

Teacher and CEO Job Ads: Metaphor and Framing Analysis

Ivana Marinić

Faculty of Education, Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, Croatia

Ivana Moritz

Faculty of Education, Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, Croatia

Abstract—According to the Critical Discourse Analysis, language use reflects the power dynamics in various social circumstances. Also, underlying metaphors in the discourse reveal the similarities and differences between the ideas, attitudes, and values of different groups and individuals (Cameron et al., 2009). In this paper, we compare job ads for teachers and CEOs, looking for metaphors and metaphorical frames used to describe perfect candidates. Before that, we provide an analysis of similarities between these two professions and a review of literature discussing the metaphor research on teachers and managers. A couple of interesting conclusions arise. First, there are differences in the self-assumed metaphorical identity of teachers and the metaphors students and works of literature use to describe them. Secondly, in the public discourse, managers' identity is set in the WAR metaphor frame, whereas in the leadership theories, they are described either as charismatic or transformational leaders (Storey, 2004a). Finally, our research shows that job ads for CEOs portray the ideal candidates within the charismatic leader frame, leaving out the WAR frame, whereas teacher ads leave out many metaphors that constitute the identity of successful and passionate teachers. This poses the question of why 'employer branding' (Backhaus & Tikoo, 2004, p. 501) is not applied to the educational setting and whether this points to the status of these two professions in society.

Index Terms—metaphor, discourse, job ads, teachers, CEOs

I. INTRODUCTION

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it does not only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than a negative instance whose function is repression (Foucault, 2010, p. 120).

Ever since the linguistic turn in the mid-20th century, there has been an ongoing debate about whether language affects our thought, is responsible for the reinforcement of social hierarchies, is used as a control tool in power wars, etc. The thesis that language use reflects power dynamics in various social circumstances has been reiterated by many theorists and researchers, mainly those following in the steps of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) founders Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk, and others. The researchers in CDA seek to uncover the ways in which power relations and ideologies are reflected in the discourse (e.g. Beard, 2000; Ramsay, 2008; Thomas et al., 2004). The idea that the change in language may change the circumstances of events has spilt over into our daily lives. A recent example is the #ReframeCovid initiative, claiming that the war-related language used around the pandemic is in some way hurtful to society (even though there are researchers who believe that it is not the war metaphor itself, but the context in which it is used that seems problematic and possibly leads to panic and misinformation of the public, see Štrkalj Despot & Ostroški Anić, 2021).

Metaphor as a way to gain insight into the way people think about reality has been the focus of much research since Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) influential Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Their claim that the metaphor is not simply a linguistic device but rather a mental construct based in our physical, bodily reality that shapes the way we perceive the world around us and make sense of abstract notions has been confirmed in some studies involving the connection between the physical senses and our decisions and behaviour (Jostmann et al., 2009; Williams & Bargh, 2008; for a review, see Gibbs & Perlman, 2006, p. 226). However, Lakoff and Johnson's idea has been challenged in terms of the embodied nature of all metaphors. For example, Casasanto and Gijssels (2015, pp. 327-328) use the term 'mental metaphors' to describe 'implicit associations between two analogue continuums: the "source domain" continuum, which is typically more concrete and can be experienced directly through the senses (e.g., touch for warmth, vision for spatial proximity or height), and the "target domain" continuum, which is typically more abstract and can only be experienced through introspection (e.g., affection, similarity, happiness)'. 'Mental metaphors' ought to be distinguished from 'linguistic metaphors', according to them, and they treat them as hypothetical non-linguistic associations in memory, whereas they see Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) term 'conceptual metaphor' as often used ambiguously, sometimes referring to conventions in language and other times to these non-linguistic associations in memory. Kövecses (2005, p.

266) furthermore claims that ‘what is recognised as shared between two domains need not be something as abstract as generic-level structure. It can be similarities of all kinds – most important, actual, or perceived shared features’, which ‘can create an infinitely large number of novel metaphors’. Moreover, the language itself does not have to be metaphorical to invoke metaphorical frames. The best way to understand this is to analyse poetry works that use concrete language yet invoke many metaphors (Camp, 2009). Analogously, complicated social circumstances produce certain frames within which different professions may be seen differently, not in terms of the knowledge and skills they need to do their jobs, but in terms of the value of their work to society.

Frame Theory (Fillmore, 1982, pp. 135-136) posits a connection between the meaning-bearing elements of language and the background knowledge and experiences that give people reasons to create categories expressed by words. Cognitive frames, or ‘any of the many organized packages of knowledge, beliefs, and patterns of practice that shape and allow humans to make sense of their experiences’ (Fillmore & Baker, 2009, p. 314) are sometimes overlearned – we are so used to them that we are not aware of their existence. There is perhaps no effect of metaphorical framing on reasoning, as stated by Steen et al. (2014); however, metaphorical framing is a cognitive phenomenon revealing the similarities and differences between the ideas, attitudes, and values of different groups and individuals (Cameron et al., 2009).

Analysing metaphors within a discourse or metaphorical frames evoked by the discourse offers a potential avenue for gathering evidence supporting the idea that our perceptions of certain professions are influenced by their societal value. Even though online job ads are expected to be neutral and free from opinionated descriptions of various professions in the media, they may reveal hidden ideologies (which will be discussed in one of the following sections) or, at least, provide a view of ‘ideal’ candidates (unlike other types of discourse, which quite often discuss the ones belonging to opposite sides of the spectrum).

II. WHY COMPARE TEACHERS AND CEOs?

The comparison of teachers' and CEOs' skills and duties as described in online job posts may seem surprising and lead to the question of why compare these two professions and not some others. As professionals in the sector of education for 25 years, the reasons are partly personal but not undeniable as a current social fact. Years of teaching have shown us that teaching is never just teaching, as many who have not been in the profession assume. Being an expert in the field does not necessarily make you a good teacher. In fact, to be a successful teacher, one needs to possess, among others, many managerial skills, and the jobs themselves are similar in many ways, which we will illustrate in the section to follow. A newspaper article by Schildkrout (2015) confirms our idea that a successful teacher is usually adorned with numerous skills that would also make them a successful manager. Of course, such teachers do not get the appreciation and pay they deserve, which is reflected in the latest surge of teacher shortages in the USA and Europe. Anyhow, this is what Schildkrout wrote at the beginning of his expose on the similarities between teachers and CEOs:

When, six years ago, I made the switch from high school teacher to startup CEO, I thought I was in for a rather dramatic change. On the surface, the two vocations could not be more divergent: nonprofit vs. for-profit; public institution vs. free market; chalkboard and textbook vs. Google Analytics and business-expansion playbook; curriculum-building vs. consumer-product design. And yet, I've come to see that teaching is a lot more like being a CEO than our teacher-degrading, CEO-fetishizing society wishes to know. (Schildkrout, 2015)

In the rest of the article, he brings up an inspiring description of a successful leader, concluding with the remark that “we pay a lip service to the importance of education and the nobility of teaching”, but “we don't come close to offering teachers the concrete manifestations of honour that we afford CEOs”. This is the thought that we would revisit later. Now, we would like to give a somewhat different elaboration of the idea that teachers and CEOs share many similarities in terms of duties and skills, which explains our research in the first place.

First, what we see common to both positions is good management as the basis for the implementation of work. Both teachers and CEOs are in charge of creating long-term and short-term plans based on the available resources. For CEOs, resources refer both to human and monetary resources, whereas for teachers, they refer to the curriculum they need to teach as well as the knowledge their students already have and that needs to be built on. The differences between the two are obvious, and it is clear that CEOs are in pursuit of funds that would make their business or company function and grow, whereas teachers' goals are the growth of knowledge, independence, and curiosity of their students. However, the management skills behind the pursuit are the same: analysis of the resources, planning, the ability to restructure and be flexible, ability to see the consequences of certain actions, keeping records of steps taken, and noticing how they reflect on the final goals. If we wish to look for the source domain of these abstract concepts, we understand that the resources are understood as OBJECTS THAT NEED TO BE MADE BIGGER AND/OR SMARTLY DISTRIBUTED TO HELP SOMEONE GROW. The metaphorical frame that makes these jobs similar to each other is that of GROWTH, and teachers and CEOs are represented as a FORCE that is able to change others, to make them grow, or to move others to make something else grow. Good management focuses on GROWTH, and a good manager is a FORCE that is ABLE TO AFFECT GROWTH. Also, it consists of the metaphorical entailment that MONEY or KNOWLEDGE are LIVING BEINGS due to the idea that they can grow.

Secondly, both teachers and CEOs are not completely independent in their work, meaning that they have to work with others to succeed. On the one hand, CEOs work with the company board that guides or supervises their decisions, which is comparable to teachers being overseen and guided by the school principals, advisors, agencies, and other institutions in charge of education. On the other hand, there is the staff or the students, and the person in charge (the CEO or teacher) is responsible for their actions. This might look like a simplified picture, but it shows that we operate with the same set of transversal skills in very similar circumstances: comprehending the potential inherent in a plan or a strategy requires a set of analytical skills; interpersonal and intrapersonal skills are the key to thriving communication with the supervisors and many people/students we are in charge of; we need to be able to motivate others to work and believe that what they do will help them prosper. With students, it is even more complicated because they are not necessarily intrinsically motivated (keeping the job, advancing in their career), and teachers need to be creative in retaining the level of interest of their students. The metaphorical frame within which people in these positions may be compared is the CONDUIT METAPHOR. They serve as a container which delivers ideas, wishes, or plans from a 'higher' place to the 'ground', where these are to be implemented.

Thirdly, there are others involved in the process. For CEOs, those are the partners and stakeholders, for teachers, those are the parents. Again, the set of skills needed to communicate your goals and cooperate is similar: active listening, analysis, good communication skills, and many others. Finally, there is a growing need for so-called 'public relations' in both of these jobs. The presentation of the school's or company's vision, mission, and accomplishments has become an important part of both careers. Again, the CONDUIT metaphor is at work here, but this time the teachers and CEOs may be seen as CONTAINERS of results, successes, or failures that need to be delivered (communicated) to the public.

We dare to believe that a teacher's job is even more demanding for the reasons mentioned above, as well as the fact that teachers are most often left to their own devices, without a secretary to remind them of their daily duties, type for them, do photocopies of the materials they need daily, etc.

III. JOB ADS RESEARCH – DISCRIMINATION ISSUES AND EMPLOYER BRANDING

Online recruitment possibilities have given way to a surge of research on job posts in different fields. Studies of the wording of recruitment ads are oftentimes intertwined with social issues, such as gender inequality (Gaucher et al., 2011) or the marginalisation of some groups of job candidates (Mackenzie, 2020). The wording of ads may influence whether applicants see themselves fit for the job (Wille & Derous, 2018) or whether they feel the need to adjust their personality description to suit the position (Wessel et al., 2015).

Also, applicants may see some jobs as less attractive or less desirable if they feel that the organisation does not share their values (Celani & Singh, 2011). Values seem to be more important than policies that benefit the applicants' demographic group (Casper et al., 2013), and applicant's safety attitudes seem to be the best predictor of attraction to job descriptions that focus on employees' safety (Fruhen et al., 2015). In other words, the company's strategy or culture is of great importance to applicants. Thus, 'employer branding', a concept defined by Backhaus and Tikoo (2004, p. 502) as "the process of building an identifiable and unique employer identity" has become important in developing and recruiting the workforce. It has developed under the assumption that employees or human capital are crucial for the company's performance. There are many examples of small and big companies that are famous for their employer branding - the most famous example being Google, which builds their employer branding around various benefits for workers - quite long (for the American context) paternal leave, comfortable working conditions (swimming pools, relaxation areas, free canteens, etc.), or investing in their employees' self-development. It manages to attract a highly qualified workforce, even for the simplest jobs in the company (Nowakowski, 2020).

IV. REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH ON METAPHORICAL REPRESENTATIONS AND FRAMING OF TEACHERS AND MANAGERS

The research of metaphors used to describe or conceptualise teachers' duties, identities, or performances is usually performed by asking teachers, prospective teachers, or students to compare teachers to something or someone. Oxford et al. (1998) study those metaphors in an attempt to better understand the classroom environment and fine-tune the teaching methods accordingly. They categorise metaphors into four different philosophical perspectives: social order metaphors (teachers mould students to fit the society), cultural transmission metaphors (teachers initiate students into the 'correct' canon of a certain culture), learner-centred growth (teachers help learners develop their naturally inherited biological potential), and social reform metaphors (teachers are in charge of creating miniature democracies in their classrooms that would help students learn about themselves in the society). Chen (2003, p. 28) has studied metaphors for teaching in literature and teachers' journals and has categorised them into five categories according to their orientation: an art-oriented view of teachers (sculptors, painters, entertainers, directors, actors) with the focus on the creative side of teaching, sensitivity to students' needs and flexibility in adapting to those needs; business metaphor (advertisers and sellers of knowledge; teaching is delivering); science metaphor (studying the process of teaching and believing that anyone can reproduce the results by replicating the effective practices); power metaphor (teacher-as-a-leader as opposed to teacher-as-a-collaborator), and personal dynamics metaphor (how teachers see the teaching - as a game, a journey, a roller-coaster, etc.). Similarly, Saban et al. (2007) investigate the concept of teachers through

metaphor analysis by asking 1222 participants to describe teachers metaphorically. They categorise the metaphors into ten conceptual categories. Teachers are seen as moulders or craftspersons, curers/repairers, superior authority figures, change agents, entertainers, archetypes of spirit, nurturers/cultivators, facilitators/scaffolders, or cooperative/democratic leaders. In a study of metaphors that Chinese EFL university teachers use to describe their beliefs about English teachers, Xiong et al. (2015) categorise them into three cognitive models of education: journey, building, and conduit.

An interesting variety of teacher metaphors comes from the analysis of learner narratives by Pavičić Takač and Molnar (2009). Teachers are seen by their students as friends, zoo-keepers, sleep-inducers, tyrants, co-learners, preachers, prophets, family members, challengers, consultants, investors, and many more, which testifies to the variety of teacher roles and differences among teachers. It seems that students do not necessarily see teachers within the ideal-teacher model. The same can be said for teachers who appear in literary works, either as antagonists, protagonists, or side characters. Muchmore (2012) performed an identity analysis of teachers in 44 works of literature (novels, children's books, plays, short stories, autobiographical novels) published between 1598 and 2010 and set in the USA, Canada, England, Germany, Russia, New Zealand, and Trinidad. The identity themes that emerged through her analysis were the following: (a) teacher as nurturer, (b) teacher as subversive, (c) teacher as conformist, (d) teacher as hero, (e) teacher as villain, (f) teacher as victim, (g) teacher as outsider, (h) teacher as immutable force, (i) teacher as eccentric, and (j) teacher as economic survivor. The portrayal of different types of teachers, unlike the above-cited research, displays a more realistic picture of teachers, out of which some fit the ideal-teacher model whereas others occupy the non-ideal or troubled-teacher conceptual space.

Metaphor research about managers' identities is usually focused on business ethics and management studies, using narrative and discourse analysis, looking into the metaphors used by managers, or discussing the metaphorical frames underlying the manager's identity conceptualisation. Thus, Carollo and Guerci (2018) investigate the self-reported identity issues of sustainability managers and analyse the tensions that accompany this role. As their function is to make sure companies balance their economic, social, and environmental performances, they have an ungrateful position of the 'insider' who may work against the company's main goal of increasing their earnings. Their research has shown that sustainability managers use metaphors to describe their role and cope cognitively with this awkward position. The metaphors they use are those of a 'hyena', 'do-gooder', 'talking-cricket', 'activist in a suit', 'undercover consultant', or even 'visionary bringing messianic visions'. Ashcraft (2013) discusses occupational identities through the 'glass slipper' metaphor, seeing 'embodied social identities' as social constructions of an idealised 'body' with typical features that only certain members of real-life bodies possess. Thus, 'occupations come to appear possessed of inherent characteristics that render them a natural fit for some and a stretch, if not an impossibility, for others' (Ashcraft, 2013, p. 16). Taylor et al. (2018) interviewed 69 welfare programme managers in search of their moral identity work and concluded that two metaphors reappear in it - the SOLDIER and the HELPER metaphors. Metaphors were used as a research tool in the research by Koller (2004), who studied magazine and newspaper articles describing businesspersons. The search for metaphorically used expressions has yielded the centrality of the cognitive metaphor of WAR across the discourse set in the aggression and competition frame. It has revealed some gender-specific metaphors, such as the CHEERLEADING metaphor for women and the COWBOY metaphor for men, as well as some other proof that hegemonic masculinity quite often enters the text.

Managers' identities are often discussed within the frame of leadership theories (see Storey, 2004a). The media is full of accounts of charismatic leadership, and the consultancy industry on leadership has grown exponentially since the 1970s (Storey, 2004b, pp. 2-3). According to him, the competences of leaders may be divided into three main meta-capabilities: big-picture sensemaking, ability to deliver change, and inter-organisational representation. Big-picture sensemaking refers to the ability to analyse the circumstances, see the organisation's strengths and weaknesses, and construct a plan (vision, mission, and strategy). The ability to deliver change consists of making others perform according to the plan. The skills that a leader needs here are mostly related to communication (active listening, communicating their ideas), self-awareness, social awareness, and being able to motivate others and empower them to move towards goals. It is important to note that these two meta-capabilities do not differ from the ones that teachers need to possess. The third one is perhaps not applicable to teachers in terms of cooperation between various organisations, but still, skills such as coalition building, understanding others' perspectives, persuasion, and assessing client needs in a holistic rather than a single agency manner (as listed in Storey, 2004a, p. 26) are crucial for the school-parents relationship.

Furthermore, Storey (2004a, p. 28) has distilled a large literature on the ideas of charismatic vs. transformational leaders and concluded that the first one is described in terms of the following six elements: a heroic figure with past success stories, a mystic in touch with higher truths, a value-driven individual, someone who is perceived to 'know the way', someone who has a vision of a more desirable and achievable future, and someone capable of caring and developing followers. On the other hand, a transformational leader is focused on engaging his followers. They are alert to their needs and ready to develop them, they encourage followers to think in creative ways and propose innovative ideas, they energise followers and offer them role models. Both models show us that ideal leadership depends on attributes of personality and behaviour.

V. RESEARCH

To investigate the metaphors and metaphorical frames evoked when describing an ideal candidate for the position of a teacher or a CEO, we perform a discourse analysis of job ads that list their duties, responsibilities and desirable skills. Job ads are chosen for the analysis assuming that they would be a) devoid of any emotional or ideological burden that might accompany other types of texts (e.g., newspaper materials, handbooks, etc.) and b) similar in form, which would provide us with means to compare them.

A. *Corpus and Methodology*

The corpus used in this research consists of a random selection of job posts retrieved on May 29, 2023, at the Indeed job search engine, an American worldwide employment website that aggregates job listings from thousands of websites. The job search used in the research was a simple one - the terms 'teacher' and 'CEO' were separately typed into the section 'Find jobs', and no specific criteria were selected. The first 20 job posts of both occupations (40 posts altogether) were copied into a Word document, thus creating a small corpus of 29,848 words. The CEO subcorpus contained 20,030 words, and the teacher subcorpus was two times shorter, containing 9,818 words. The subcorpora were analysed manually to search for possible job-related metaphors and metaphorical frames.

B. *Hypothesis*

We may agree that there are no celebrity teachers, and there are plenty of celebrity CEOs. Successful representatives of the two professions do not have the same public visibility, which must be a socially constructed phenomenon aligning with Foucault's (2010) view of power as something that runs through the whole social body. Therefore, the main thesis of our research is that the metaphors and metaphorical frames evoked in what seems to be the neutral discourse of job ads will reveal the different social statuses of teachers and CEOs.

C. *Metaphor and Frame Analysis*

In teacher job ads, the metaphorical framework for the teacher's role or their duties is the following: the typical view of learning is that of an OBJECT THAT CAN GROW (e.g., A candidate will have to 'Create projects designed to enhance learning'). Also, it is described as a PATH (UP OR FORWARD) with a final destination at the end. Thus, learning activities must have 'clear objectives' and teachers need to 'monitor students' progress'. Quite often, it is described as a PRODUCT OF THE ENVIRONMENT, as when the perfect candidate is described as someone who is able to 'create classroom environment conducive to learning' or 'promote a positive school environment that enhances student learning'. The same frame is evoked in regard to curriculum: it is an OBJECT TO DEVELOP, DELIVER, or IMPLEMENT within time frames; or an OBJECT THROUGH WHICH STUDENTS ARE MOVED with the help of lessons ('Develop regular lesson plans that move students through the curriculum within time frames'). A successful teacher will create and use a curriculum that 'reinforces the joy of learning', so curriculum is also an OBJECT THAT SUPPORTS or MAKES SOMETHING STRONGER. Teachers also need to be able to 'translate the curriculum standards' into 'meaningful learning experiences' through 'classroom instruction', so the curriculum is an UNKNOWN LANGUAGE that needs translating or, again, AN OBJECT THAT NEEDS TO BE DELIVERED to a different place (students' heads). Curriculum is also a PATH ('Guide the learning process toward the achievement of curriculum goals'; 'teach engaging lessons that follow the ...curriculum') or a NURTURING PERSON ('curriculum that nurtures students' natural curiosity about the world'). Learning is achieved through the use of TOOLS: techniques, textbooks, resources, tests, projects, etc., and the teacher needs to be able to use those tools or is a tool themselves. Students' needs, abilities, skills, or knowledge are UNIQUE HIDDEN OBJECTS that teachers need to find and use as a tool as well. These objects can be filled, expanded, nurtured, or groomed. Teachers are a FORCE that can expand those objects, start a process, change someone's minds, states, and behaviours, and move others in some direction.

Furthermore, according to the ads, a teacher's role is that of a BUILDER or, CREATOR, or DEVELOPER. As stated in the ads, the candidate needs to be able to 'build deep relationships that support student progress and development', 'build a warm and inclusive classroom environment', 'create a learning environment', 'develop and conduct instruction', 'develop schemes of work'. However, at the same time, the TEACHER AS A MEDIUM or the CONDUIT metaphor is evoked, because they are just the users of tools (such as techniques and teaching strategies) or those who 'select instructional resources to meet students' needs' or 'instructional strategies that connect the curriculum to the learner'. If they select the right tool, there will be a transfer of knowledge to students. Also, a teacher needs to be able to 'monitor the progress and use the information to adjust teaching strategies', which signals the presence of a KNOWING-IS-SEEING metaphor. Interestingly, their enthusiasm or personality in doing that is not put in the spotlight, but rather the functions they have: to plan, assign work, adhere to plans, manage time ('best utilize available time for instruction'), select materials, or monitor students' progress. Quite often it is specified that ideal candidates need to 'adhere to plans' or support students or goals ('support small groups or whole class instruction', 'support school goals', 'support school culture'), which puts them in a rather passive role of a SUPPORTING OBJECT. There are only two examples of the more personal characteristics the job provider seeks: the mention of a sense of humour a teacher needs to possess and the fact that one of their duties is 'making learning fun and interesting for all students' (even though it is, again, not mentioned what kind of person would be able to do that). The word 'creative' appears just once in the corpus, not to describe the ideal candidate, but to explain that in a video they need to send as a part of the application, they can 'get creative'. The same is true with words

such as ‘interested’, ‘compassionate’, ‘empathic’, ‘observant’, and many more that we would use to describe a perfect teacher candidate.

The other constant metaphor in teacher job ads is that of a GUIDE who needs to keep their travellers informed: ‘establish and communicate clear objectives for all learning goals’, ‘guide the learning process toward the achievement of curriculum goals’, ‘lead students toward the fulfilment of their potential’, ‘utilise curriculum guides in planning’. Teachers are also described as keepers of rules, which evokes a PRISON frame (‘maintain classroom discipline’, ‘enforce rules and keep inmate students on-task’), or as ONES LOOKING FOR SOMETHING (‘seeks to improve’, ‘seeks and implements feedback from team leaders’). Then, there is an image of a teacher as a PROVIDER for students’ needs (‘apply theories to meet others’ needs’) and a DELIVERER (‘deliver instructional activities’).

In CEO ads, the metaphorical framework for the duties and skills of the ideal candidate for the position assumes a very active role. Even though there are a few examples of describing the perfect candidate as someone who serves, most often this person is someone who possesses and brings their superb characteristics or mindset (‘Finely honed and high-level strategic thinking, planning and execution skills’, ‘A mission service mindset that infuses their leadership style’), partners with others (‘Experienced, transparent, and collaborative partner to a non-profit Board of Directors’, ‘Identifying, cultivating, and securing community partners, stakeholders, funders, and investors to support strategic priorities’), or is an authority figure to others (‘Rewards and holds employees accountable for their performance/behaviours’). Despite lengthy and metaphorical explanations of a CEO’s duties (e.g., ‘Nurture an organizational culture focused on impact and accountability across all departments and programs, with strategic goals being prioritized, accomplished and celebrated’), their job is to make sure that the organisation’s profit is sufficient for the organisation’s needs. They do it either through advertising and selling their products or raising funds from donors. Some people work for them for this to happen, and usually, there is a board to which the CEO is responsible. Like in the teacher framework, there is the metaphor of a LIVING BEING THAT NEEDS TO GROW, but here it refers to money. Instead of being expected to ‘translate the goals’ to their employees (like a teacher who translates or delivers the curriculum to students), the CEO is described as the one who creates goals and makes sure that everybody follows the path. Thus, the LEADER frame is evoked (‘lead the organisation to the new future’, ‘prepared to lead the growth’, ‘national thought-leader’). They have created the path and the goals, and they lead the organisation, the staff, and the programmes towards these goals. This metaphor is often combined with other metaphors in the same sentence, such as the HEALER metaphor or the SUPPORTING OBJECT metaphor (‘leads and supports the process of organisational healing’), KNOWING-IS-SEEING metaphor (‘Oversees the development of strategic partnerships and collaborations with community-based organizations to support ... clients in efforts to move towards self-sufficiency and wellness’), or FORCE metaphor (‘leveraging the resources of the Board to maximum effect to accomplish the organization’s goals and objectives’, ‘orienting new board members’).

The ads are abundant with FORCE metaphors: the ideal candidate will be able to grow a team, the business, the community, a culture, relationships, visibility, programs, capital, etc. Other verbs used in similar contexts are expand, enhance, evolve, strengthen, or maintain. Quite often, the language through which this metaphor is expressed is very poetic, and the role given to CEOs is a grandiose one: they are the ones who ‘impact lives’, ‘galvanise others around a unified vision’, ‘grow programs’, ‘expand safety culture’, ‘evolve an iconic brand’, ‘empower staff’, ‘catalyze others’, etc. The WARRIOR metaphor appears, as well, so an ideal candidate ‘wins customers’, ‘has a track record of being bold, fierce, and courageous’, ‘commands the confidence and respect of stakeholders’, ‘confronts the complex realities of the environment’, etc. The role given to CEOs through the use of metaphorical frames in job ads is an active and vibrant one. They are seen as AMBASSADORS (‘represent the organisation’, ‘serve as an ambassador for the mission, purpose, and vision’), CULTURE-KEEPERS (‘function as a chief culture-keeper’), CHAUFFEURS or SAILORS (‘can shift gears comfortably’, ‘navigating complex structures’), COACHES (‘coach team’), or PARENTS (‘bringing mission to life’). The CREATOR metaphor is rich with symbolism: ‘creates mileposts and symbols to rally support behind the vision’, ‘creator of a better world’, ‘crafts a strategy’, ‘creates a welcoming, equitable, affirming, genuine, hopeful, and nurturing environment’, as well as the ARCHITECT or BUILDER metaphor (‘works to build upon the financial and operational strength of the organization’, ‘Assess entire structure – ensuring that staff are well-positioned, operations are efficient, and programs are exciting and mission-aligned’). Besides the roles which suggest CEOs’ power to change, create, heal, lead, or teach, they are represented as great HUMANITARIANS (‘meet people where they are’, ‘being compassionate and empathic in messaging and actions’, ‘experience in increasing philanthropic support’), BELIEVERS (‘maintains faith in a different and better future’, ROLE-MODELS (‘role model’, ‘holds self to highest standard for organisational values’), TRAVELLERS (‘pursuing new opportunities’, ‘refine the road-map’), AGRICULTURALISTS (‘cultivate relationships’, ‘Cultivates an open, honest and positive culture’), VISIONARIES (‘product visionary’, ‘guides product based on vision’, forecasts financial trends’), or even EVANGELISTS (‘Serve as the chief salesperson, product visionary, and evangelist for the product’). The superiority frame is evoked by the RISK-TAKER frame (‘not afraid to take risks’), or a SUPERVISOR frame (‘supervise a highly skilled professional team’). The BRIDGE metaphor (‘serve as the bridge between the board and day-to-day operations’) and the SERVANT metaphor (‘serves the Board’) are rare examples of the passive role ascribed to CEOs. Interestingly, a learning frame is evoked too: ‘evaluates lessons learned from both success and failure’. Most of the sentences in the CEO ads contain multiple metaphors, combining different images. However, it is clear that the ideal candidate has an active role in the system and is expected to be a gentle leader, a mighty but not

hurtful force, someone that others will trust and follow, who is a generator of great ideas due to their ability to see the future.

D. Discussion

CEO ads reveal that the search for a perfect candidate does not rely solely on their knowledge of the field but on numerous personality traits that create a picture of CEOs as great people of our times, blessed by compassion, intelligence, empathy, and belief. The same as teachers, they are represented in the metaphorical frame of FORCE, but the choice of language reveals the power dynamics in which CEOs are superior to teachers in terms of their influence on people. Teachers can expand students' knowledge or enable students to develop, whereas the force of CEOs is a mightier one - they catalyse, grow, or galvanise. In the JOURNEY metaphor, teachers are described as GUIDES and CEOs as LEADERS – guides show the way and leaders create the ways. Other similar frames in the ads are the BUILDING frame, the KNOWING-IS-SEEING frame, and THE SUPPORTING OBJECT frame, but the differences are striking. Teachers' duties are quite often described using the CONDUIT metaphor, within which teachers are seen as TOOLS or a MEDIUM through which the curriculum would be transferred to students. There is, however, a lack of other metaphors usually found in the narrative of teachers describing their occupational identity, to use the term by Ashcraft (2013). Teachers are aware of the multitude of roles they perform while teaching: they describe themselves as ARTISTS, CHANGE AGENTS, NURTURERS, ENTERTAINERS, LEADERS, SELLERS, RESEARCHERS, COLLABORATORS, and much more. The ads, however, do not emphasise these or any other metaphors that would highlight the fact that personality or various skills play a huge role in successful teaching.

On the other hand, metaphors in CEO ads are in line with the 'charismatic leader' frame (Storey, 2004a), in which CEOs are represented as HEROIC FIGURES, TRAVELLERS, RISK-TAKERS, CREATORS, and ONES TO FOLLOW. Furthermore, their role as leaders is expanded to the whole society, representing them as CULTURE-KEEPERS, AMBASSADORS, PHILANTHROPISTS, BELIEVERS, VISIONARIES, and EVANGELISTS. Although the research on metaphors across the discourse in magazines and newspapers suggests that the central cognitive metaphor in the manager world is the WAR metaphor (Koller, 2004), this frame appears in ads rarely and, again, representing the ideal candidates as HEROIC FIGURES and not PREDATORS. Interestingly, in a few ads, CEOs are described as STORYTELLERS, whereas teachers, who in reality tell stories all the time and make sure that students are engaged and entertained, are never asked to have storytelling skills.

The question arises as to why this is so. The teacher ad creators may have left out the personality metaphors, assuming that they are an inherent part of the teachers' identity. However, reality shows that they are not, since there are teachers that are on both ends of the success scale – some are loved by students and parents, appreciated, and seen as the ones who have an impact on students' motivation to learn, creating results, and the others are not (which is exemplified in the SLEEP-INDUCERS or TYRANTS metaphors found by Pavičić Takač & Molnar, 2009). Another possible explanation for leaving out these metaphors in the ads is that they reflect the reality that Schildkrout (2015) describes, in which teachers are not offered concrete 'manifestations of honour'. Honouring them by admitting that their job is stressful and requires a multitude of skills (or metaphorical identities) would lead to questions about their 'net worth' to society. In the modern world, the classroom power dynamics have shifted from the teacher as an authority figure to the teacher as a researcher and cooperative leader frame (as discussed in Pavičić Takač & Molnar, 2009, pp. 386-388), pointing to the fact that modern teachers need to have multiple skills and metaphorical identities and that the metaphorical frames they use to describe their occupation are closer to reality of their jobs than that of the 'charismatic leader' frame, which managers use to describe their profession. It is important to notice that, even though the metaphorical frames that are evoked in the ads by the description of teacher duties and skills do indeed correlate to what teachers do, many frames that are a reality of every teacher's life are left out. Teachers as ARTISTS or INVENTORS or MAGICIANS, let us name a few, because many times teachers feel as if they have created something out of nothing or something despite the scarcity of resources. Teacher as a PARENT or a NURTURER as well, which is very much present in the thoughts of both teachers, real parents, and children. Many times, students would call their teachers 'Mum' by accident. They spend a lot of time with them, teachers know their secrets and worries, who they are in love with, and much more. What strikes us the most is that there are no LEADER metaphors. On the contrary, the teacher they are looking for in the ad 'must demonstrate loyalty to the school and its leadership'. Even though one of the ads suggests that teachers need to create future leaders, teachers are never described as such. It seems that 'employer branding' (Backhaus & Tikoo, 2004) is not a thing in education – schools that posted the ads did not try to go beyond the dry descriptions of duties and skills ('Prepare and write instructional plans', 'Attend all staff meetings', 'Ability to establish and maintain cooperative and effective working relationships with others.', 'Ability to instruct students and manage their behaviour') nor express the need for an autonomous, creative, interesting, intelligent, emotionally intelligent individual that would be a hero of the classroom and staff meetings and 'empower' and 'catalyze' others. Someone who would be a classroom 'thought-leader', a 'healer' of tender souls, a 'warrior' who would confront children's problems, an 'ambassador' for the school's vision of success for all students, a 'culture-keeper', a 'sailor' through stressful situations, or a 'visionary' of children's future. Any successful and accomplished teacher would agree that this is what they do every day. However, these metaphorical frames are evoked by the descriptions of the duties and skills of CEOs, not teachers.

VI. CONCLUSION

The analysis of metaphors in the literature and the random selection of job ads on Indeed, retrieved on May 29, 2023, reveal that there is a discrepancy between the teachers' self-assumed identity and the identity ascribed to them through the analysed ads. Instead of acknowledging that an ideal teacher needs to be adorned with a set of skills and portraying teachers' identity as a patchwork of a multitude of metaphorical roles (as done in the identity research literature), the analysed teacher ads stick to a colourless, almost Kafkaesque representation of ideal candidates. CEO ads, on the other hand, perpetuate the figurative framing abundant with the saviour-like images of corporate leaders. If discourse is indeed an instrument and effect of power, then we need not ask ourselves whether the social reality has had an effect on the differences between these ads or whether the discourse used in the ads influences the reality. The differences are obvious and significant to all who believe that a view of education as a vehicle of change in a society needs to be reiterated, first and foremost among those who create the education-related discourse - education policy-makers, ministries, and finally, school boards looking for ideal teacher-candidates.

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Ivana Marinić has a PhD in Philology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek. She is and Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Education at the Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, Croatia.

Her previous experience as a primary school teacher of the English language enriched her teaching abilities and helped her gain skills in drama pedagogy and catering to children with special needs. She is dedicated to bridging the divide between academic research and practical application, focusing on advancing English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching methodologies and overall education development. Her research interests centre around figurative language, specifically addressing education-related issues. Besides publishing scientific articles, she has co-authored a series of textbooks for primary school students of English aged 10 to 14, published by Školska knjiga, Zagreb, Croatia. E-Mail: ivanamarinic@gmail.com

Ivana Moritz graduated from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, the University of Osijek as an English and German language and literature teacher in 1999. She obtained her doctoral degree at the University of Osijek, in philology, English studies in 2015.

She has worked in primary and secondary schools in Croatia and spent a year in the UK as an EFL assistant in Rydal Penrhose School in Colwyn Bay, North Wales. She has been at the Faculty of Education, University of Osijek, Croatia, since 2006, as a teaching assistant, senior assistant, and since 2019 as an Assistant Professor. She has taught courses in English grammar, English as a foreign language, English language practice, English teaching methodology and early language learning and acquisition. Her research interests are cognitive linguistics, phraseology, language learning and acquisition. She is a member of the Croatian Applied Linguistics Society. E-Mail: Moritz.ivana@gmail.com