТТАРЫ: Егер берілген зерттеу жұмысының жүргізілуімен қанағаттанбасаңыз немесе сұрақтарыңыз бен шағымдарыңыз болса, Назарбаев Университеті Жоғары Білім беру мектебінің Зерттеу Комитетімен көрсетілген байланыс құралдары арқылы хабарласуыңызға болады: электрондық поштамен gse_researchcommittee@nu.edu.kz

Зерттеу жұмысына қатысуға келісіміңізді берсеңіз, берілген формаға қол қоюыңызды сұраймыз.

- Мен берілген формамен мұқият таныстым;
- Маған зерттеу жұмысының мақсаты мен оның процедурасы жайында толық ақпарат берілді;
- Жинақталған ақпарат пен құпия мәліметтерге тек зерттеушінің өзіне қолжетімді және мәлім болатынын толық түсінемін;
- Мен кез келген уақытта ешқандай түсініктемесіз зерттеу жұмысына қатысудан бас тартуыма болатынын түсінемін;
- Мен жоғарыда аталып өткен ақпаратты саналы түрде қабылдап, осы зерттеу жұмысына қатысуға өз келісімімді беремін.
- Сұхбаттың аудиожазбасына рұқсат беремін: Иә Жоқ

Қатысушы:

Қол: _____

Күн: _____

Зерттеуші:

Қол: _____

Күн: _____

Appendix E

Interview Coding Sample (Excerpt)

Interview extracts	Codes	Subthemes	Themes
<p>Interviewer: So, you have already mentioned that tutoring is an <u>additional payment right to your official salary</u>. Are there any other advantages of being English private tutor?</p>	EPT as an additional income	Additional income	Factors driving EFL teachers to tutor
<p>Interviewee: Yes, usually the <u>best like present for teachers, it's when your students are grateful</u>. And even when you don't tutor them anymore and when after several years they think of you and congratulate you on for example, teachers day, <u>I feel appreciated</u>. And then it makes me think that I am a good tutor and teacher.</p>	Gratitude from tutees	Sense of self-fulfillment	Factors driving EFL teachers to tutor
<p>And when I need to prepare my tutees to enter to Nazarbayev Intellectual Schools, <u>which I did not know how to do before tutoring, I gain professional experience</u>. Besides, when I see their positive results and letters of acceptance, <u>I feel very happy and proud</u>.</p>	Professionally excelling through EPT provision Experiencing positive emotions from witnessing her tutees' academic achievements	Professional development Sense of self-fulfillment	Factors driving EFL teachers to tutor

Also, sometimes I rest during private tutoring because I have few tutees with same language levels and most importantly, these are the students that I chose myself. It makes me feel better in comparison with schools. That is why I chose tutoring career.

Interviewer: Yeah, this is a great example. Thank you. So let us move to the next question.

Rest during EPT
Small-size group
Similar language proficiency of tutees
Freedom in choosing tutees

Sense of self-fulfillment

Factors driving EFL teachers to tutor