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**Becoming English language teachers: A multiple case study of
transnational native English-speaking teachers' identities construction**

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Abstract

Language teacher development has been regarded as central to ensuring the quality of learning experience of many students around the world. In recent years, an increasing number of native English speaking teachers have been recruited in English as a foreign language setting. Although students' perception of these teachers have been widely investigated during the past decade, their understanding of themselves as English teachers and in what ways those understandings are enacted in their instructional practices in class remains understudied in the field of TESOL.

Grounded in poststructuralist views of identities, this study explores construction of native English speaking teachers' identities in mainland China. A qualitative multiple case study approach is employed and four participating teachers from three universities are recruited. Data sources include questionnaires, three rounds of in-depth interviews, weekly non-participant classroom observation and post observation interviews over a period of five months. Analysis of the data employs the constant-comparative method and draws upon a combination of Wenger's (1998) theory of identity formation, Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) identity in linguistic interaction, and Richards' (2006) classroom discourse analysis approach as a complementary analytic lens for analyzing participant's identities from both narrated and enacted perspectives.

Findings reveal teacher identities construction is a complex, dynamic process which involves complex interaction between a myriad of cognitive, affective, contextual and experiential factors. Participants have developed diverse and multi-dimensional understandings of themselves as English teachers in China both within and beyond individual levels. The formation and transformation of these understandings are traced from their biographical and socio-cultural backgrounds as well as educational and professional experiences before entering English teaching, through to their interactions as English language teachers with students and other members in local institutional, wider professional and broader sociocultural contexts. Results highlight the effects of personal and interpersonal factors on participating teachers' ongoing identities

construction and their adaptation and resistance to challenges and concerns during developing their identities as English teachers in China.

Implications of the findings suggest the importance of institutions building a professional community in support of native English speaking teachers' retention and professional growth in EFL contexts, as well as highlighting the demand for an increased focus on creating teacher-centered language teacher education programs that incorporate teacher identities development as an explicit topic in the curriculum.

Limitation of the study and suggestions for further research are explored to help deepen understanding of identities development of English teachers around the globe.

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List of Abbreviations

CELTA	Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELT	English Language Teaching
EPIK	English Program in Korea
ESL	English as a Second Language
IRF	initiation-response-feedback
JET	Japan Exchange and Teaching
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
NES	Native English Speaking
NEST	Native English Speaking Teacher
NNES	Non-native English Speaking
NNEST	Non-native English Speaking Teacher
SLTE	Second Language Teacher Education
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

The past two decades have witnessed an ever-increasing number of learners of English around the world. As a result of the internalization of English language education and growing demand for English instruction, there has been a corresponding need for more competent English teachers (Wright, 2010). Although it is believed that the majority of these teachers are non-native English speakers (Canagarajah, 2005), more and more native English speaking (NES) teachers have been recruited in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) settings. These NES teachers are employed under national schemes initiated by governments, such as the JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching) program in Japan and EPIK (English Program in Korea) in Korea, or under institutional regulations and policies such as is the case in mainland China. It is reported that China annually recruits 100,000 foreign teachers to teach English (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p.53, cited in Rao & Yuan, 2015).

These cross cultural encounters in local educational settings have brought new questions to the changing landscape of the language teaching profession. One vital point of consideration is how well the significant amounts of NES teachers have coped with working and living conditions in foreign lands. Despite the prevalent social acceptance of and commercial preference for NES teachers (Breckenridge, 2010; Pacek, 2005), the notion that being a native speaker necessarily makes a superior language teacher has been questioned over the last two decades (e.g. Kachru, 1996; Canagarajah, 1999); further, researchers (e.g. Johnston, 1997) have problematised those young, unqualified native speakers who look to spend a few years in English teaching in EFL contexts to make money and travel around as unqualified teachers. Although such portraits of native speaking English teachers as opportunistic travellers are static representations and may not be representative, scholars in the field of English language teaching have voiced concern over potential challenges NES teachers in EFL contexts might face (Govardhan, Nayar & Sheorey, 1999; Snow, 2006), such as the status and role of English in the curriculum and society, availability of subject resources and instructional

facilities and professional requirements imposed by institutions, as well as broader sociocultural and political factors.

However, a review of literature reveals that the experiences of NES teachers working in EFL settings remain under-investigated, as compared to the recent upsurge of research on NNES teachers (e.g. Braine, 2010; Kamhi-Stein, 2004; Llurda, 2005; Moussu & Llurda, 2008). A great proportion of the existing studies focused on examining students' perceptions of and attitudes towards NES teachers (e.g. Rao, 2010; Tsou, 2013). It should be noted that understanding the reality of teaching involves exploring the meaning it has not only for students, but also for teachers (Tudor, 2001). Of the few studies that did give voice to NES teachers, most are one-shot interview or survey studies that provide hardly any indication of the day-to-day realities they face and their professional growth. In essence, what is needed is in-depth, longitudinal study of NES teachers' identities, of how they understand themselves as English teachers, which is considered a crucial component in the sociocultural landscape of classrooms and in teachers' professional development. The rest of this introductory chapter will discuss the rationale for the present study and elucidate the research aims, ending with an organizational overview of the entire thesis.

1.2 Rationale for the study

1.2.1 Theoretical justification

A theoretical rationale for this study relates to the arguments for attention to teacher identities in recent literature. Two relatively independent lines of reasoning emerge from general education. The first sees teacher identities as critical components in teachers' professional lives. Danielewicz (2001, p.9) notes that "becoming a teacher means that an individual must adopt an identity as such". Because of the enormous complexity of teaching, teacher development is cyclical rather than linear, and is a compilation of one's past, present, and future. Their identities can be a resource to "explain, justify and make sense of themselves in relation to others, and to the world at large" (MacLure, 1993, p.311). Another line of reasoning argues that teacher identities can be used as a frame through which to examine how teaching is conducted (Olsen, 2008). The teacher plays a crucial role in classroom practice. Lasky (2005) stressed that each decision

teachers make, each action they take, is simultaneously a consequence of past action and present context and a condition shaping the context for further action.

In applied linguistics, and TESOL in particular, it has been argued that the value of teacher identity research lies in the fact that “in order to understand language teaching and learning we need to understand teachers; and in order to understand teachers, we need to have a clearer sense of who they are: the professional, cultural, political, and individual identities which they claim or which are assigned to them” (Varghese et al., 2005, p. 22). In line with this argument, I work with the assumption that it’s the teachers’ whole identities that have significant impact on how language teaching unfolds. Recent debates increasingly point to the importance of focusing on language teachers’ identities as central to understanding how teachers learn to teach, how they become experts in their profession within their own social and historical contexts, and how they approach their professional development (Kubanyiova, 2014; Martel & Wang, 2015). Although teacher identity has been an emerging subject in research on language instruction over the last decade (Miller, 2009; Norton & Toohey, 2011), the process of the formation and transformation of teacher identities, especially for in-service teachers, is still under-researched and under-theorized. The present study is aimed at adding to the empirically driven theorization of in-service English language teachers’ identities construct and advancing the research field of language teacher identity.

1.2.2 Practical justification

From a practical perspective, I reason that a study shedding light on the development of NES teachers’ identities can be useful in the following three ways. First, for EFL administrators and host teachers who hire and work with NES teachers in similar settings, they will be able to draw valuable insights from this study into how they can make informed efforts to recruit and retain NES teachers through necessary professional development support systems.

Second, this study will contribute to immigrant teacher research in the age of global migration. I hope that insights gleaned from this study may be instructive for those NES teachers planning to work overseas. It is also hoped that related insights can inform

teacher educators who are involved in preparing NES teachers to teach abroad in various English language teacher education programs, and help them to assist more NES teachers in realizing and enhancing their professional significance in the English teaching profession.

Finally, being part of the global efforts to understand language teaching and learning, the study will make visible and accessible participating NES English teachers' understanding of themselves as well as the day-to-day realities of their instructional practices and professional growth in the Expanding Circle (Kachru, 1997) contexts. As a result, it will pave the way to a better understanding of and a deeper inquiry into TESOL teachers' development, thereby ultimately contributing to the learning experience of many EFL learners around the globe.

1.2.3 Personal justification

On a personal level, every researcher has his or her own intentions when setting out to conduct a study. Why am I interested in the topic of EFL NES teacher identities development? The interest is rooted in my personal, educational as well as academic research experiences in China and New Zealand. To begin with, as the daughter of two teachers, and knowing many teachers as family friends, I have always been curious about who they are. Therefore, I have an attachment to and an investment in the topic of teacher identities. Teachers in China have traditionally enjoyed a relatively high occupational prestige and respect. According to Han Yu (768-824 A.D.), a teacher is one who propagates the doctrines, imparts professional knowledge, and resolves doubts. This aged aphorism in Chinese culture views teachers as not only persons who pass on knowledge and skills, but also as role models to help shape the values and morals of students, a view which remains deeply rooted in Chinese societies and bears on the identities of teachers (Lin, 2011). Besides, as a young female pre-service teacher learning to become an English teacher, I have always had a scholarly interest in language teacher development – from reflecting on my own trajectory of completing a bachelor's degree in English in China and pursuing postgraduate studies in language teaching in New Zealand to investigating NNEST teachers' expectations and perceptions of MA TESOL programs for my master's dissertation research (Li, 2010). I enjoy living

in China, and wish to go back to China upon receiving my doctorate to work as an English teacher at tertiary level. In this sense, I have a stake in English education in China. What's more, I have had many lived experiences of knowing native English speaking teachers working in China throughout my years of English studying in China. As a result of related direct contact, I have become curious about how these teachers understand themselves and their work in a foreign land, and I have become interested in these teachers' identity development.

1.3 Research questions

The purpose of the present research is to explore the identities construction of NES English teachers working at tertiary level institutions in the state educational system in China through a qualitative multiple case study. In addition to a richer, more in-depth understanding of the complicated process of teacher identity formation and transformation, the study fills a few other gaps existing in current research. Even though the topic of English language teachers' identities has generated interesting research, there has been relatively little research on native English speaking teachers in an EFL context. Their involvement with two cultures adds to the dimension and complexity of their identities. In addition, to the best of my knowledge, most existing studies on NES teachers' identities were conducted in Japan (e.g. Duff & Uchida, 1997; Kiernan, 2008; Simon-Maeda, 2004). Very little is known about identity development of NES teachers working in the context of China. The present study attempts to fill in these gaps given the precious opportunity for research in the current age of global migration. It intends to address one overarching research question: How do the participating native English speaking teachers construct their identities as English teachers in China? The following three sub-questions guide the analysis of the present study:

- (1) What, if any, is the impact of NES teachers' personal biographical backgrounds in the construction of their identities as English teachers?
- (2) In what ways do they negotiate and transform their teacher identities during their teaching practices in China?
- (3) How do the institutional and wider academic, sociocultural communities shape the

development of their teacher identities?

1.4 Organization of the chapters

This thesis consists of nine chapters. This introductory chapter provides the general background and rationale of the study and specifies the research questions that are to be explored. Chapter 2 presents the literature review, with a critical discussion of two key concepts related to the inquiry made by the present study, native English speaking teachers and teacher identities, and a review of relevant existing research. It also examines the debate about a more comprehensive approach of investigating language teacher identities in the TESOL field. Chapter 3 provides a detailed account of the methodology used in the study, including choice of research method, selection of cases and collection and analysis of data, as well as a discussion of related reliability and validity issues. Participating teacher's data are presented and analyzed in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 respectively. Findings from the four cases are compared and discussed against the existing literature to address the research questions in this study in Chapter 8. Finally, Chapter 9 concludes the thesis with a discussion of the theoretical and empirical contributions, implications and limitations of this study as well as suggestions for further research on language teachers' identities.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter reviews existing literature on native English speaking teachers and teacher identities, two key concepts that lend background to this study's inquiry. It aims at situating this study within the TESOL research field and identifying existing research gaps in studying English language teacher identities, by synthesizing three clusters of literature that inform this study theoretically, empirically and methodologically. The first section will offer a brief examination of the arguments about the construct 'native speaker' and studies about NES teachers in the TESOL field, since they relate to the NES teachers who participated in this study. I will then outline the concept of teacher identities that guides this study and discuss extensively previous literature related to identities of English language teachers, particularly of NES teachers in EFL contexts. The chapter then delineates the analytical framework that guides data collection, analyses and interpretation.

2.1 Exploring native English speaking teachers

I recognize that by using the term native English speaking teachers (NEST), I run the risk of essentializing the group of NES teachers, which is counterproductive to a study about the construction of these teachers' identities. Nonetheless, I decided to use this term cautiously. If we aim at gaining a deep understanding of these teachers' identity development, "dangerous memory" (Giroux & McLaren, 1986, p.226) implied by the term should be a starting point of discussion. In the rest of this section, I will first address the notions related to native speaker and native speaker teacher in the field of applied linguistics. In order not to reinforce any essentialized understanding of NES teachers, I will then present a succinct review of empirical studies related to their work. This will highlight their strengths and weaknesses as perceived by students and teachers, and the challenges and difficulties they encounter while teaching in foreign lands.

2.1.1 The native speaker ideal and myth of the native speaker teacher

A native speaker tends to be defined as someone who speaks a language as his or her mother tongue, first language, or L1 (Medgyes, 2001, p.430). In discussing the native speaker construct, many scholars (e.g. Canagarajah, 1999; Kachru, 1994; Kramsch,

1998; McKay, 2002; Sridhar, 1994) agree that it originated from Chomsky's (1965) notion of an ideal speaker-listener in a homogeneous community. This notion contends that native speakers have a high standard of language competence and natural intuition, and accordingly are ideal informants on grammatical judgment. The belief in the norm of a native speaker has resulted in the widespread myth that the native speaker is the ultimate authority on standard language use, and it has penetrated and deeply influenced the field of second language acquisition research.

However, many scholars have problematized Chomsky's notion. Davies (2003), for instance, in his quest for a theoretical dimension to the construct of the native speaker, concluded that there are six characteristics of the native speaker: 1) childhood acquisition of the language; 2) intuition about acceptability and productiveness about language use 3) intuition about group language grammar 4) a wide range of communicative competence 5) creative use of the language and 6) the capacity to interpret and translate into their L1 (p.210). He argued that aside from the time when the language is acquired, the other five characteristics can also be attributed to some non-native speakers. Exceptional learners, those educated in the target language, and those who have moved to the country of the target language can acquire native speaker competence, but not as their first language. This situation indicates that the distinction between native and non-native speaker is founded more on power relations than linguistic differences, and often results in discriminatory social practices as well as economic and political inequalities between native and non-native speakers (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001; Coulmas, 1981; Paikeday, 1985).

Another problem with Chomsky's conception of the native speaker lies in that the increased possibility of migrations, which has become a cosmopolitan normality in today's world as a result of globalization, renders definite answers to who can count as a native speaker even more difficult (Holliday, 2009; Seargeant, 2013). Take one non focal participant¹ of this study as an example. Born in China into a family whose parents were Russian immigrants, Charlie emigrated from China to Australia at age

¹ Detailed discussion about this study's participants will be presented in Chapter 3.

three and lived most of his life there. He learned Russian as his first language and his mother consciously maintained his mother tongue through an explicit family language policy which required him to speak only Russian at home. Yet outside home, he lived in an English-speaking community and went to English-speaking schools. There was a marked disparity between the linguistic usage of his peer group and that of his family, with English being dominant in domains outside his home since the age of three and his mother tongue of Russian at home. For his case, the concept of first language and by extension the “native speaker” is complexified. Although English was not the first language to which he was exposed, he identified himself as a native speaker of English. Even if we discard the first language criterion and resort to childhood acquisition of the language as a defining characteristic that underpins native speakerhood (Davies, 2003), problems remain, such as the range of childhood (as raised by Medgyes, 2001). No clear answers have been offered to questions as to where childhood begins and where it ends. In this way, lived experience of individuals complexifies aspects of the traditional conception of the native speaker.

The characteristics of the ideal native speaker have influenced the field of language teaching. Parallel to the native speaker construct, the myth of the native speaker teacher asserts that a native speaker is the best possible teacher of a foreign language. This notion implies that proficiency in the target language possessed by a native speaker is an indication of superior teaching skills in that language, and the naturalness by which native speakers acquire their language often overshadows numerous other abilities needed by language teachers. Such implication has resulted in a privileging of native speakers in the employment policy of language teachers (Jacobson, 2009). With regard to English language education, the preference for NES teachers, which is often most prominently seen in EFL settings, can be traced back to the 1961 Commonwealth Conference on the Teaching of English as a Second Language in Uganda. The participants established that “the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker” (cited in Phillipson, 1992, p.185). The rationale was that a lack of qualified local teachers required native speakers of English to temporarily fill the gap, a gap which was never filled by local teachers because of a preference for foreign native speakers. Many

researchers, however, have challenged this native speaker teacher myth. For example, Phillipson (1992, p.195) in his discussion of “native speaker fallacy” argued that “claiming that the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker is ludicrous as soon as one starts identifying the good qualities of a teacher of English...the tenet has no scientific validity”. Similar criticisms have been voiced by Holliday (2006, p.385) in examining the construct of “native-speakerism”, which he defines as “a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that ‘native-speaker’ teachers represent a ‘Western culture’ from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology”.

While I am aware of the above-discussed constructs behind the term native speaker as opposed to nonnative speaker, and of how they have been problematized by many scholars, I have still chosen to use these terms, which may be viewed as problematic. In the present study, use of these terms is not intended to bestow legitimacy on the distinctions. Besides, although scholars have suggested several alternative terms, such as “proficient user” (Paikeday, 1985), “expert speaker” (Rampton, 1990), “English-using speech fellowship” (Kachru 1992), and “multicompetent speaker” (Cook 1999), none of these labels has been adopted consensually and widely by the field. In fact, the native speaker ideal remains strongly influential in present ELT practice, and the authenticity, legitimacy, authority, and marketability of the native speaker teacher still stands in contrast to the nonnative speaker teacher (Creese et al., 2014). The term native speaker is still widely used in ELT markets, and native speaker teachers continue to be a highly demanded “privileged commodity” (Luk & Lin, 2007), which can be seen in many contemporary English teacher recruitment advertisements and policies that still list personal specification of native speaker status as an essential criterion (as revealed in Selvi, 2010 and Wang & Lin, 2013). The following online advertisement which was retrieved online from the International Job Board at Dave's ESL Cafe, one of the most visited ELT websites (Selvi, 2010), is just one example.

Figure 2.1 Sample English language teaching job advertisement

Teachers Needed in Beijing at one of China's most prestigious universities

Posted By: Tsinghua University <wyxws@mail.tsinghua.edu.cn>
Date: Tuesday, 8 March 2016, at 11:32 a.m.

Job Description
Tsinghua University is one of China's most prestigious universities. The Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures is responsible for teaching English to many of the best undergraduate and graduate students in the country. Candidates should have the ability to teach a variety of classes, such as listening, speaking, writing, British/American society and culture, newspaper reading, literature, etc. The teaching load varies depending upon the Department's needs and teacher requests approved in advance. The minimum teaching load is 16 hours per week, or 16 credit hours. The salary level is based on the number of hours assigned. In addition to teaching, successful candidates will be expected to prepare lessons, correct written assignments and have 1.5 office hours per week. Successful candidates are also expected to help develop the environment of English language learning in the University and the Department. Specifically, each teacher will present one English lecture on topics agreed upon by the teacher and the Department. Teachers may also be asked to judge various English contests; i.e. music, writing, and speaking competitions, and to audio record examination questions.

2. Qualifications
Candidates should be NATIVE English speakers and have at least a master's degree or equivalent in a relevant subject area. Teaching experience in higher education and a publication record are preferable. Candidates should be committed to high quality teaching and a willingness to assist students.

3. Salary and Benefits
Salary and benefits package will be within the range of 150,000 - 180,000 RMB per annum, depending on the teaching load (key factor), qualifications and experience. This post is available from the fall semester (i.e. 20th August) and will be offered on a fixed-term contract for one year (ending on 31st July).

4. Application Documents
One copy of a completed application form, a complete CV with a recent photo, a 3-5 minute teaching demonstration video, and two reference letters must be submitted in order to be considered.

5. Contact Person
Ms. Liu Nannan, Assistant for International Affairs, Dept. of Foreign Languages and Literatures
Email: wyxws@mail.tsinghua.edu.cn
Address: Room 211, Wennanlou, Tsinghua University, Beijing, 100084.

6. Application Submission Deadline
30th April, 2016

2.1.2 Strengths and weaknesses of NES teachers

In little more than a decade, numerous studies have examined perceptions of and attitudes towards NES teachers from students' as well as teachers' perspectives. Students from both ESL and EFL contexts have participated in studies that investigated their attitudes towards and preferences for NES teachers. Although these studies have not yielded clear-cut findings, they do suggest some clear aspects of strengths and weaknesses of NES teachers with regard to their competence in target language and teaching skills as perceived by students. Most learners appreciate NES teachers' authentic use of English (Al-Omrani, 2008; Grubbs et al., 2010; Kasai & Lee, 2011; Lipovsky & Mahboob, 2010; Tang et al., 2008; Tsou, 2013), including their pronunciation and wide-ranging knowledge of vocabulary, especially of idioms and slangs. They also regard NES teachers as valuable sources of the English-speaking world's culture (Ahmed, 2004; He & Miller, 2011; Kasai & Lee, 2011; Ngoc, 2009; Rao, 2010; Shen & Wu, 2007). Further, NES teachers' personality in class is often seen positively by learners as enthusiastic and friendly (Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Benke & Medgyes, 2005; He & Miller, 2011; Rao, 2010; Shimizu, 1995; Ustunluoglu, 2007), thus creating an environment conducive to language study.

However, aspects of negative perceptions toward NES teachers from students also

emerge in literature. Their lack of experience as an EFL or ESL learner has emerged as a disappointing aspect, which partially contributes to their inability to explain grammatical structures and rules explicitly (Cheung & Braine, 2007; Grubbs et al., 2010; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2002; Mahboob, 2004; Sung, 2009). Besides, NES teachers are sometimes perceived as not empathetic and not emotionally supportive to students due to their lack of experience of learning English as L2 (Ahmed, 2004; Cheung & Braine, 2007; Mahboob, 2004). For lower level EFL learners, particularly, another salient disadvantage of NESTs that was perceived by participating students in previous studies has been NESTs' monolinguality. Because they cannot use students' mother tongue as the medium of instruction and translate some words or idioms into students' first language, monolingual language teachers can be difficult to understand (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005).

Alongside the above discussed general aspects of strengths and weaknesses of NES teachers, some inconsistencies in students' perceptions are yielded between studies. One aspect, for instance, is teaching activities used in class. Participants in several studies commented positively that NEST usually adopt a variety of teaching activities (Law, 1999; Shen & Wu, 2007; Sung, 2009), and maintain a good balance of lecture, pair work, and group work (Ngoc, 2009). However, participating students in Barratt & Kontra's (2000), Tang et al.'s (2008) and Wu & Ke's (2009) studies commented that there were not enough interactions between students and teacher, and complained that NES teachers dominated class discussion.

Compared to the number of studies conducted from students' views, fewer studies have focused on teachers' perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses of NES teachers working in EFL settings. Similar to students' attitudes and preferences, these studies of teachers' perceptions have yielded some common themes on perceived strengths and weaknesses of NEST which echo with aspects of students' perceptions of NEST, as well as certain inconsistencies. NES teachers' language authenticity (Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Kamhi-Stein et al., 2004; Ma, 2012; Moussu, 2006; Wang, 2007), supplying knowledge of target language culture (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Ngoc, 2009), flexible and resourceful usage of teaching methods and approaches (Barratt &

Kontra, 2000; Ngoc, 2009) are aspects of their strengths perceived by participating teachers in most studies. Their lack of insights into the English language and being less able to attend to students' needs and empathize with students (Kamhi-Stein et al., 2004; Ngoc, 2009; Wang, 2008) are some aspects of perceived weaknesses.

It is noteworthy, from the above discussed studies, that students' and teachers' perceptions of NES teachers are contextually contingent. Participating students in different studies have various levels of English proficiencies, orientations towards language learning, beliefs and learning habits, all of which may influence the basis on which they make their judgments. More importantly, NES teachers being commented on in different studies may differ in myriad ways, in terms of their professional preparations, educational backgrounds and teaching styles, to name just a few. It should also be noted that most of the above discussed studies relied on questionnaire surveys, responses to which might be "more politically correct than accurate" (Braine, 2010, p.22) and fraught with validity problems. NES teachers' work, therefore, needs to be understood on a case by case basis, rather than simply on generalized characteristics which may be problematic (Kasai & Lee, 2011). What's more, various educational, socio-cultural challenges and constraints that NES teachers encounter in different ELF contexts deserve an exploration.

2.1.3 Challenges and constraints facing NES teachers in EFL contexts

Although some of the above discussed studies have shed aspects of light on the teaching of NES teachers, few of them have given voices to these teachers. Scholars have become increasingly aware of this research gap, and initiatives have been taken in the past decade in various EFL contexts, such as Japan (Verity, 2000), Korea (Jeon, 2009; Lee, 2011), mainland China (Li, 1999; Ouyang, 2000), Hong Kong (Kan, 2009; Lo, 1999), and Taiwan (Chen & Cheng, 2010; Luo, 2007). These studies, though small in number, cast valuable insights into the working experiences of NES teachers in EFL settings and the challenges and constraints facing them, as summarised below.

The first aspect of challenge is related to classroom management encountered in coping with unfamiliar local educational contexts (e.g. Chen & Cheng, 2010; Jeon, 2009; Lo,

1999; Verity, 2000). For instance, organizing small-group work in classes with large numbers of students who appeared reluctant to speak English with each other and to try new types of exercise emerges as a problem for participants in Verity's (2000) and Chen and Cheng's (2010) study. It is arguable that these problems in classroom management are not unique to NES teachers only; local NNEST teachers also have to cope with similar challenges. Li (1999) revealed that the most apparent tension between expatriate English language teachers and their students was cultural and pedagogical incompatibilities. She found that expatriate teachers and Chinese students, having internalised their cultural values through socialisation of the cultures of teaching and learning in different cultural backgrounds, varied in their expectations and interpretations of what it meant to be a good learner and a good teacher, and what constituted language teaching and learning. Therefore, aspects of the communicative approach implemented by participating NES teachers, such as the discourse of participation, were not readily accepted by their students.

The second common challenge NES teachers face is multi-level professional and social alienation and marginalization in local institutions. For instance, Jeon (2009) revealed that what EPIK (English Programme in Korea) teachers teach in conversation classes in Korean elementary and secondary schools is rarely an integral part of assessment of students' English proficiency, and this structural constraint in the local ELT system has prevented these teachers' integration in the regular curriculum. Besides, NES teachers' lack of involvement in curriculum design (Lo, 1999), lack of access to decision making faculty committees in local schools (Kan, 2009; Lee, 2011), and the unequal working conditions compared with the Korean staff with respect to salaries and welfare (Lee, 2011) have all been identified as facets of constraint, which have resulted in powerlessness in carrying out their intentions to contribute to pedagogy, and having their professional status disregarded by their colleagues and local schools.

While the studies reviewed in this section have valued participating NES teachers' personal experiences when working in EFL contexts, I argue that it is necessary to use empirical methods to give these teachers' voices more authority. Scholars (e.g. Hayes, 2006; Jeon, 2009) have called attention to the complexities of the contemporary reality

of the lives of the diverse people involved in ELT in a postcolonial, globalized and market-driven world. They have also stressed a need for more inclusive and richly varied concepts of teachers and their contexts of teaching in the professional discourse to replace the conformist native-speaker focused concept that continues to be found in much of the current TESOL literature. More importantly, few studies have investigated the important aspects of the construction and negotiation of expatriate NES teachers' identities. The following section will situate the current study in the literature on language teacher identities.

2.2 Exploring identity

This section is devoted to providing the background to the present inquiry in the research field of English language teacher identities. It will first outline two key concepts of identity and teacher identities that guide this study. Then the existing literature about identities of English language teachers, particularly expatriate NES teachers, will be comprehensively reviewed and critically discussed.

2.2.1 Notion of identity

In understanding identity, the subtle and complicated question of “who am I” may evoke a vast array of responses from different perspectives, both complementary and contradictory (Johnson, 2002). Literature often uses the concepts of self and identity interchangeably. Both are complex constructs as they draw on major research and theoretical areas of philosophy, psychology, sociology, and psychotherapy (Day et al., 2006). Fitzgerald (1993) discussed how these concepts appear in the various fields: he suggested that philosophy typically considers personhood whereas psychologists study ego, personality, and self-actualization; sociologists tend to talk about social identities in group contexts while anthropologists write about cultural influences on self-identity.

Overall, identity is, in itself, a concept that defies easy definition, and understandings of identity have evolved from essentialist perspectives to post-structuralist and postmodern understandings. Previously, conceptions of identity from essentialist views located a static self metaphorically within a person. The self was positioned as a singular, unified, static, fixed essence, biologically given, that was little affected by context. Later, these

views have come to be replaced by social constructionist and post-structuralist understandings. In this study, the notion of identity echoes its post-structural conceptualizations that are largely prevalent in the social sciences today, and centers around the following two perspectives.

Identity, in keeping with poststructural traditions, is constantly in flux, multiple, situated, and conflicting (Gergen, 1991; Hall, 1996; Norton Peirce, 1995; Sarup, 1996; Thesen, 1997). An individual may assume different identities, for example, a co-worker or a parent, an elementary school instructor or a postgraduate program student. In understanding identity, a notion of agency, as the ability of human beings to make a difference in the world (Giddens, 1984), moves away from the structurally deterministic view of the fashioning of individuals (Varghese et al., 2005), and is recognized as crucial to identity construction in the literature (Day et al., 2006; Norton, 1997; Parkinson, 2008). Sfard and Prusak (2005, p.15) states that “human beings are active agents who play decisive roles in determining the dynamics of social life and in shaping individual activities”. A sense of agency empowers individuals to move ideas forwards, to reach goals, to achieve recognition and affirmation, to maintain or further shape their identities and attend to tensions among them (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). In this way, identity is continually being informed, formed, and reformed as individuals develop over time (Cooper & Olson, 1996). Therefore, I choose to adopt the plural form “identities” instead of the more static “identity” in the following discussion, to convey the multiplicity and dynamism of identities development (Davies & Harre, 1999).

Identities, then, are not constructed in a vacuum. Rather, they are crucially related to social, cultural, economic and political contexts, and are shaped through an individual’s interaction with the larger world (Bourdieu, 1984; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Weedon, 1987; Wenger, 1998). It is, therefore, necessary to be aware of how various contextual and relational factors might affect the shifts and changes of identities. For teachers, for example, the school environments, the nature of learner population, the impact of colleagues and the expectations of school administrators, to name just a few, all shape teachers’ identities. Further, as pointed out by Norton Pierce (1995), an individual is always situated within a variety of social sites, which are structured by relations of

power. Thus teachers' active location in social space may be undermined by policies or institutions that require conformity (Coldron & Smith, 1999). Put differently, the wider contexts may create tensions between individual agency and relations of power and may marginalize individuals in particular social space. Within the multiple and sometimes competing contexts and relations, choice and decision are inevitably central to the individual, agency is enacted in the process, and identities are negotiated and reshaped.

Another point that warrants some further discussion is about the difference between identities in poststructural approach and social roles. Social role refers to one's membership in social groups (Rosenburg, 1997). It focuses on group characteristics, and it both describes and prescribes one's attributes as a member of that group. Identities focus on individual person and one's own understandings of him or herself. Although people may be said to occupy certain social roles or to enact performances of them, they do not necessarily personally identify with those roles. In terms of the relations of power, the power of certain social roles is often predetermined by the setting, and there are a set of socially expected behaviors and responsibilities. For instance, in a classroom, the social roles of teachers are often to impart knowledge, and of students to learn the knowledge. However, from a poststructuralist perspective of identities, such power imbalance can be reversed. A teacher may take on an identity as a learner in certain context and even learn from students, thereby transforming the unidirectional flow of information from the teacher to students.

2.2.2 Notion of teacher identities

Alongside the revived interest in social science in the experience of the self in cultural, historical and political contexts (Block, 2007), the concept of teacher identities first emerged in studies of teacher education in the 1980s (Cherryholmes, 1988). In the literature, a range of definitions have been given to teacher identities and adopted in some studies on language teacher identities, yet in many studies the concept is left undefined or under-explored. This lack of a clear definition of teacher identities across studies has been noted as problematic by two important reviews (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009) of teacher identity literature in the field of general education. A similar situation is true in the field of TESOL, as can be noted

from the following summary of some influential definitions adopted by existing studies.

Table 2.1 Selected definitions of “identity” adopted in studies of language teacher identities

Reference	Definition of identity	Adopted by studies
Danielewicz, 2001, p.10	“our understanding of who we are and who we think other people are”	Ahn (2013); Trent & DeCoursey (2011); Trent (2011a); Trent (2011b); Trent (2013)
Gee, 2001, p. 99	“being recognized as a certain ‘kind of person’ in a given context”	Diniz de Figueiredo (2011); Elsheikh (2012); Trent & Gao (2009); Trent (2010); Nagatomo (2012)
He, 1995, p. 216	“a process of continual emerging and becoming”	Duff & Uchida (1997)
Lasky, 2005, p.901	(Re: teacher identity) “how teachers define themselves to themselves and to others”	Luebbbers (2010)
Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002, p.15	“emerging from an individual’s different sorts of relationships with others”	Simon-Maeda (2004)
Menard-Warwick, 2008, p.622	“a negotiation between how one sees oneself and how one is seen by others”	Menard-Warwick (2008)
Norton, 2000, p.5	“how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how the relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future”	Chen (2009); Lu (2005); Chang (2004); Kim (2011); Xu (2012)
Tseng, 2011, p.6	“an individual’s perceptions of the self in relation to diverse relationships with the surrounding subjects and contexts”	Tseng (2011)
Varghese, 2006, p.213	(Re: teacher professional identities) “a combination of how individuals see themselves and how they enact their profession in their settings”	Varghese (2006)

An analysis of the above definitions reveals that, although there are competing frameworks, the understanding of identities generally follows the post-structural and sociocultural perspectives which have been discussed in the previous section. Identity is viewed as unfixed, evolving, multiple, and situated in certain social contexts. It is viewed as product – “a certain ‘kind of person’ in a given context” (Gee, 2001, p.99), which is a result of the collection of influences and effects from immediate contexts and prior constructs of identities. It is also viewed as process – “continual emerging and

becoming” (He, 1995, p.216), which allows room for explaining how identities are formed and transformed across time and space. Furthermore, as emphasized in Norton’s (2000) definition, identity is not just about one’s past and present but also about the future trajectories, which influence the way one sees one’s present.

Another noteworthy perspective that emerges from these definitions centers on the socially constructed and relational nature of identity. It constitutes not only one’s self perception, but also how one’s image(s) is (are) observed by others and the negotiation between one’s relationships with the others. The role of “others” in legitimizing and transforming one’s identities is highlighted in several of the above definitions (e.g. Gee, 2001; Lasky, 2005; Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002; Menard-Warwick, 2008). As such, identity development for teachers involves an understanding of the self and a notion of that self within an outside context (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). Coldron and Smith (1999) points out that “being a teacher...is a matter of acquiring and then redefining an identity that is socially legitimated” (p.712), which stresses that identity as a teacher is partly achieved by active location in social space through making sense of themselves in relation to other people and contexts.

One definition of identity in the above table that merits further discussion is Varghese’s (2006, p.213). Her definition of identity differs slightly from the others’ in that the other definitions appear to center more on an individual’s mental dimension, as self understanding and self perception, whereas Varghese explicitly combines both thoughts as “how individuals see themselves”, and actions as “how they enact their profession in their settings” into her conceptualization of identity. The present study concurs that teachers’ identity construction is inseparable from their thoughts and activities, since “part of teachers’ identity work is continuously performed and transformed through interaction in classrooms” (Miller, 2009, p.175). In fact, Borg (2012) points out that identity should be recognized as an important strand of teacher cognition research, a field which has tremendously enhanced understanding of language teachers’ work (Johnson, 2009). In Borg’s (2003) description, teachers’ “beliefs, knowledge, theories, attitudes, images, assumptions, metaphors, conceptions, perspectives” about “self”, alongside other aspects, constitutes part of their cognitions. As such, the study of

teacher identity might be informed by the literature on teacher cognition. For this present investigation some valuable epistemological understanding is drawn from the teacher cognition field of research. In Kubanyiova & Feryok's (2015, p.438) most recent review of this field, it is identified that many of the existing studies on teacher cognition employed the cognitivist epistemological perspective, which tends to "separate thought and action, putting them in an almost adversarial relationship by abstracting them from the context that binds them together". The participation-oriented epistemological perspective, however, emphasizes "teachers' situated, dynamic, and embodied knowing in action", placing the research of teacher cognition in "the contexts of participation in practice". This study sets out with the assumption that capturing a complete picture of the construction of teacher identity requires taking into consideration what they both think and do in professional contexts, which parallels to the participation-oriented perspective. Instead of dichotomizing thinking and acting and treating these two aspects as somehow separable or independent, this study attempts to conceptualize identity in a way that unifies thinking and acting. It is hoped that such an epistemological stance can potentially create an opportunity for investigating the complexity of teacher identity in a holistic perspective.

Further, it is worth exploring briefly the notion of "professional identity", which is sometimes used interchangeably with "teacher identity" in the literature on teacher identities. Some scholars look at teachers' "professional identity" in terms of the professional knowledge teachers need to possess and act on (Beijaard, Verloop & Vermunt, 2000), which are, to a certain extent, outside teachers themselves. However, it might be difficult to separate the professional self from the personal self. In fact, teaching is regarded as a personal and social activity in that it involves the whole person of the teacher (Cochran-Smith, 2005) and events in teachers' personal lives, such as their own learning experience, are intimately linked to the performance of their profession (Ball & Goodson, 1985; Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; Ritchie & Wilson, 2000). Vice versa, all that a teacher considers relevant to his or her profession, that he or she sets as targets to achieve in work, can be seen as part of the whole personal self (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). Based on such interrelations between teachers' personal

and professional selves, the necessity of a view of teacher identity which strikes a balance between personal and professional dimensions of teaching has been stressed in the literature (e.g. Lipka & Brinthaupt, 1999; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). Further, this combined perspective on identities seems to apply particularly well to language teachers. Due to the sociocultural dimensions of teaching in language classrooms (Varghese et al., 2005), aspects of language teachers' personal selves, such as linguistic and ethnic backgrounds, have been shown to exert significant influence on how they perceive themselves as teachers (more detailed discussion will be presented in the next section).

Based on the above discussed contentious perspectives, I acknowledge the challenge to reach a full understanding of teacher identities as a concept, which echoes the perspective voiced by Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) in their state-of-the-art review of issues in the field of teacher identity research. In the present study, I choose to see identity as “being in continuous becoming” (Roth, 2004, p.8, cited in Cross & Gearon, 2007) — as both product and process. For this inquiry, I attempt to operationalize a working definition of teacher identities as: teachers' continuing emerging understandings of themselves as teachers across time and space, developed through their participation in practices and negotiated by relationships with others in their contexts. It is hoped that this way of conceptualizing teacher identities can capture its complex, evolving, relational and contextually situated nature, and overcome the dichotomy between personal and professional dimensions with regard to a teacher's self.

2.2.3 Studies of English language teacher identities

Having situated my understanding of the notion of teacher identities, I now position my study among existing empirical studies related to English language teacher identities. During the past decade, research on teacher identities emerges as a significant strand in the TESOL field, and has been gaining momentum ever since (Miller, 2009; Norton & Toohey, 2011). These studies have been conducted in diverse contexts as follows:

- Canada (Amin, 1997; Farrell, 2011; Ilieva, 2010; Morgan, 2004);
- Chile (Menard-Warwick, 2011, 2014);

- China Mainland (Gu & Benson, 2015; He & Lin, 2013; Liu & Xu, 2011; Stanley, 2013; Xu, 2011; Xu, 2012 ; Yi, 2009);
- Hong Kong (Gu & Benson, 2015; Lee, 2013 ; Tang, 1997; Trent, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2013; Trent & DeCoursey, 2011; Trent & Gao, 2009; Tsui, 2007);
- Hungary (Petric, 2009);
- Japan (Appleby, 2013; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Falout, 2013; Geluso, 2013; Kiernan, 2008; Kusaka, 2014; Nagatomo, 2011, 2012; Rudolph, 2012; Rugen, 2009; Simon-Maeda, 2004);
- New Zealand (Barkhuizen, 2009);
- Poland (Johnston, 1999);
- Qatar (Rostron, 2014; Scotland, 2014);
- South Korea (Ahn, 2013; Cho, 2012; Park, 2013; Park, 2014);
- Sudan (Elsheikh, 2012; Elsheikh, 2016)
- Taiwan (Chang, 2004; Wang & Lin, 2014);
- The United States of America (Ajayi, 2011; Bang, 2011; Breckenridge, 2010; Chen, 2009; Choi, 2007; Diniz de Figueiredo, 2011; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Hsieh, 2010; Huang, 2014; Jain, 2014; Johnston et al., 2005; Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Kim, 2011; Lin, 2011; Lu, 2005; Menard-Warwick, 2008, 2014; Motha, 2006; Nones-Austria, 2011; Park, 2012; Park, 2015; Pavlenko, 2003; Reis, 2010, 2011; Solano-Campos, 2014; Tseng, 2011; Urzua & Vasquez, 2008; Wolff, 2015; Yazan, 2014; Zacharias, 2010);
- United Arab Emirates (Clarke, 2008);
- United Kingdom (Jenkins, 2005).

A comprehensive survey of these empirical studies reveals that they generally followed four lines that touched on certain distinct facets of the complex construction of English language teacher identities. These four areas are: English language teachers' linguistic identities, their social identities, the impact of participating in teacher education programs on English language teachers' identities development, and transformation of their identities across the trajectory of their teaching careers.

The first vein of research examines English teachers' linguistic identities, particularly

how the dichotomy between native and nonnative speakers has impacted teacher identities (e.g. Diniz de Figueiredo, 2011; Huang, 2014; Jenkins, 2005; Kim, 2011; Park, 2012; Pavlenko, 2003; Reis, 2011; Rostron, 2014; Solano-Campos, 2014; Tang, 1997; Wang & Lin, 2014). Most of these studies highlight the conflicts between being an English teacher and a nonnative English speaker, and the dichotomy which causes negative perceptions of (Park, 2012) and among NNES teachers (Jenkins, 2005; Tang, 1997). Most participants in Jenkins' (2005) study of the influence of accents on how NNES teachers perceive themselves appear to want a NES English identity as expressed in a native-like accent. Lu's (2005), Nones-Austria's (2011) and Park's (2013) studies have all highlighted participating NNES ESL or EFL teachers' negotiating being English language learners, users and ESL or EFL teaching professionals in English speaking or their home countries. Several other studies show that the still prevalent discourse of linguistic competence which positions language teachers as either NES or NNES causes NNEST's feeling of insecurity and self-doubt (Diniz de Figueiredo, 2011; Park, 2013; Reis, 2011; Solano-Campos, 2014), and their sense of self-perceived marginalization and inferiority and questioning their identity as legitimate TESOL professionals (Kim, 2011; Park, 2012; Pavlenko, 2003; Reis, 2011).

It should be noted, however, that the three NNES ESL teachers in Huang's (2014) study identify with their NNES identity positively, which differs from participants in the above mentioned studies. Such a difference might be attributed to the praise they have received for their English proficiency due to their lengthy residence in the US and the prevalence of English usage in their daily life. Moreover, Diniz de Figueiredo (2011) finds that for the participating NNES ESL teachers working in US K-12 schools, an identity of uniqueness and expertise which was appreciated by the school community and students' parents was not based on being a native speaker of English, but rather on their bilingual skill, and their abilities to use the skill to help students and families. These studies appear to call for the need to further explore English language teachers' multiple linguistic identity options through providing them with opportunities to unpack their dominant ideologies and those options' influence on the development of their teacher identities (Park, 2012).

A second line of research (Ajayi, 2011; Amin, 1997; Appleby, 2013; Cho, 2012; Kusaka, 2014; Motha, 2006; Nagatomo, 2012; Park, 2015; Simon-Maeda, 2004) pays attention to English teachers' social identities, such as race, gender, class and sexuality, and reveals that social identities are inextricable components of teachers' identities and have tremendous impact on how they perceive themselves as ESL/EFL professionals. Ajayi's (2011) study, for instance, indicates that unlike the white teachers, participating African American and Hispanic ESL teachers use their marginalized experiences as members of minority groups within the US sociocultural contexts to frame their pedagogical practices and define their teacher identities "through the lens of racial identity" (p.672). Several other researchers have investigated how English teachers' racial identities undermine their identities as effective TESOL teachers. Through interviewing five visible-minority female teachers about their ESL teaching experiences in Toronto, Amin (1997) reveals that they are often compared with and stereotyped in contrast with white teachers by their students, and they have more difficulty in establishing themselves as authentic teachers and become less effective in facilitating students' language learning. Similar stereotyping from both students and colleagues also challenges the identity negotiation of participating Korean-American and Japanese-American TESOL professionals in Cho's (2012), Motha's (2006) and Kusaka's (2014) studies.

In addition to racial profiles, gendered stereotypes at personal and larger societal levels poses another challenge to English teachers' identities development, and significantly disempowers their professional capabilities (Appleby, 2013; Nagatomo, 2012; Simon-Maeda, 2004). The female EFL teachers working in higher education in Japan in both Simon-Maeda's (2004) and Nagatomo's (2012) studies are subject to gendered inequalities and are positioned unfavorably in the gender hierarchies operating within the TESOL profession. From a different angle, Appleby's (2013) study turns the spotlight onto western male EFL teachers in Japan and it highlights the struggles participants face in negotiating between the commercial priorities of the English language conversation schools industry, which implicitly encourages romantic and sexual allure, and their personal ideal as professional TESOL teachers.

A third group of studies delves into the impact of participating in teacher education

programs on English teachers' identities development (Bang, 2011; Clarke, 2008; Elsheikh, 2012; Elsheikh, 2016; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Gu & Benson, 2015; Chen, 2009; Ilieva, 2010; Lin, 2011; Park, 2014; Pavlenko, 2003; Reis, 2010; Tseng, 2011; Trent, 2011a, 2011b, 2013; Wolff, 2015; Yazan, 2014; Zacharias, 2010). As Wenger (1998, p.215) points out, learning is crucial to identity construction because it "transforms who we are and what we can do", and these studies generally reveal that participating teachers' identities as English language teaching professionals are shaped by courses learned in the programs that represent various authoritative discourses in the TESOL field.

However, this learning process is not without tension and confusion. For example, in Trent's (2011a) study of eight pre-service Chinese ESL teachers' identities development during a short-term international experience, he reveals participants' identification of a conflict between the type of teachers they want to align their teaching practices with following their immersion experience, and the identity categories they perceive to be available to them within the Hong Kong education system. Similar binary oppositions, which are organized around an antagonistic division in terms of visions of learners, types of classroom culture and teachers' roles between the traditional, old-fashioned teachers – the government school teachers and the new inspiring teachers – the members of the teacher education program community, have also been found in the participants' discursive construction of identities in several studies (Clarke, 2008; Gu & Benson, 2015; He & Lin, 2013; Trent, 2011b, 2013) conducted in contexts where traditional and liberal pedagogical perspectives coexist and clash with each other in educational reforms. In response to this recognized contradiction, researchers suggest that teacher education programs need to promote an "angonistic approach" (Gu & Benson, 2015, p.200) to encourage participating teachers to deconstruct rigid antagonism, see relevance of traditional teachers for themselves in the context of wider social cultural structures and pressures, and search for common sources of inspiration for action and collaboration (Clarke, 2008; Gu & Benson, 2015).

Besides participating in language teacher education programs in their local settings, many NNES teachers from Outer and Expanding Circle countries are recently migrating

to Inner Circle countries to attend TESOL training programs in order to increase their English language proficiency and become prepared to teach English around the world (Bolton, 2005; Jenkins, 2009; Kamhi-Stein, 2000; Wolff, 2015). Researchers have become interested in roles of these programs in shaping and establishing these teachers' identities. Several studies frame attending TESOL programs in the US as formation of NNES teachers' identities within the particularities of a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), which includes networks of people who engage in similar activities and learn from each other in the process. These studies reveal that the close interaction with professors and NES peers in the academic community to which they belong locally has exerted certain aspects of positive influence on NNES teachers' identity construction, such as stronger perceptions of being ELT professionals resulting from enhanced research abilities (Chen, 2009), but also negative aspects such as feelings of inferiority due to self perceived lower levels of linguistic competence as compared with NES peers in the programs (Tseng, 2011; Wolff, 2015; Zacharias, 2010).

In light of the struggle experienced by many NNES teachers in forming an identity as legitimate TESOL professionals due to their NNES linguistic position, some researchers (Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Ilieva, 2010; Pavlenko, 2003; Reis, 2010) have focused on the role of TESOL programs in establishing and promoting their positive self identifications. The important role of critical pedagogy in bringing identity shifts has been explored (Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Pavlenko, 2003; Zacharias, 2010). For instance, in Pavlenko's (2003) study, one second language acquisition course offers groups of NNES teachers critical readings, discussions and reflective writings related to discourses on multi-competence (Cook, 1992, 1999), linguistic diversity and the relationship of language and identity. Golombek and Jordan (2005) encourages their NNES students in a MATESOL pronunciation pedagogy course to write reaction papers on critical reading materials; and six NNES student teachers participate in online group discussions to address NNES related issues in Reis' (2010) research. These studies demonstrate that related readings and discussions provide NNES teachers with opportunities to re-imagine themselves as multilingual and multi-competent users of English rather than as failed native speakers, to conceive of alternative means through

which to assert their professional legitimacy, to reshape their classroom practice in response to their new conceptualizations of self, and to potentially transmit their views to others and engage in active attempts to reshape wider surrounding contexts. These results (Ilieva, 2010; Pavlenko, 2003; Reis, 2010; Zacharias, 2010) suggest the need for language teacher education programs to be a locus for student teachers' reflection and reconstruction of new and imagined identities through providing alternative discourses.

Much has been explored about the formation of teacher identities for pre-service English teachers within education programs, but an understanding of the transforming of identities across the trajectory of teachers' careers is equally, if not more, necessary. A fourth line of studies adds insights to such an understanding. Coldron and Smith (1999, p. 712) propose that, "from the beginning of, but also during, their careers, teachers are engaged in creating themselves as teachers". Clearly, novice teachers undergo shifts in identities from students to professionals as they move through training programs and assume teaching positions. Researches (e.g. Johnston et al., 2005; Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Nagatomo, 2012; Xu, 2012) have shown that related transition of identities is not quick and automatic, rather, the process is full of disruptions and it is through the sustained teaching experience that they come to develop their identities as language teachers. Contemporary school environments sometimes make the transformation of teacher identities even more challenging. For instance, Trent and DeCoursey's (2011) study of early career Chinese English language teachers in secondary schools in Hong Kong reveals that due to the hegemonic intervention from school authorities who favor the use of particular approaches to teaching and the adherence to teaching curriculums, participants have not been able to exercise their agency in constructing their personally desired identity which is informed by the education theories they previously learned in teacher education programs.

In addition to being shaped by local institutional discourse, in-service English teachers have to constantly negotiate the effects of wider educational, sociocultural and linguistic settings on their identity transformation. Unlike pre-service teachers, experienced teachers have constructed understandings and ideals that define what a teacher is based on previous experiences. However, it has been revealed that some of the experienced

teachers in Scotland's (2014) study have had to renegotiate their existing understandings of their work as teachers by refraining from using topics that are deemed controversial in local context after they start to teach in Qatar. Moreover, current "globally inspired" (Welmond, 2002, p. 38) educational policies have initiated wide-ranging education reforms in many countries. The transformation of English teacher identities in these contexts has recently drawn researchers' interests (e.g. Liu & Xu, 2011; Tsui, 2007; Yi, 2009). Both are situated in the landscape of English language teaching reform in China, where grammar-translation and communicative language teaching pedagogies coexist in institutions. Tsui's (2007) and Liu & Xu's (2011) studies highlight one common finding – aspects of teachers' pre-existing identities are often in conflict with identities inscribed in current educational reforms, and teachers need to reconcile conflicting identities so as to cope with new challenges through very complex processes.

The above reviewed studies provide perspectives on English language teacher identities by focusing on various aspects related to identities construction and transformation. In general, they have firmly established the complex, multiple and dynamic natures of English language teacher identities, the interrelatedness between identities and contexts, and the importance of understanding teacher identities construction in teacher professional development and empowerment. Particularly relevant themes emerging from these studies include: the importance of personal biographies, such as individual's sociocultural backgrounds and learning experiences, on the shaping of a teacher's identities; the complex development of teacher identities through one's career trajectory within networks of micro-level institutional and macro-level educational, sociocultural circumstances. Given these multiple discourses, identities of English language teachers, like those of teachers in general fields of education (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004), are often presented as a struggle because teachers have to make sense of varying and sometimes competing perspectives and expectations that create conflict and dissonance with their existing identity and mediate their development as English teachers. They may also sometimes find their imagined teacher identities thwarted by ideologies held by local institutions and broader mainstream communities.

Further, it should be noted that the researched contexts and participants are still quite

limited in the existing studies. A great portion of what we currently know about English language teacher identities is a result of studies situated in English speaking countries such as the United States, although some ESL contexts are also becoming more represented. To date, a considerable number of investigations have focused on identities development of NNES English language teachers during their learning to teach and professional development processes, as has been reviewed in this section. Relatively few have focused on NES teachers, and even fewer shed light on their identities construction and negotiation while working in foreign lands. Therefore, a detailed discussion of selected studies (e.g. Ahn, 2013; Breckenridge, 2010; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Johnston, 1999; Simon-Maeda, 2004; Stanley, 2013) that examine identities of those native English speaking teachers working in EFL contexts will be provided in the next section.

2.2.4 Studies of native English speaking language teacher identities in EFL contexts

As discussed in the introduction, a significant number of NES English teachers have migrated to teach at EFL contexts as a result of global mobility, institutional initiations and local commercial preferences. Studies reviewed previously in this section reveal the struggle experienced by many NNES teachers in forming positive identities as legitimate TESOL professionals due to the native/nonnative dichotomy, but what is the influence, if any, of this dichotomy on the identities construction of NES teachers? More importantly, given the challenges and problems encountered by some NES teachers while teaching in EFL contexts as discussed in section 2.1.3, how do they negotiate their identities as language teachers? The studies presented in Table 2.2 below shed some light on these related questions, and a more in-depth discussion of studies that are particularly pertinent to my research will follow.

To begin with, Duff and Uchida (1997) explored through a 6-month ethnographic study how two American and two Japanese teachers of English at a private language school in Japan dealt with institutional curricular expectations regarding their teaching of culture in class. This school required its teachers to incorporate “the cultures of English-speaking countries” (p.459) to create an entertaining and mind-broadening class

Table 2.2 Studies related to NES teacher identities in EFL contexts

Reference	Participant	Research method	Theoretical model	Identity focus	Definition of Identity
Duff & Uchida (1997)	2 female Japanese, 1 male American, 1 female American teachers	6 months ethnographic study	Social and cultural identity (Hall, 1995; He, 1995; Ochs, 1993)	Teachers' sociocultural identities	"a process of continual emerging and becoming" (He, 1995, p. 216)
Johnston (1999)	2 female native English speaking, 1 male native English speaking expatriate teachers	1-2 hour semi-structured life history interviews	Theory of language (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986)	Professional identity	"multiple, a site of struggle, and changing over time" (Peirce, 1995)
Simon-Maeda (2004)	6 female native English speaking, 3 female non-native English speaking teachers	Life history narrative interviews of 2.5 hours and follow-up interviews	Narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1988; Ochs & Capps, 2001)	Professional identity	"emerging from an individual's different sorts of relationships with others" (Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002, p. 15)
Breckenridge (2010)	2 female native English speaking, 1 male native English speaking teachers	Narrative interviews, a general online corpus, two specialized corpora and selected articles	Critical pedagogy; critical applied linguistics; hermeneutics	Professional identity	Not stated specifically
Ahn (2013)	3 male native English speaking teachers, 1 female native English speaking teachers	Public document, one-time semi-structured interview, 2 weeks class observation	Social semiotic multimodal analysis, narrative analysis (Ochs & Capps, 2001), conversation analysis	Good language teacher identity	Poststructuralist perspective of identity as an unstable and constantly changing entity.
Stanley (2013)	6 male native English speaking teachers, 3 female native English speaking teachers	8 months ethnographic study	Critical applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2001), grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006 Strauss & Corbin, 1998)	Teachers' identities	Not stated specifically

environment. However, based on their personal experiences of education, work and language learning, the teachers were not able to align with the espoused philosophy of the school. Various conflicts arose in the process of negotiation of their professional identities in order to carry out the duties of their jobs, and disjunction emerged between their understandings and classroom practices. For instance, although one NES participating teacher began to incorporate culture teaching into her classes, she still internally disdained being implicated in the transmission of western cultural values that pulled her away from what she loved about language teaching, which was language, such as teaching grammar.

Duff and Uchida's study is significant in that it was among the first empirical studies to investigate NES teachers' identities in EFL contexts, and revealed two critical dimensions along which teachers' sociocultural identities negotiate and transform. The first is the biographical and professional basis which included past learning, teaching and cross-cultural experiences; and the second is the immediate contextual basis which included the curriculum and textbook, classroom and institutional culture and expectations, and societal expectations. Although their study generated valuable insight into the complexities and paradoxes associated with teachers' professional and sociocultural identities, it should be noted that the context they investigated is quite dissimilar from the one this present study capitalizes on, which is public universities. Their research was conducted at one language school whose courses aimed mainly at exposing students to information about different parts of the world through relaxed and communication-focused classes. The majority of adult students were wealthy housewives or single women in their late 20s or 30s. Private language school contexts differ significantly from public universities in terms of student population, overall curriculum and numerous other aspects. Moreover, all four participants were in their late twenties and had only roughly 1.5 years of teaching experience at the outset of their study. Participants with more diversified personal and professional backgrounds might have added richer research findings, which is a consideration taken into the present study's selection of participants and discussed later in section 3.3.

With regard to Johnston's (1999) study of the professional lives of three experienced NES teachers in Poland, he proposed parallels between EFL teachers and medieval knights errant. Through reanalyzing interview data gathered for an earlier larger-scale study (Johnston, 1997) on whether or not EFL teachers draw on a discourse of career in talking about their work, he discussed the main features of participants' lives which included a wish to educate and to share their knowledge, restlessness expressed through the desire to travel, and temporariness of work. Findings also highlighted the marginal position they experienced both within their profession and local society. For instance, one participant positioned himself as a dissenter whose views ran counter to his school director's, with one regarding merely filling students full of set expressions as harmful to the practice of language teaching and the other emphasizing such practice in order to get students pass Cambridge exams. Methodologically, similar to Johnston's research, the present study is also partly based upon life history interviews with expatriate English teachers to explore their lives. However, this study differs from Johnston's in terms of analytic framework. He adopted the theory of language of Bakhtin (1981, 1986), which is grounded resolutely in language itself and does not make assumptions about the world-word relationship; while in the current study, I focus on more than just language in analyzing participating teachers' identities, as will be discussed in detail in section 2.3.

Simon-Maeda (2004) examined how female EFL teachers constructed their professional identities as educators, and mobilized available resources to contest oppressive forces in their professional lives through analyzing participants' life history narratives. Although her focus was on female educators in Japan where deeply ingrained gendered discrepancies existed, results revealed that gender was only one of many components that fashioned participants' professional lives, and that race, ethnicity, class, age and sexual orientation emerged at times as important categories that shaped their identities. Besides, in contrast to Johnston's participants who lacked strong longer term commitment to the EFL teaching profession, participants in Simon-Maeda's study actively sought to upgrade their academic qualifications in

order to move up the EFL teaching hierarchy and pursue a professional ELT career. This difference might be partially attributed to participants' individual differences, and partially to wider social contexts. As indicated in Simon-Maeda's article, a professional identity as a university instructor is respected in Japanese society, and this layer of identity might assist in validating a teacher's identity while other facets of identities were targets of discrimination.

Of particular relevance to my study is Simon-Maeda's discussion of the six NES participants' being and becoming English teachers in Japanese universities. Findings revealed participants' disempowering experiences and sense of alienation as foreigners in working environments that were not always conducive to enhancing their professional identities. For instance, although many participants were married to Japanese and wanted long-term employment and residency in Japan, the notion in local society that foreign teachers were temporary led to discriminatory hiring practices such as limited short term contracts. Besides, they felt that the Japanese administrators and faculties held a prevailing view that any native English speakers could teach English. This view resulted in a sense of de-professionalization among some participants, as reflected in comments like "I have felt like a second-class citizen", "we are only there to be parrots, walking tape recorders" (p.420). These working conditions restrained them from developing a sense of professionalism on a par with their Japanese colleagues. Similar unfavorable professional contexts also emerge in the current study's findings and challenge some participating teachers' identities development, which will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Another study to be discussed in detail here is the one conducted by Breckenridge (2010). In order to answer her research question: "in what ways do representations of native speakers of English influence the professional identity of NES teachers?" (p.63), Breckenridge combined narrative inquiry with the lived experience of herself (once taught in Japan and Korea) and two others (one once taught in Japan and one in Korea) NES teachers as they developed their professional identity and sought professional development, with a corpus analysis of how native speakers were defined

in general and in academic discourse, and a critical discourse analysis of the roles allocated to native speakers in selected academic articles. The narratives revealed that although they made a commitment to their professional development, they were given less opportunity to share their pedagogic knowledge with colleagues and students in some situations where they were merely seen as token foreigners or objectified native speakers of English. As such, the commodification of NES teachers, which echoed Simon-Maeda's (2004) findings, negatively influenced their construction of professional English teacher identity.

The present study resembles Breckenridge's in that I intend to gain in-depth understandings of the lived experience of NES English teachers as they form their teacher identities and seek professional development. However, this study also differs from hers because I do not choose to foreground the essentializing discourse of the native speaker ideal in understanding their identities. It is acknowledged that if we are to reach a deep understanding of their identities construction, their native speaker status warrants attention. Yet we should also note from the above reviewed studies that teacher identities are constructed at the interstices of multiple axes, including but not limited to age, race, class, ethnicity, gender, institutional and social context. Therefore in this present study, I attempt to examine participants' identities development from a holistic perspective and will be cautious not to fall into the trap of making their native speaker status the only focal point in understanding their identities. Only if and when relevant will the discussion delve into the impact a teacher's NES status has on their development as an English teacher.

The three studies discussed above explored how their participants crafted professional identities as English teachers and highlighted aspects of conflicts and tensions that the NES teachers needed to negotiate during their teaching practice. However, their scrutiny hinged more on participants' experiential recounting of teaching through interviews than on observation of participants' teaching in action. Two recent studies have included observational data and examined expatriate NES teachers' identities from different angles.

The first is Ahn's (2013) investigation of how good language teacher (GLT) identity was constructed in an English immersion program in South Korea across multiple levels of discourse. These included the discourse in the program's recruitment and advertisement materials in four NES teachers' interview data and in classroom practices of two of the participants. Her findings revealed that the undergirding element that constructed the core of GLT still appeared to be related to nativeness, with regard to the command of English, cultural expertise and critical awareness. Ahn's study was valuable in arguing against the danger of associating only a minimal number of features with GLT identity based on her findings. However, her inquiry might have presented much richer insights into participants' construction of themselves as English teachers if it had included their biographical trajectories into the equation, rather than focusing mainly on participants' teaching experience in the immersion program as reflected in the interview questions (p.176) employed in her study.

The last study to be reviewed is Stanley's (2013) critical ethnographic research of western English teachers at one university in Shanghai, which is, to the best of my knowledge, the only existing study of identities development of NES teachers working in China. Her findings revealed several tensions that participants needed to negotiate between one's personally appropriated identity and the relational identity that was attributed to them. These included the pressure they perceived to live up to students' construction of foreign teachers to be fun in the oral English classes they taught; and the distinct different ways male and female foreign teachers were constructed in non-work lives where the male participants encountered pressure from both Chinese women and their peers to be desirable and hedonistic western men, whereas the females participants lived in invisibility; as well as the struggles between on the one hand their desire to develop professionally and on the other hand the contextual construction of their roles, which led to some participants' decision to leave China or other's appropriation of non ELT related identities.

Stanley's study made an important contribution to the under-investigated field of NES

teachers' identities research in the context of China. Like her research focus, my study explores the development of transnational NES English teachers' identities during their professional practices in China. But the specific research context and participants differ significantly from Stanley's, whose participants taught only oral English courses at one university in Shanghai. Detailed discussion about the differences will be presented in Chapter 3 of research methodology.

In sum, the reviewed studies on identities of NES English teachers have demonstrated that teachers' identities are shaped by the wider social contexts in which they teach as well as the local contexts of their workplaces. Their previous personal experiences also fashion the way they see themselves as language teachers. One particularly striking finding which emerges from several studies is that, similar to NNES teachers, the native/nonnative dichotomy and native speaker ideal negatively influence their teacher identities construction, and the objectified view held by some people they work with results in their sense of de-professionalization. Besides, it should be noted that Breckenridge's (2010) corpus analysis of selected general and academic discourse revealed that native speaking English teachers are mostly "talked about" rather than "talked with" (p.217), which creates a space for questions of their professional growth and identity development to be examined. As such, the current study continues to expand this line of inquiry on identities construction of NES teachers in EFL contexts, by examining the underrepresented context of China and increasing the rigor of the analytical framework, as discussed below.

2.3 Exploring narrated and enacted identities

This section discusses the framework on which I base my analysis of the dynamics of teachers' identity formation and transformation. It examines Wenger's (1998) theory of identity formation, Bucholtz and Hall's (2010) identity in linguistic interaction, and Richards' (2006) classroom discourse analysis approach, and argues that combining these three together serves as an ideal complimentary lens for analyzing participant's identities from both narrated and enacted perspectives.

2.3.1 Narrated identity

A growing number of empirical studies on teacher identities have taken a “narrative turn” (Vásquez, 2011). Narratives represent powerful resources for individuals to make sense of themselves and are fundamentally intrinsic to the shaping of one’s identities (Bamberg, De Fina & Schiffrin, 2008; Georgakopoulou, 2007; Ochs & Capps, 2001; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Pavlenko & Lantolf 2000). In other words, individuals pay attention and keep memories of special experiences that inform them about how to interact in the world. According to Hinchman and Hinchman (2001, p.xviii), “identity is that which emerges in and through narrative”. As individuals develop over time and through interaction with others, identities are continually being composed and changed, depending on different life situations in which they find themselves (Connelly & Clandinin, 1999). The notion of narrative includes not only the persons who are telling stories, but also those who are told about, thereby drawing others and larger social contexts into the shaping of the teller’s identities (Sfard & Prusak, 2005). In this way, individuals construct, through the stories they tell, understandings of who they are in the world (Olson, 1995).

In the TESOL field, researchers are increasingly recognizing the relationship between identity and language as an important conceptual tool in understanding the processes of identity formation and transformation. Discussion on identity, similar to many studies of teacher identities in general education (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009), often revolves around its narrative aspect through examining teachers’ narratives about teaching practice.

In particular, Wenger’s (1998) theory of identity formation has been widely employed to examine teacher’s narratives in many inquiries on English teachers’ identities (e.g. Ahn, 2013; Clarke, 2008; Falout, 2013; Gu & Benson, 2015; Lin, 2011; Liu & Xu, 2011; Nagatomo, 2012; Park, 2014; Scotland, 2014; Trent, 2011; Trent, 2013; Trent & DeCoursey, 2011; Trent & Gao, 2009; Tsui, 2007; Yazan, 2014; Zacharias, 2010). It has proved to be a useful framework, and Tsui (2007) asserts that it is one of the most powerful analytic lenses in the field of identity construction in that it cogently argues

for identity formation being relational and experiential, as well as social and personal.

Wenger (1998) posits that identity forms from belonging to and engaging with the various groups to which people belong, which is called *communities of practice* (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The formation involves the dual process of identification and negotiation of meaning, each of which is necessary to and accomplished through the other. Identification is an investment of the self in building associations and differentiations with members and the community. Negotiation of meaning refers to one's ability, facility, and legitimacy to contribute to, take responsibility for, as well as shape the meanings that matter within a social configuration. Both production and adoption of meanings are involved in the negotiation process. Meanings compete to be accepted and used by other community members. Members whose meanings are consistently rejected and whose experiences are considered irrelevant, and hence not accepted as a form of competence, will develop an identity of marginality.

According to Wenger (1998), crucial to identification and negotiability processes are three modes of belonging. The first mode of belonging is *engagement*. Under this mode, identity formation happens during active involvement in mutual processes of negotiation of meaning. Whereas engagement focuses on the here and now of lived practice, the second mode is *imagination*, a concept which has been taken up in studies by Norton (2000) and Pavlenko (2003) to create new options in an imagined community for identity development. Wenger's concept of imagination refers to creating images of the world and seeing connections through time and space by extrapolating from our own experience. The third mode, *alignment*, involves coordinating our energy and activities in order to fit within broader structures and contribute to broader enterprises. Alignment involves power relations; thus, it is often achieved through a complex interplay of compliance and allegiance. Active participation creates a willing allegiance toward a group and a sense of identification with a community, but non-participation and acts of resistance demonstrate distance and create a sense of not belonging.

Further, Wenger (1998) argues that identity construction is ongoing. This temporal dimension, captured in the term trajectory as a form of continuous motion, highlights the connections of past, present and future in identity formation. Trajectories influence the type of activities people engage in within their communities. The following types of trajectories are described by Wenger (1998, p.154-155): (1) peripheral trajectories, where new comers will not gain full participation; (2) inbound trajectories, where newcomers may eventually obtain full participation; (3) insider trajectories, where full members renegotiate their identity as members; (4) boundary trajectories, where members of communities link to other communities of practice, and (5) outbound trajectories, where members leave a community and move into another community. People occupy different trajectory positions within multiple communities.

With regard to this present study, I draw on Wenger's (1998) theory of identity as part of the analytical framework because, as reflected in the above discussion, this theory focuses on the intricate and intimate link between identity and practice and captures the lived, negotiated and social nature of identity formation. It acknowledges the impact of internalized processes, but also draws attention to the role of participation with others in activities in contexts. Identity is thus construed as a series of intricate negotiations in which the individual attempts to reconcile perceptions of self with those of others within rich and complex relations of practice produced and sustained amidst communities, including the broader social and cultural communities in which he or she practices. Therefore, exploring NES English teachers' identities from Wenger's (1998) perspective offers the possibility of examining what kind of participatory opportunities or constraints local context has created for teachers and their negotiations during their participation in activities of local and broader communities.

It should be noted that although Wenger's theory provides a useful framework to analyze identity as becoming members in a community through practice, his theory has been problematized by several scholars. The major criticism lies in its

overlooking the significant role of language and discursive dynamics in understanding identity, and in its failing to develop a coherent theory of language in use (Creeze, 2005; Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Rock, 2005; Trent, 2010; Tusting, 2005). More specifically, it highlights only the ways in which identities develop as one takes part in social practices and learns the ways of being and doing within the structure of various communities practices, and fails to consider how identities are discursively created. Researchers have called for exploiting multiple theoretical approaches in exploring language teacher identities in order to reach an in-depth understanding of issues under study. Specifically, Varghese et al. (2005) advocate the need for studies to take concepts of both “identity-in-discourse” and “identity-in-practice” into account. In “identity-in-practice,” agency is “seen as action-oriented and focusing on concrete practices and tasks in relation to a group”, while in “identity-in-discourse,” agency is “discursively constituted, mainly through language, focusing primarily on critical reflexivity” (p. 39). Since Wenger’s theory (1998), which captures the link between identity and practice, has been discussed in the above sections, an examination of identity in discourse is presented next.

Closely linked to the notion of narrative is that of discourse. Language is seen as a medium in and through which one’s sense of self are constructed. Individuals discursively construct their understandings of who they are in the world, thereby the otherwise fragmented elements of self are embedded in a temporal and spatial framework and imbued with meaning (Olson 1995). Davies and Harré (1990, p.46) further argue that “an individual emerges through the processes of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate”. Studying teachers’ discourse, therefore, can reveal their identities constructions as well as the ways in which their identities are negotiated in broader sociocultural and political contexts (Clarke, 2008; Trent, 2010). Furthermore, the discourse in which teachers engage may allow teachers to confront their existing notions of selves and provoke transformation of identities (Alsup, 2006).

In order to take identity in discourse into consideration, this current research employs Bucholtz and Hall's (2005, 2010) framework of analyzing identity in linguistic interaction. Identity is conceptualized by them as "a relational and sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction" (2005, p.585). From this perspective, identity is co-constructed by the individual and other interactants. Thus, identity is a complex and situated construct that is subject to change across times and contexts, which is in alignment with poststructuralist understandings of identity.

In particular, the indexicality principle, which lies at the heart of Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) framework, enlightens this study's analysis because this principle can potentially identify how the participants constructed and positioned themselves as well as how they (re)negotiated these identities in discourse. As such, it enriches Wenger's (1998) framework by providing a more concrete and specific linguistic tool to understand how people construct identities during their engagement, imagination and alignment with others in social practices. Specifically, according to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), people use various indexical strategies to forge their own positions, to express personal association with former identities, to offer evaluations about behaviors of and demarcate differences or similarities with other members, and the indexicality principle posits that (p.594):

Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including: (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups.

To illustrate how examining the intricacies involved in these micro and macro level linguistic resources of labeling, implicature, stance taking, style marking and code choice can be a valuable tool for understanding language teachers' identities, instantiations with interview excerpts from this current study are provided here.

Firstly, according to Bucholtz and Hall's (2005), the most obvious and direct way that

identities can be constituted through talk is choosing to use certain identity categories and labels. For participants in this study, a variety of labels have been used explicitly in interviews when discussing their perceptions of selves, such as “instructor” (Caleb), “facilitator” (George), “motivator” (Samuel), “clown” (Caleb), “performer” (George) “mentor” (Daisy), “friend” (Daisy, Samuel)². These different labels reflect various positions they take in relating to students.

A much subtler linguistic means of instantiating identities that emerges in this study is the pragmatic process of implicature, which is definable as a meaning expressed or implied by a speaker in the utterance of a sentence (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Huang, 2014). For instance, Samuel describes his class activities as “that’s what I tried to do, textbook, then forty five minutes of just talking, letting them hear how a native speaker speaks, and also trying to get them to engage in conversation with me so that they get practice speaking to a native speaker”. As such, he implicitly identifies himself as a native speaker of English, and implies related legitimacy that accompanies this empowering position in presenting authentic language input and providing practicing speaking opportunities during interacting with students.

The third linguistic means that reflects identities relation is through stance, which is the display of evaluative, affective, and epistemic orientations in discourse (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Stance is characterized as one evaluating something, and thereby positioning oneself and aligning or disaligning with others (Du Bois, 2002). In discussing his teaching, George referred to his rationale for relating Chinese examples to the exam system theory that he previously learned in education classes, and mentioned that “the educational classes were useful, I would like to take more education classes if I have a chance, I think they were extremely helpful”. The stance makers of the adjective of “useful” and “helpful” modified by the adverb of degree “extremely” display his evaluative orientation towards the education courses he previously took and his alignment with related theories learned from those courses in

² Caleb, Daisy, Samuel and George are the pseudonyms of the four focal participants in this present study. More information about them will be presented in Chapter 3.

establishing the aspect of his understating of self as an English teacher. Also related to stance is interactional footing, which is defined as “the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance (Goffman, 1981, p.128). One means that reflects identity relations is the use of reported speech, which is utterance in which the current speaker in some way quotes or reports the talk of another (Goodwin, 2007). This can be exemplified by an excerpt from Daisy’s interview data – “Now we’re part of the family, one week ago, Wang Lijun said, you’re part of our family, that’s basically how they see us. So Charlie³ and I are not sort of some transient teacher”. In this excerpt, Daisy changed the interactional footings from “we” to “Wang Lijun” who was one staff member at the department of international education at her university. The reported speech of the staff’s reflects the staff’s orientation to Daisy’s status as a participating member at the department level, and Daisy took up the staff’s stance and discursively crafted an emerging perspective of herself, as compared to a transient teacher who originally planned to stay and teach for just one year.

Lastly, style, as a repertoire of linguistic forms associated with specific personas or identities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Eckert & Rickford, 2001), is another indexical mechanism through which identity relations emerge. These linguistic forms include, but are not limited to, grammar, phonology and lexis. One example from the present study’s data is that when discussing the rationale for his management practices in class through assigning seats, Caleb repetitively uses the lexis of “differential reinforcement of incompatible behavior”. In using this term, which is ideologically associated with psychology register, Caleb displays his previous identities as a student of psychology and as a psychological counselor. This also reflects his drawing on insight and competence developed in former educational and professional communities to construct his current self as a teacher who stresses disciplining in relating to students. In short, informed by Bucholtz and Hall’s (2005) indexicality principle, my analysis in the research process frequently examines participants’

³ Charlie was Daisy’s partner, and he worked as an English teacher at the same university as Daisy.

discursively constructed identities in interviews in similar ways as I have described above.

2.3.2 Enacted identity

Although the role played by narratives of personal experience in the construction of language teacher identities has been investigated in the above section, recent approaches to language teacher identities research have underscored the need to examine identity from more nuanced aspects. Most of the existing studies were based on researcher-elicited participants' narratives on certain lived experiences (e.g. Breckenridge, 2010; Chen, 2009; Kiernan, 2008; Kusaka, 2014; Liu & Xu, 2011; Park, 2014; Park, 2015; Rudolph, 2012; Tsui, 2007; Xu, 2011; Yi, 2009) and autobiographical life histories (Bang, 2011; Johnston, 1999; Lu, 2005; Nones-Austria, 2011; Simon-Maeda, 2004; Solano-Campos, 2014). These narratives, characterized as "the grand narratives we tell ourselves, the big retrospectives elicited from interviews" (Watson, 2007, p.371), have been criticized by some researchers to be too coherent and far less frequent in quotidian realities (Bamberg, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 2007; Vásquez, 2011).

There seems to be growing concern for exploring the rich and complex nature of the enacted identity. Recent studies (e.g. Lee, 2013; Trent & Gao, 2009) have called for classroom research on English teacher's enactments of their identities in classroom teaching during their daily professional life. In fact, the classroom itself is a "complex ecological site in which unfolding events and processes shape the way in which participants think, feel and act" (Singh & Richards, 2006, p.154). My argument is that if we truly make identities a moment to moment construction accomplished in and through everyday interactions instead of a final stage of being, an examination of teacher identities in their full complexity and dynamics is needed.

To date, however, few studies have undertaken important first steps in researching English language teacher enacted identities in classrooms. Kanno and Stuart (2011) have followed two novice English as a second language teachers who taught English

as teaching assistants for the first time throughout one academic year during their MATESOL program at a US university, and examined how classroom practices nurtured their teacher identities as well as how their emerging identities manifested in and shaped their teaching practice. Their study is significant in that it revealed the mutually constitutive relationship between beginning teachers' identity development and their changing classroom practice. However, their study is not without limitations. The first aspect of limitation lies in focusing mainly on participants' teaching in classroom settings. The study might have presented much richer insights into participant's development as teachers if it had included participants' interaction with others, such as colleagues and administrators, in professional contexts, examining if and how their identities were shaped by those interactions. Additionally, a more comprehensive picture could have been gained by adding teachers' narration of life histories, including such examples as their previous course learning in the TESOL training program in the equation. That way, participating teachers' identities development across time and space might have been revealed.

The present work attempts to overcome similar limitations by taking both narrated identity and enacted identity into consideration in studying English language teachers' identities. In order to distinguish between the identities that are constructed in narrations and the identities that are enacted in concrete teaching practices, I refer to the former as "narrated identities" and the latter as "enacted identities".

One point worth highlighting here is that in discussing narrated and enacted identities, however, I do not intend to separate them distinctively, which would run against the epistemological stance that I take, as has been discussed earlier in section 2.2.2. In fact, clear-cut borderlines between these two aspects of identities may be difficult to discern, and investigating English language teachers' identities should examine both their thinking and acting. Besides, although some inconsistency is found between participants' identities in interviews and in observed classes, which will be presented and discussed in the findings chapters, these inconsistencies can be attributed to observation data not having been elicited due to access and time constraints, and the

strong influence of contextual factors in the observed classes and institutions. In short, the main concern of this current study is not about whether NES English teachers' narrated and enacted identities are congruent with each other, but about in what ways the teachers construct their identities as English teachers in China by considering both their narrated and enacted identities.

In analyzing teachers' enacted identities in classrooms, I focus on interactions that unfolded in observed lessons, employing Richards' (2006, p.60) classroom discourse analytic tool, which draws on Zimmerman's (1998) three dimensions of identity in talk as summarized below, to examine teachers' identities during moment to moment instructional activities in class.

According to Zimmerman (1998, p.90), the first dimension of identity in talk is "discourse identity". This is integral to the moment-by-moment organization of the interaction' and relates to the sequential development of the talk as participants engage as "current speaker", "listener", "questioner", "challenger", "repair initiator", etc. The second dimension of identity is "situated identity". This is relevant to particular situations and refers to the contribution of participants "engaging in activities and respecting agendas that display an orientation to, and an alignment of, particular identity sets". In the classroom, relevant situated identities would be teacher and student. The third dimension is "transportable identity". This is perhaps the least predictable of the categories, referring as it does to "identities that are usually visible, that is, assignable or claimable on the basis of physical or culturally based insignia which furnish the intersubjective basis for categorization" (Zimmerman, 1998, p.91). For example, a participant may make relevant in talk about his or her age, race, gender, marital status or personal interests and so on.

Richards' approach to classroom conversation analysis is concerned with uncovering the dynamic identity orientation and its relation to the development of classroom interactional patterns. He makes small refinements to Zimmerman's model by proposing the concept of a default identity, which derives entirely from the context in

which the talk is produced, in association with discourse identities. In this sense, it complements Wenger's (1998) framework which appears to employ a preconceived notion of power relations and underlying ideologies within communities. It focuses not only on broader institutional settings, but considers the issue of identities in the context of talk. Instead of treating the situated identities of "teacher" and "student" as analytically given, Richards' model is open to all interactional possibilities and teacher student relationships in specific classroom situations. Combining the three dimensions of discourse identity, situated identity and transportable identity, Richards' analytic lens is particularly useful for this current study to empirically scrutinize the traditionally neglected enacted identities of teachers in concrete classroom teaching, thereby deepening our understanding of English language teachers' identities construction. More detailed analysis will be presented in the findings chapters.

To sum up, the above discussed framework that combines Wenger's (1998) theory of identity formation, Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) identity in linguistic interaction and Richards' (2006) approach to analyze identity in classrooms enlightens this current study's analysis of NES English teachers' identity formation and transformation. Overall, it is guided by the poststructuralist perspective of identity as multiple, constantly changing and situated in individual's interactions with others in contexts.

This innovative framework incorporates investigating two levels of identities as narrated and enacted in narrative personal experiences and concrete teaching practices. As a result of this framework, the present study will examine different sources of data from both interviews and class observations in the following way. It is worth highlighting that taking into consideration both data does not imply or contribute to a dichotomy between thinking and acting. In fact, it is not that interviews offer only evidence of narrated identity whereas observations are the source of only enacted identities. Instead, by combining Wenger's (1998) and Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) analytical lenses, interviews are taken to represent social practices, and thereby also sites where identities are performed in linguistic interactions and therefore sources of data on enacted identities. Drawing on Richards' (2006) approach, class observation

reveals also how discourse expressed identities and therefore offers source of data on narrated identities. As a whole, this model has the potential to provide nuanced and complementary examination of the development of language teachers' identities through both thinking and acting.

In addition, this framework also responds to the recent call for “combining micro-analysis and macro-analysis” in studying teacher identities proposed by Akkerman and Meijer (2011). A juxtaposition of in-depth micro-macro analysis will enable me to study teacher identities as the teachers' “being” at a specific moment in a particular situation, as well as the teachers' “becoming” across time and space (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). Importantly, this framework employs both micro-macro approach to both interview and classroom data. At the micro level, the present study will examine teachers' identities as they negotiate identities through discourse in talking about their experiences and as they participate in routine classroom teaching activities. At the macro level, it will explore teachers' identities in their interview narrations, especially in various communities of practices, and in classroom talks, especially the dimension of “transportable identity” as discussed earlier in this section. Therefore, the examination will transcend the here-and-now, and combine the there, then-and-future within broader sociocultural, political, and economic environments in and from which their identities emerge. As such, the combined theoretical framework brings a fresh approach to studies on language teacher identities with increased analytical rigor. It is also likely to enrich our understandings of how English teachers construct their identities, and provide new insights to the research field on language teacher identities.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed some core issues related to native English speaking English language teachers' identities. For these issues, an in-depth examination of native speaker and teacher identity has been discussed as a way to understand the topic. In particular, the review of empirical studies related to teacher identities of

English language teachers in general, and of expatriate NES teachers in particular, provides the foundation for the current investigation. The issue of narrated and enacted identities serves as the framework that guides this current inquiry and illuminates related methodological design. The following chapter will explicate the research methodology of the study.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the research design of the current study. The nature of the phenomenon of interest and the circumstances surrounding an inquiry should determine the methodology which can be most instrumental to answer the research questions (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Therefore, this chapter begins with the rationale for adopting a qualitative multiple case study design. Then it thoroughly explains the selection of research context and participants, and elaborates on the data collection and analysis procedures with details. Finally, the researcher's roles and efforts made to enhance the reliability and validity of the study are discussed.

3.1 Research design and rationale

A qualitative multiple case study approach has been adopted in this study. The qualitative paradigm, according to Creswell (2013), is guided by the following five assumptions – the multiple nature of reality, the close relationship of the researcher to that being researched, the value-laden aspect of inquiry, the personal approach to writing the narrative, and the emerging inductive methodology of the process of research. In this study, teachers' identities cannot be measurable as statistical or numerical data, and the qualitative paradigm matches perfectly with the poststructuralist perspective on identity as being multiple and dynamic, which has been discussed in the previous chapter. Though several various inquiry strategies have been developed and adopted by different scholars, all qualitative research is connected by the thread of “commitment to study the social world from the perspective of the interacting individual” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. xi). A qualitative research design is most appropriate for achieving the present study's aim, because it is “pragmatic, interpretive, and grounded in the lived experiences of people” (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p.2). As such, the qualitative paradigm allows me to conduct an in-depth examination of the complex construction of participants' identities as English teachers during their lived experiences.

Case study is an appropriate approach to investigate the research question in this

inquiry. Yin (2003, p.28) explicitly describes five research conditions which require researchers to utilize case study as a methodology: (1) “when the inquirer seeks answers to how or why questions,” (2) “when the inquirer has little control over events being studied,” (3) “when the object of study is a contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context,” (4) “when boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clear”, and (5) “when it is desirable to use multiple sources of evidence”. All of these five conditions exist in the present research. This study attempts to address the overarching question: how do the participating native English speaking teachers construct their identities as English teachers in China? The object of study, participating teachers’ identities construction, is a contemporary phenomenon with no clear boundary with real-life context and I have no control over participants’ personal and professional experiences that shape the development of their teacher identities. Besides, to answer the above question, it is necessary to triangulate data from multiple sources, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Case studies feature rich, thick descriptions of a single entity, phenomenon or social unit situated and embedded in particular contexts (Duff, 2012; Merriam, 2009; Paltridge & Phakiti, 2010). In this way, it can provide insights into the complexities of particular cases (Mackey & Gass, 2005), and illuminate reader’s understanding of the particular phenomenon under investigation. Case studies can also be interpreted as building a personal, intimate relation between researchers and participants (Merriam, 2009). For the present study of teachers identities, such kinds of relation enabled me to gain access to participants’ worlds, to establish rapport, to witness their experience and obtain depths and details of their behaviors, feelings and interpretations, which otherwise could not be accessed. Besides, a case study approach is especially promising in shedding light on various educational, sociocultural and economic contexts which shape individual’s identities. Further, the use of multiple cases allows for a cross comparison between different teachers so as to render visible the complexity of participants’ developing understandings of who they are as English language teachers in China.

3.2 Research context

This empirical study occurred at four public universities located within one city in the People's Republic of China. A justification of my selection of such research contexts is provided below.

To begin with, why does the context of China draw my research interest? First, I am a native Chinese and have studied in China from elementary to undergraduate levels for seventeen years. I am, therefore, well acquainted with the Chinese educational context, and an insider of the broader socio-cultural, economical and political setting of China. Yet I was not working in any Chinese universities while conducting this research, I was an outsider of participating institutions. Given the importance placed on contexts in shaping individual's identities and the vital role of knowledge of context in studies of teacher identities, my status as informed outsider gave me a head start in better understanding emic contexts in which the development of this study's participating NES teachers' identities were embedded, and also provided an easier access into the world of EFL teaching in China in terms of making contacts and gathering information. Furthermore, my familiarity with the Chinese learning and teaching culture minimized the potential for provoking any cultural conflicts as a non-participating classroom observer at local universities, which will be discussed in more detail in the section on data type and collection methods.

The second reason is related to the NES teachers' employment situation in Asian countries which has been mentioned in the introduction section. Although with a qualitative case study I do not seek to generalize the study results, whatever can be revealed about NES teachers' identities construction and negotiation while teaching in China does seem to have considerable potential relevance for teachers in other similar settings in Asia.

In addition, why do I choose to conduct my study at several tertiary level institutions? China's primary and secondary education is known to be university-oriented, which means that the English curriculum at lower levels matches any changes in the

curriculum at tertiary level (He & Miller, 2011). Therefore, in a study of teacher identities formation and transformation which have been revealed to be influenced by teachers' negotiation with curriculum (e.g. Duff & Uchida, 1997), I have intentionally chosen to conduct my study at tertiary level institutions. Unlike Stanley's (2013) research of Western English teachers at a single university in China, this study's data gathering was designed to be located at more than one university, so as to enhance the research findings' transferability to an extent.

Furthermore, the decision to restrict the study to NESTs working in a single city in China is practically motivated. Since I intend to conduct weekly classroom observations of participating teachers working at different universities, commuting in one city appears to be the only feasible choice. One major criterion for selecting the city is that it should have ample public universities. Given the importance of contexts in shaping teachers' identities as reviewed in the previous chapter, such a selection is likely to offer diverse institutional circumstances, contributing potentially to a richer understanding of the research questions. One capital city of one province in northern China was chosen as the social setting for this study. In addition, it should be noted that this inland city differs significantly from the one in which Stanley's (2013) study was situated. Her study was conducted in Shanghai, one of the few most developed cosmopolitan cities in China. But the selected city in this study is commonly regarded as one of the second-tier cities in China⁴. As a result, it would not constitute extreme cases in terms of socio-economic context in which participating teachers work and is likely to be more representative of larger parts of China.

3.3 Research participants

Participants were recruited by combining convenient and purposeful sampling strategies (Patton, 2002; Richards, 2003). Researchers (Huberman, 1994; Merriam, 2009; Miles & Rapley, 2014; Richards, 2003) have pointed out that some dimension of convenience almost always figures in sample selection because of difficulty of

⁴ Source: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/hqcj/xfly/2015-04-28/content_13614461.html

using other samples. Particularly, Borg (2012) argues that the reality of much research involving language teachers is that it does rely on convenience samples even though the term convenience does have connotations which are antithetical to the notion of rigorous enquiry. In the present study, besides limiting contact to potential participants who were working in one city in China during my field data gathering so as to make the research more feasible in terms of time and expense, one other particular practical constraint was access to institutional sites which determined accessibility of potential participants. As noted by Stanley (2013, p.67), business and other relationships in China are governed by the “informal” yet “phenomenally important system of connections”. Thus, I drew upon my personal network of acquaintances to contact several universities with information about this project (see Appendix G), and successfully gained requisite access to four universities with consent (see Appendix H) from each university’s head of foreign affairs department, which is in charge of recruitment and other administrative practical work of foreign teachers. The departments’ heads’ consent was sought following McKay’s (2006) advice to contact key administrators for permission to work in a particular teaching context and only then to approach individual teachers to ask for their cooperation.

Initial contact with potential participants was made through advertisement (see appendix A). I provided the advertisement via email to administrative staffs for distribution and it was posted on university notice boards at the four universities for potential participants to get information about the research project. In this way, those interested in the study could contact me directly via emails and phone calls. I remembered that when I presented my research proposal at department seminar in early 2012, one professor expressed concern about potential difficulties in recruiting participants due to the personal and sensitive nature of my study. It was reassuring that I was able to recruit enthusiastic teachers who were willing to take part in this study and open to share, and several of them even spontaneously expressed a sense of appreciation in having their experience heard. All the potential participants who contacted me were thoroughly informed of the purpose and procedure of this research

project through the Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix E) and completed the demographic questionnaire (see Appendix B) via emails. I had not met any of them before commencing my fieldwork in China in September 2012. In addition, all ethical issues were identified and resolved following the guide provided by University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (UAHPEC) before I initially contacted universities and potential participants. Strategies to ensure anonymity and confidentiality of the participants were clearly reflected in the Participant Information Sheet (Appendix E).

Participants were then selected through a purposeful sampling strategy from those who contacted me. Creswell (2009) pointed out that selecting participants in a purposeful way is the idea behind qualitative research, and the intention is to provide multiple informed descriptions of the lived experiences being explored and to better assist researchers in understanding research questions. Other researchers (e.g. Dörnyei, 2007; Johnson & Christensen, 2012; Merriam, 2009; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002; Polkinghorne, 2005; Richards, 2003) also confirmed that the power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study so as to yield insights and in-depth understanding. Potential participants' background information elicited from questionnaires were examined, those who expressed willingness to be interviewed on a one-on-one basis as well as observed in classroom and possessing the six characteristics of Davies' (2003) construction of a native speaker as discussed previously in the literature review chapter were considered.

Of the identified potential participants, maximum variation sampling strategy (Patton, 2002) for purposeful sampling was adopted to narrow the pool of participants. This strategy, which has also been employed in several previous studies of NES English teachers identities (e.g. Johnston, 1997; Simon-Maeda, 2004), was selected to yield valuable findings that emerge out of heterogeneity and cut across cases so as to enhance the findings' transferability (Dörnyei, 2007; Patton, 2002). In the present study, attention was given to the following aspects during participant recruitment: age, gender, ethnicity, prior educational and professional experience, and number of years

of English teaching experience in China. In line with the poststructural view of the multifaceted nature of identities as reviewed in the literature section, it was assumed that, beyond the issue of “nativeness”, these aspects would mediate participating teachers’ identity construction in significant ways and collecting data representing a diverse range of experiences would enable a richer understanding of the process of identity formation and transformation. In particular, I attempted to recruit participants with different levels of teaching experience in China in order to obtain data from levels of varied progress of identity negotiation during participants’ stay in the EFL context. In this way, the present study’s research questions would be more deeply and thoroughly investigated.

The question of sample size is as important as that of sampling strategy. Qualitative inquiries typically focus on a small number of participants in order to obtain saturated and rich information (Dörnyei, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Richards, 2003). The use of multiple participants serves as “a kind of triangulation on the experience” under investigation instead of verification of a particular account, which enables the researcher to move beyond a single view and locate the core meaning of the experience through deepened understanding derived from different accounts (Polkinghorne, 2005). For the present research, I originally recruited six participants who met the above discussed sampling criterion and agreed to take part in this study with completed Consent Form (see Appendix F), and gathered their data in the field. However, during data analysis I later decided to select only four as focal teachers. Such a choice of a relatively small number is intentional. Because the construction of teachers’ identities is a complex and personal phenomenon, it was deemed appropriate for this thesis to analyse only four teachers’ experience in depth, rather than exploring more generally the experiences of a larger number of participants. Fewer than four would limit opportunities in understanding teachers’ varied experiences and more than four might dilute in-depth understanding of their experiences and sacrifice sensitive analysis of individual teachers’ identity development. This decision is also supported by other researchers such as Creswell (2013, p.157), as he suggested not to include

more than four or five cases in a single case study research.

Of the two non-focal participants (whose profiles are presented in Appendix Q), they were deselected as focal cases because of richness of data and maximum variation sampling strategy. According to Creswell (2009), the underlying principle for qualitative inquiry is selecting information-rich cases from which one can learn a great deal about the focus of inquiry. In the case of Toby, his profile was similar to George with regards to gender, age, marital status, English teaching experience before going to China. However, the number of institutions that Toby had worked at and types of courses he taught in China were less than George, thus he was excluded as focal participants from this study. As for Charlie, he had similar backgrounds with Daisy in terms of age, country of origin, marital status, previous professional experience and teaching experience in China. Daisy, instead of Charlie, was chosen for inclusion in this thesis to maximally diversify the gender variation among the four selected focal cases so as to gain richer and thicker data and deeper insights to the research questions.

Table 3.1 below provides basic biographical information of the four focal participants. All names are pseudonyms. The real names and physical locations of the universities are omitted to protect the participants' privacy, rather, letters A, B and C were randomly assigned as the names to the three universities in which the four teachers worked during data gathering period (2012 fall semester). Variations exist among these four teachers in the following ways. First, one teacher was female while the others were male. The gender imbalance is acknowledged, similar to the case in Phiona's (2013, p.187) study in which she has pointed out the difficulty of recruiting western women teachers in her research setting in China. Second, these teachers were of different ages, marital status and had different types of educational and professional experiences prior to coming to China. Even though one might argue that maximum variation strategy did not apply much to their countries of origin since three of them were Americans, they grew up and spent their time in America in quite different

Table 3.1 Profiles of the focal participating teachers

Focal participant	Caleb	Daisy	George	Samuel
Gender	M	F	M	M
Age	30-40	50-60	30-40	20-30
Country of origin	USA	Australia	USA	USA
Marital status	Single	Married	Married	In relationship
Educational background	BA in Psychology; MA in English; MFA in Creative Writing	Diploma in Studio ceramics; Diploma in psychotherapeutics	BA in History	BBA in Business
English teaching certificate	CELTA	TESOL	None	None
Professional experience besides teaching before coming to China	Psychological counselor	Salesperson and manager in real estate business	None	None
ESL/EFL teaching experience before coming to China	One public university in USA for 2 years; one public university in Paraguay for 1 year	Voluntary literacy tutoring in Australia for 3 years	None	None
EFL teaching experience in China before coming to the current university	One private university for 5 years	None	One private college for 1 year; four private English training schools for 3 years	One private university for 1.5 years
Current affiliation - length of stay before 09/2012	University A-2 weeks	University B-8 years	University C-3 years	University C-6 months
Courses taught in 2012 fall semester	English writing to non-English major students	Oral English to English major students	Oral English to English and non-English major students	Oral English to non-English major students

regions⁵. Third, they had previously worked for a varying number of years at an array of institutions in China, and during the period of data gathering taught varied English courses at different universities. A more detailed personalized introduction to each individual will appear in the findings chapters.

3.4 Data type and collection methods

An overview of the fieldwork structure of this study is provided in Table 3.2 below. As can be seen from this table, there were three general phases that lasted from 2012 to 2014. The first phase started in March 2012, and involved preliminary work such as contacting institutions and recruiting and confirming participants, which has been discussed in the previous section. The second phase was the data gathering stage in the fields in China. During the final phase, I maintained contact with participants by emails and revisited the fields once to conduct follow-up interviews with two available participants in June 2014. **Table 3.2 Data collection timeline** (March 2012 – June 2014)

Phase	Work involved
Phase 1 (March –August 2012)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contacting and gaining access to institutions • Recruiting participants and distributing questionnaire • Identifying and confirming participants
Phase 2 (September 2012 – January 2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviewing participants • Observing lessons + post-lesson interviews • Gathering related instructional materials
Phase 3 (February 2013 – June 2014)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintaining contact with participants through emails • Revisiting field and conducting follow-up interviews

Among the strategies in case studies, one of the most commonly used is triangulation, which is the use of two or more methods of data collection to capture the case under study in its complexity and entirety (Cohen et al., 2007; Merriam, 2009). The present study collected and triangulated data from various sources. The following sources of data were included: demographic questionnaires, narrative interviews, classroom observations plus post-lesson interviews, related documents and follow-up interviews, as summarized in Table 3.3 below. More detailed discussion of the collection methods of each strand of data is provided in the following parts.

⁵ I personally adopt a small cultural paradigm (Holliday, 1999) that avoids attaching culture to prescribed national entity. Therefore I consider the three participants' different regions of origin as possible variations in relation to the influence of individual teachers' sociocultural backgrounds on their teacher identities, as been reviewed in the previous chapter.

Table 3.3 Overview of data sources

Data Source	Data Collection Method	Focal Participant			
		Caleb	Daisy	George	Samuel
Demographic questionnaires	Questionnaire	1 filled in	1 filled in	1 filled in	1 filled in
Narrative interviews	Audio recordings; Transcriptions	3 interview sessions (approx. 7 hrs. total)	3 interview sessions (approx. 6 hrs. total)	5 interview sessions (approx. 9 hrs. total)	3 interview sessions (approx. 5.5 hrs. total) ⁶
Classroom observations plus post-lesson interviews	Audio recordings; Selected transcriptions; Field notes	10 lessons (90 mins. each)	11 lessons (90 mins. each)	10 lessons (95 mins. each)	4 lessons (95 mins. each)
Documents	Related available instructional materials	Textbook chapters; class handouts; assignment sheets; grading rubrics; students' writing samples	Class handouts	Textbook chapters	Textbook chapters
Follow-up interviews	Audio recordings; Transcriptions	1 interview session (approx. 1 hr.)	1 interview session (approx. 1 hr.)	---	---

3.4.1 Demographic questionnaires

A written questionnaire (see Appendix B) was filled in by each potential participant administered during the first phase of the study's data collection after initial contact with potential participants. This questionnaire was aimed at obtaining teachers' background information, such as their age, learning and teaching experiences and trajectories, so as to identify and recruit participants based on the maximum variation sampling strategy which has been discussed in the previous section on research participants. Such design also gave the researcher a rudimentary knowledge of who

⁶ This refers to only recorded interviews, not including the second half of the second interview session that was not recorded due to recorder's malfunction.

the participants were. Further, this design was intended to follow Patton's suggestions (2002) that during interviews it is important to maintain the interviewee's motivation, hence the interviewer must keep boredom at bay by keeping demographic questions to a minimum. As a result, the researcher gathered related information through background questionnaires before interviews and tried to encourage open personal recount at the beginning stage of the first narrative interviews (interview guide can be found in Appendix C), so as to get interviewees relaxed and create initial rapport with participants during interviews (Dörnyei, 2007).

3.4.2 Narrative interviews

Interviews constitute a major source of data for investigating participants' narrated identities in this study. Interviewing, despite certain problems of ambiguity in spoken language and despite the fact that the researcher's mere presence during interviews inevitably influences participants' stories (Chase, 2005), is regarded as one of the most common and powerful ways in which we try to understand our fellow human beings (Fontana & Frey, 2003). Furthermore, interview allows researchers to study phenomena that are not directly observable (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p.173), just like participants' varied personal and professional lives and sense making of their English teaching experiences prior to this study. During the second phase of data gathering in the field, I conducted narrative interviews with each participant in English. These interviews were conducted on a one-on-one face-to-face basis in order to create and maintain rapport with each participant through personal level involvement.

The narrative interview, which is regarded as "a fundamental method for learning about the experiences of others" (Weiss, 1994, p. ix), creates a climate for people to tell their stories. This approach has a traditional focus on the individuals and the meanings that individuals construct in the world (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). In contrast to other interview formats which often suggest that interviewees are people with answers to researchers' questions, the narrative interview required the researchers to give the interviewees responsibility for what is told (Chase, 2005). In other words, a narrative interview is viewed as socially constituted (Gubrium & Holstein, 2012),

where the interviewer is essentially a listener and the interviewee a narrator (Chase, 2005). In my study of teachers' identities, I chose a narrative interview approach because I wanted to hear what the participating teachers would offer to share in their own voices about who they are and what is personally important to them as English teachers in China, rather than force them to answer pre-set questions with structures or to test out any preconceived hypotheses. Through storytelling, participants could relive their childhood histories in their homelands, retell their lives as English language teachers, and recall the process of becoming and being English teachers.

One particular issue relates to interview sessions. Researchers (e.g. Dörnyei, 2007) suggest that one-shot interviews are rarely able to produce full and rich descriptions necessary for worthwhile findings, and that follow-up interviews should be arranged wherever possible (Richards, 2003). Seidman's (2006, p.16-21) in-depth model for interviews enlightened the general design of my narrative interviews. He suggests that three separate 90-minute interviews with each participant, occurring over several weeks, are optimal for obtaining meaningful data to researched teachers' lives. The three-interview series he proposes concentrate progressively on interviewee's focused early life histories, concrete details of present experience and reflection of meaning.

Specifically in this study, the purpose of the first interview was to elicit retrospective accounts about the participants' life experiences before they came to China and the meanings of the experiences that participants made. These accounts included, among others, the teachers' family backgrounds and sociocultural relationships, previous learning and teacher training as well as teaching experiences. These aspects were identified because previous studies reviewed in the literature section demonstrated the potentially important influence of personal biographies and sociocultural relationships and (Ajayi, 2011; Amin, 1997; Motha, 2006; Nagatomo, 2012; Simon-Maeda, 2004), learning experiences (Clarke, 2008; Pavlenko, 2003; Trent, 2011a, 2011b; Zacharias, 2010) on the shaping of a teacher's identities. It turned out that the first interviews with the participants provided valuable information on their personal biography in which the formation of their teachers' identities were embedded, as will be discussed

in the findings chapters. Given that the development of teachers identities is closely linked to one's teaching career trajectory within a network of micro level interactions within the classroom (Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Nagatomo, 2012) and macro level institutional, sociocultural circumstances (Liu & Xu, 2011; Lu, 2005; Nones-Austria, 2011; Tsui, 2007), I focused in the second interview on eliciting the participants' working and living stories since they came to China. Particular issues such as native/nonnative dichotomy and relationships with others which were revealed by literature (e.g. Breckenridge, 2010; Lauriala & Kukkonen, 2005; Simon-Maeda, 2004) to impact on the negotiation and transformation of teachers' identities were touched upon only when they emerged in participants' narratives. Finally, questions in the third interview focused on participants' experience within the observed semester. In addition, enlightened by Norton's (2000) definition of identity, I also attempted to elicit their plan for the near future to envision the communities that they see themselves in. This effort was made because researchers pointed out that future-oriented talks in planning are connected to various strategies of the (re)presentation of their teacher identities and perspective taking, which can be considered as manifestation of discursive construction of their teacher identities (Barkhuizen, 2009; Urzúa & Vàsquez, 2008).

For narrative interviews, Chase (2005) reasons that the interviewer needs to give the invitation to tell a story at the start as well as throughout the interview. Kramp (2004, p.114) suggests the use of prompts such as "tell me about a time when..." and "tell me about..." which would invite narratives and provide a frame that allows the narrator great personal freedom and choice in narrating particular events or phenomena in their experience. The more this type of prompt occurs, in Kramp's view, the more understandings will be gained from telling stories. Therefore, in the present study, I chose to adopt this type of prompt when conducting the narrative interviews with each participant to invite his or her narratives, such as "tell me about your previous learning experiences", since I wished to lead the participants to thoughtful reflection on details of their educational backgrounds, and the influences, if any, on

his or her career trajectory and understanding of him or her self as an English teacher.

In addition to the above discussed structures and techniques of in-depth narrative interviews that had been identified before field data gathering started, I had also prepared an interview guide (see Appendix C) with lists of major areas of topics to elicit from participants for them to elaborate on in depth and breadth (Dörnyei, 2007). However, during interviews in the field, I did not stick to each question I had prepared. Instead, they were only used as a reference and a guide, and the aspects explored were flexible and shaped by the interviewees' own stream of thoughts to maximize opportunities for discussion of issues raised by them (Mann, 2011) and to gain unexpected and possible valuable insights. Furthermore, I piloted the interview sessions in New Zealand in June 2012 with one fellow native English speaking PhD candidate who had previously taught English in Japan. He was selected out of convenient sampling as through my personal networking I could not find any NES teachers in New Zealand at that time with prior English teaching experience in China. However, these pilots turned out to be very helpful in improving my skills for narrative interviewing, and also provided me with some insights about NES teachers' identities development during teaching English in Japan, which, in retrospect, resonated strongly with some of the findings in this study.

As has been summarized in Table 3.3, I conducted the three⁷ narrative interviews with the participants in the field during the first semester of 2012. The first two interviews were conducted during September 2012 in order to create and maintain rapport with the participants for later classroom observations. The last interviews were conducted at the end of the semester, and also served as a wrap-up, with additional questions on issues that I deemed to warrant further clarification during the field data collection process.

⁷ In George's case, he was interviewed for two more sessions due to his limited available time during the second and fourth sessions. In terms of the interview focus that was discussed earlier in this section, his second and third interview sessions served as the second narrative interview, and the fourth and fifth sessions served as the third one.

All the interviews turned out to be collaboratively constructed. I audio recorded the interviews with a digital voice recorder, and it is worth acknowledging that the recording was not always a neat process. One particular incident was that my digital recorder malfunctioned during the second interview with Samuel. To make things worse, I did not notice this during the interview process and only realized the problem in the evening of that interview day during attempting to transfer the recorded audio files from the recorder to my personal computer. As a result, the latter half of this session was not recorded at all. After I found out this problem, I immediately summarized, to the best of my recollection, the main points Samuel mentioned during the not recorded section, and emailed my summary to him for his adding missing points and revising inaccurate points.

3.4.3 Classroom observations plus post-lesson interviews

In addition to narrative interviews, I also conducted non-participating classroom observations of each participating teacher to examine how his or her teacher identities were enacted in and through everyday interactions in classrooms. According to Mackey and Gass (2005), observation allows the researcher to immerse in the research setting, to systematically observe dimensions of that setting, actions, events, interactions, relationships within it, and gain a deeper and multilayered understanding of the participants and their contexts. In this study, class observations were conducted once a week over the semester when I was in the field during 2012-13. It was hoped that observing multiple, rather than one-off, lessons would provide deeper understanding of participants' enacted identities in classrooms during their day to day life. The sessions for observations were negotiated in advance between each participant and me to establish a pre-arranged schedule. I also intentionally attempted to observe as many different classes as possible with participants who taught more than one group of students during the observed semester (as will be discussed in details in their findings chapters). Such a choice was made because, as discussed in the literature review chapter, I viewed teachers identities in line with the poststructural perspective as situated and that an individual's understanding of him or her self is

shaped by his or her relationship with others (Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002; Norton, 2000; Tseng, 2011), as for a classroom setting, with their students.

A non-participating instead of participating observation approach was chosen because I wanted to cause as little disruption to the regular process of the classroom as possible (Creswell, 2008, p.223). Although Adler and Adler (1994) stated that qualitative observations, especially non-participant ones, were fundamentally naturalistic in essence and that it was assumed researcher neither manipulated nor interfered with their participants, I was aware that my observation might, to an extent, hamper completely naturalistic behavior. During initial contact with participants, I assured them that I was not to interfere with their lessons in any intended way, and I would not judge their performance. However, two participants explicitly expressed concern in their students' possibly getting nervous from being observed in class, especially at the beginning of a new academic year. As a result, they did not grant me access to their classrooms until after the second week. Therefore, observation of all participants' lessons commenced from the third week of the semester. I was mostly a silent, non-participant observer during observed lessons and never directly involved in the four focal teachers' class activities⁸. In fact, all participants later confirmed that my presence did not matter in regard to their teaching and did not influence their students' performance in class much.

Another point worth discussing was about the important of selective attentiveness during class observation. Due to the limited capacity of human attention, observations are inevitably selective with preference given to the researcher's primary interest; otherwise the researcher will be overwhelmed by the amount of visual and audio information available on site (Wolcott, 1992). This was especially true for my observation in the classroom, which was filled with activities and interactions that were rich in meaning. I was also aware that it was important to identify what should

⁸ I acknowledge that their students, who knew me as a PhD candidate conducting a research on their teacher, were aware of my presence in the classroom, as some students talked to me during breaks or after class, asking questions mainly related to studying abroad.

be observed in order to shed light on possible answers to the research questions (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006). In this study, I chose to concentrate on observing the participating teachers, since my research aimed at exploring participating teachers' identities. With reference to the second research question (in what ways do they negotiate and transform their teacher identities during their teaching practices in China), I focused during lessons on the teachers' instructional procedures and activities, classroom management, and general interactions with students, during which their various positions as English teachers were enacted; and also paid attention to any change in these aspects throughout the observed semester as evidence of navigation and negotiation of their teacher identities within local institutional contexts.

When observing lessons in the field, I arrived in classroom ten minutes prior to each lesson and sat at the back of the classroom. Each observed class was audio recorded by a digital voice recorder. These recordings enabled me to repeatedly return and attend to specific teaching activities and interactions if needed and also to later conduct deep analysis of participants' enacted identities with reference to their classroom discourse. Besides recordings, field notes were also made in a journal book. I used an observation guide (see Appendix D) to maintain my focus and consistency when observing classes and making notes. Following Hobbs and Kubanyiova's (2008) suggestion, I noted down mainly key incidents in class and immediately expanded the notes by writing more elaboration that I thought worth documenting during breaks or after each class session. The field notes, corresponding to the above discussed observation focus, included descriptive notes (Creswell, 2008) of the physical layout of the classrooms, the general flow of the lessons, the procedures followed and activities implemented by teachers, their movements and manners while teaching. The notes also included reflective notes (Creswell, 2008) of my feelings, hunches, immediate impressions and interpretations of the participants' teaching, which constituted an important part of the data collection and initial analysis (Merriam, 1998). A sample field note is available in Appendix K.

Furthermore, brief interviews were conducted with each participating teacher after each observed lesson. These interviews were informal, lasted around 10 minutes each, and were also audio-recorded. I began each interview with some casual questions about his or her instructional planning and activities during the day, trying to elicit participant's perceptions and insights in relatively relaxed and spontaneous ways. I then moved to specific questions about the particular lesson that I had just observed, such as "What kind of a teacher did you try to be in this class?" in order to initiate reflections and comments on his or her own positioning in relating to students, and also discussed about hunches arising from my interpretations of some observed class activities which need to be clarified, in order to deepen my understanding of the context and participants' enacted identities during class instructions. An after class interview guide can be found in Appendix C.

3.4.4 Related documents

In addition, I collected documents, including participating teachers' course syllabi, textbooks and curriculum set by the universities, class handouts, assignment sheets, and other available instructional materials when I was in the field during 2012-13. Unlike interviews and observations, documents are not especially prepared for research purposes, they do not intrude upon the setting, and they do not depend on the whims of the researcher involved (Merriam, 1998). More importantly, documents can enrich what we see and hear by supporting, expanding, and challenging our portrayals and perceptions (Glesne, 2006). In this study, the collected documents deepened my understanding of the participants' being certain kinds of teachers in local contexts. For instance, examining Caleb's sample written feedback on students' essays provided extra evidence to his enacted position mainly as a guide focusing on assisting students to develop their academic writing rather than as an instructor of their basic language skills, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Also, collecting and reviewing participants' set textbooks offered deeper insight regarding their continuous negotiation with set curriculum and the close link between the transformations of their teacher identities and their institution's environments. All of the collected documents

were later triangulated with interviews and classroom observations during the intensive data analysis stage.

3.4.5 Follow-up interviews

After finishing data collection in the field in January 2013, I returned to New Zealand to analyze data, but I also maintained contact with participants through emails. I revisited the field and conducted one audio-recorded follow-up interview individually with two focal participants in mid 2014. The follow-up interview was not conducted with Samuel and George, because Samuel quitted the English teaching job at the end of the observed semester and started to work in an information technology business from early 2012, while George was unavailable for interview during the time when I revisited China in 2014. Caleb and Daisy were interviewed about their teaching experience during the previous year, their plans for the future, and some additional questions for clarification of ideas and elaboration of meanings they made of their experiences related to themes that emerged during the data analysis process, and these follow-up interview data were incorporated into their data set and analyzed for findings as well, as will be discussed in the following section.

3.5 Data management and analysis

In line with the qualitative paradigm, data analysis in this study was inductive and was conducted at two stages. The first stage was concomitant with the second phase of data gathering in the field, and it involved data management such as storage and filing, as well as initial reflection and brief analysis of the gathered data. The second stage of intensive analysis started after I left the field in early 2013 and two sub-stages of within-case and cross-case analyses constituted the intensive analysis stage. The following sections will offer a detailed discussion of these stages separately.

3.5.1 Preliminary fieldwork stage

During the data collection stage, I transferred the digital audio files of both interviews and observations from my digital recorders to my personal computer at the end of each day. Each electronic sound file was assigned a name which included the date and

other relevant information with serial numbers, and was stored in a document folder named after the individual teacher participated in the recordings. I also kept a running log in my written field journal book with the same information for each electronic file for future reference. All of the data from narrative, after class and follow-up interviews were transcribed verbatim by myself, since Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005, p.209) argue that “there is no benefit to be gained for the analyst by recruiting the assistance of another transcriber” as “transcribing is an integral part of the analysis itself”. As for the classroom observations, however, I did not fully transcribe the audio recordings of all the lessons, because time did not allow full transcription. Only selected portions of the lessons’ recordings that provided evidence or examples of certain dimensions of participating teachers’ enacted identities were transcribed. The transcription conventions adopted in this study can be found in Appendix I.

In qualitative case studies, data collection and analysis are often simultaneous activities. As Stake (1995) states, there is no particular moment when data analysis begins; analysis is a matter of giving meanings to first impressions as well as to final compilations; and Merriam (1998) further suggests that data that have been analysed while being collected are both parsimonious and illuminating. In this study, I actively engaged in on-going reflection and progressive focus through the entire data collection phases. For instance, some questions in the interviews were based on real time analysis of what was heard and observed during the interviews or lessons. I also conducted preliminary analysis of field notes whenever possible in the field, such as jotting down my impressions and interpretations as has been discussed earlier in section 3.4.3, as well as writing brief summaries of what I had found. All these preliminary analyses greatly enhanced my progressive familiarity with the data and benefited my intensive analysis in the following stage.

3.5.2 Intensive data analysis stage

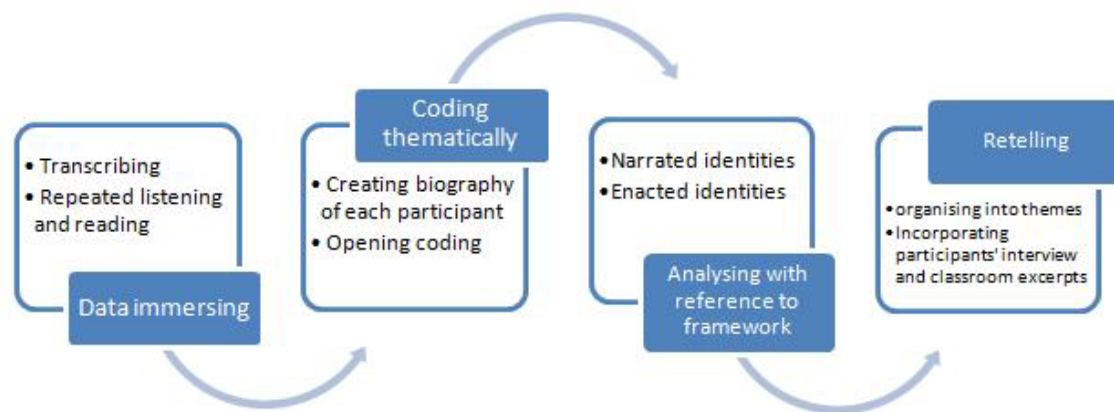
After the second phase of data collection was completed, I started to intensively analyse collected data. Analysis was conducted at two different stages: within-case analysis and cross-case analysis (Merriam, 1998). Detailed discussion of these

analyses is provided below.

3.5.2.1 Within-case analysis

At the within-case stage, each case was treated as a comprehensive unit in and of itself, and the data triangulated and analysed within the integrity of that case. Figure 3.1 below provides an overview of the flow of the analysis process at this stage, which involves multiple layers data processing that aims at revealing the complex construction of participating teachers' identities.

Figure 3.1 Data analysis flow chart



For each case, I first listened to the participant's three narrative interviews, and follow-up interviews if conducted, for at least three times. Such repeated listening, which followed Chase' (2005) and Kramp's (2004) suggestions on intensive listening to the participant's stories, enabled me to become thoroughly familiar with the data and immersed in the participant's experiences. I then sorted out these three interviews to create a chronological biography for the participant, following Seidman's (2006, p.119) suggestion that creating profiles of interview participants is a useful starting point for examining interview data, "crafting a profile or a vignette of a participants' experiences is an effective way of sharing interview data and opening up one's interview material to analysis and interpretation". Next, I reread interview transcripts line-by-line for numerous times, recorded my responses and thoughts in the margins of the transcripts, located chunks of transcripts and conducted open inductive coding

for sources that influenced the participating NES teacher's identities' formation (see Appendix J for sample annotated interview transcript excerpt). I also compared interviews to look for sources to which the participant attributed transformation of his or her identities as becoming an English teacher across time and space. Then I layered the analysis of interview data by examination taking both identity-in-discourse and identity-in-practice into account with reference to Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) and Wenger's (1998) theories, as has been discussed previously in section 2.3.1.

After conducting an open coding of the participating teacher's identities in interviews at macro and micro level, I moved on to examine his or her identities during the observed lessons in the field. Firstly, I listened through the recordings from class observations of the participant's lessons, and made a summary of each observed lesson's flow in chronological order. Then I examined the participant's instruction and management activities in general with reference to my field notes and categorized codes into themes that were relevant (i.e., corroborating or contradicting) to those codes emergent in the interview data. At the same time I also analysed, with reference to Richards' (2006) classroom discourse analytic tool as discussed in previous section 2.3.2, selected interactional episodes that provided evidence or examples of certain dimensions of his or her enacted identities as an English teacher, paying special attention where participants' situated identities are shifted and transportable identities are evoked.

Next, I combined the macro and micro levels of investigation of the construction of the participating teacher's identities through consciously triangulating data (Pavlenko, 2007) and examining how the participant perceived, positioned, and understood him or her self as an English teacher. I brought together available data from all sources for the case including transcripts, field notes, supporting documents and preliminary analysis to incorporate insights from both the participant and myself (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

In general, the constant comparative method (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Charmaz, 2006,

Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Fram, 2013; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was used during the within-case analysis stage as well as the cross-case stage, as will be discussed in the next section. This method of grounded content analysis involved deriving and categorizing major themes that emerged from different data sources throughout a process of data comparisons, reduction and verification. Specifically, I constantly compared data with data, data with codes, codes with codes to raise tentative categories and then derive themes, and also compared data and codes with theories. During this process, I kept track of any interpretations and ideas that arose, looked for both preliminary themes and additional emerging themes and categorized similar themes from various sources together to address the study's research questions. I paid special attention to evidence from different sources of data of shifts in the teacher's identities in regard to becoming an English teacher over a lengthy period of their teaching experiences in China as well as to being an English teacher during the moment-by-moment classroom instructions with both recurring practices and critical incidences. In the end, each case presented a holistic description of the individual teacher's identities development. Excerpts from participants' interviews and classroom that best supported the analysis were also presented in the final reporting of each case, because the bedrock of qualitative analysis and reporting is rich thick description (Merriam, 2009).

3.5.2.2 Cross-case analysis

Analysis at the cross-case level was intended to build abstractions across cases. In general, a researcher attempts to see processes and outcomes that occur across cases to develop more sophisticated descriptions and more powerful explanations (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In this study, I conducted cross-case analysis after analysing all individual cases in the process discussed in the previous section. For cross case analysis, an inductive constant comparative procedure similar to the one I used for within case analysis was adopted. I read over findings from each case and compared the codes and emergent themes in each case for commonalities and variations to create categories and identify patterns. Such comparisons deepened my understanding

of each participating teacher's dynamic and multidimensional identities development being shaped by their personal biography, learning to teach, experiential and affective experiences during teaching in local contexts. Appendix L presents the finalized coding scheme of this study as a result of repeated comparison. During the process of in-depth cross case analysis, an understanding of how the participants constructed their identities as English teachers in China, which was grounded in the data, began to take shape. At the same time, I continued to update and further investigate relevant literature on teachers' and in particular English language teachers' identities in general education and TESOL fields, and to link resonant and dissonant results from their studies to discuss my cross case findings. It would then be possible to discuss implications of this study's findings and make suggestions for future research.

Overall, as can be seen from the above description, data analysis process in this study made use of grounded theory, which is a method of qualitative inquiry in which data collection and analysis reciprocally inform and shape each other through an emergent iterative process (Charmaz, 2011). Interpretations of Grounded theory range from the objectivist version of Strauss and Corbin (1998) to the more constructivist interpretation of Charmaz (2006, 2008). This study, given its research focus and analysis process, was informed more by Charmaz's understanding, because constructionist grounded theorists attend to how people create and view their worlds (2006), emphasize understanding of empirical phenomena and contend that this understanding must be located in the studied specific circumstances of the research process (Charmaz, 2008). In addition, social constructionist approach to grounded theory tend to provide an analytic handle on specific experiences (Charmaz, 2008) and assume multiple realities, which bears little resemblance to objectivist grounded theory that assumes a single reality and offer precise generalisations abstract from data sources.

It is also important to note that for grounded theory approach, it does not exclude the comparison between emerging categories with established disciplinary theories during data analysis (Charmaz, 2011). In this study, my analysis was initially grounded in

gathered data, then informed by the conceptual framework that I constructed, as has been discussed in section 2.3. More specifically, when I transcribed the data, I did not have any preconceived theoretical frameworks in mind yet. I read the data, immersed myself in the data, and did initial open coding, after that, I went back to review more literature. When I looked at literatures, I continued to analyze the data at the same time. During this process, relevant theories were gradually selected and the framework came into shape. It was a recursive process, moving backwards and forwards between data and analysis many time. In this way, this study is grounded in the sense that the gathered data dictated the theories that I used. In other words, I was guided by the data to elect the theoretical framework and I used it consciously rather than automatically.

3.6 Researcher's positions The researcher plays a crucial role in conceptualizing the research design, collecting and analyzing the data in qualitative research. It is therefore important to elucidate and contextualize the researcher's positions in the research process in an open manner (Duff, 2008; Kubanyiova, 2013).

In this study, my main role as an investigator was to disclose the participants' worlds so that the construction of their identities as English teachers, at least the identities that I came to know because of my engagement with them, became visible. From this perspective, I sought to elicit narrating and enacting as English teachers from the participants without looking for data to support any pre-conceived hypothesis, even though I was aware of previous studies related to my research questions. Rather, the data itself was the source of my findings and the basis of my arguments.

From another angle, as with all qualitative studies, I, as the researcher, was the key research instrument (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008; Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Maxwell, 2005), and I inhabited multiple positions throughout the project (Norton & Early, 2011), which is particularly important to note in a thesis on the subject of identity. During all data gathering procedures, I tried not to project my own expectations and biases onto my teacher participants. For instance, I attempted to intervene minimally

during interviews. Seidman (2006) feels that listening is the most important skill in interviewing and that the hardest work for many interviewers is to keep quiet and to listen actively. By acting as an interested and active listener, I hoped to get a fuller picture of the participating teachers' identities as revealed in interviews. Besides, it was felt that the role of a non-participant observer would allow me to achieve a balance between subjectivity and objectivity in reporting and interpreting their enacted identities in classrooms. What's more, I purposefully incorporated many direct quotes from the data when discussing the findings in Chapters 4-7. It was hoped that, by doing so, the voices of the participants' could be presented and the complexity of their becoming English teachers could be honoured.

It is important to acknowledge the personal backgrounds and values that I brought into this study that undoubtedly influenced the way I collected and interpreted the data (Creswell, 2013), especially since this study was informed by the social constructionist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2008) that assumes the researcher and researched coconstruct the data. I was cognizant of my own positionality – a female, native Chinese speaker, atheist, with urban upbringing, from a working-class family, in my late twenties, and who had received public education in mainland China until I finished undergraduate studies. I have been living in New Zealand for almost 6 years and hold a MA honours degree in language teaching and learning. I would regard myself as a pre-service teacher with research interests in English language teaching and teacher education.

In particular, my not having prior teaching experience made some unique and valuable contributions to my research. In terms of data collection, such a position affected the way interviewee's talk developed, and it enabled me to get more candour and detailed elaboration and few self-censored answers from them during interviews. All my participants were aware that I did not conduct the research on the back of previous teaching experience. They were insiders in terms of being in service teachers, and they held more power. Were this study to be conducted by a researcher with lots of teaching experience, participants might have worried that they would be judged or

even condemned for certain aspects of their teaching behaviour might be seen as failing insider norms. As a result, they might be reluctant to reveal certain information about their teaching experience and perceptions of themselves. But with me, they related to me more like human beings and were quite open and more willing to share in depth information during the interviews. As for data analysis, Stake (1995) asserts that “of all the roles, the role of interpreter and gatherer of interpretations, is central” for qualitative researchers (p.99). I had less taken-for-granted assumption towards being a teacher, compared with an experienced teacher who might bring with them certain views that have formed during their previous professional lives. I was more open to ground my analysis in the data. It was particularly helpful for this study, since the aim of this study was not to judge participants’ teaching effectiveness or whatsoever, but to research participants’ understandings of themselves as English language teachers. In this respect, not having previous teaching experience contributed positively to my research.

In addition, my personal attachment and investment in this study’s research topic have been discussed in detail in section 1.2.3 of the Introduction Chapter, and the dual insider/outsider status that I assumed in relating to the research context had been discussed earlier in section 3.2 of this chapter. It is hoped that all these critical reflections on myself as the researcher would assist readers in understanding my roles in the research process, and increase the transparency of the research findings. In the coming section, I explicate the efforts I had made to enhance the reliability and validity of this study’s data.

3.7 Data reliability and validity

The reliability and validity of data are essential to research as they not only determine the quality of data but also enhance the research results (Mackey & Gass, 2005). As a result, several aspects of efforts were made to render the collection and analysis of the present study’s data reliable and valid, as discussed below.

In qualitative research, reliability can be regarded as a fit between what the researcher

recorded and analyzed as data and what actually occurs in the natural setting that is being researched (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). During data collection, several interview techniques, besides the ones related to narrative interviews that have been discussed in the Section 3.4 of data type and collection methods, were adopted deliberately. Firstly, all the interviews were conducted in quiet comfortable settings subject to participants' availability and convenience, such as participants' offices, empty classrooms and local cafés, so as to provide them with relaxed environments (Mackey & Gass, 2005) to narrate their experiences. Secondly, I approached all interviews with care and concern for both privacy and candor so as to ensure that the participants felt reasonably comfortable in opening up and talking about themselves. For the narrative interviews, in particular, I assured the participants of my position as an outsider to the institutions they worked at. I also shared aspects of my own life experience with them in order to engage them on a personal level. Thirdly, as Rubin and Rubin (2005) proposed, interviews should aim at thoroughness, depth, detail and nuance. In conducting interviews I therefore tried to encourage talks from interviewees through various kinds of probes (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) to keep the participant's sharing going and elicit details and clarifications rather than accepting initial brief statements, such as nonverbal probe of keeping silent to give interviewees more time to recollect their experience, verbal probes including for instance "could you give me an example?" to ask for more specific elaboration, and continuation probes like "hmm..." to encourage interviewees to keep talking on the stories they want to share.

I also made conscious efforts to gain reliable data from classroom observations. I was aware that the observed lessons might not accurately represent reality. Two particular factors were the presence of a researcher and a digital recorder in the observed lessons, and the distortion that this might have on participating teachers' practice. In order to cause as little intrusion in the regular process of the lessons being observed as possible, I chose to be a non-participating observer instead of participating in class activities; I informed the students at the first observed lessons that my research focus

was only on their teacher, not them, so that they did not need to worry about my presence; and I often sat at the back of the classroom. Multiple sessions of each participant's lessons were observed to enable them and their students to get used to my presence as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Furthermore, technical problems in setting up the digital recorder provided another potential source of disruption to the observed lessons' natural settings. At issue was how to record the teachers' voices clearly while not drawing too much of both the teachers' and their students' attention to the existence of a recorder. I placed a Sony digital voice recorder on the computer table of each participant's classroom (see Appendix M, N, O, P for their classroom layout) before each observed lesson started. In this way, the participants would be minimally aware of the presence of the recorder since they often stood behind or in front of the lectern during lessons. With one participant, Daisy, a Philips digital voice recorder was used with a set wireless Bluetooth microphone for her to wear during the second session of each of her lessons because she would move away from the lectern to sit and join each group's discussion. This microphone enabled me to trace and record her voice as she moved around the classroom and at the same time to preserve as much as possible of the authenticity of the observed lessons given that the microphone was very small and unobtrusive. It was hoped that all these efforts could minimize any disruption to the participating teachers' instructional practices.

In addition, attention was paid to increasing the reliability of the present study throughout the data analysis process, starting with inviting each interviewee to read his or her narrative interview transcripts. After transcribing each interview, I emailed the transcript to the participant asking him or her to examine the draft for "accuracy and palatability" (Stake, 1995, p.115) on a voluntary basis. This was done because Cohen et al. (2007) have pointed out that transcribing is a critical step in interviewing, given the potential for distortion and reduction of complexity. Other scholars (Creswell, 2009; Merriam, 1998; Richards, 2003) have also stressed that transcripts need to be checked in order to make sure that they do not contain mistakes made

during transcription. I gave interviewees the right to remove anything they regarded as inappropriate and also encouraged them to provide feedback.

Validity concerns whether or not the results of a study reflect what the researcher believes they reflect and whether or not they are meaningful in the sense that they are significant to the population being tested as well as to a broader relevant population (Mackey & Gass, 2005). Several strategies, including prolonged engagement with the participants, data triangulation and respondent checking, were incorporated into data collecting and analyzing procedures to enhance the validity of this study. Researchers (e.g. Creswell, 2009; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) generally agree that an investment of sufficient time in the field during data collection will enable the qualitative researcher to develop an in-depth understanding of the context under study, as well as building trust with and conveying details about the people, which will lead to more valid findings. In his work on identity, Wortham (2006) specifically stresses the value of “thickening of identities” in examining participant’s positioning over time through longitudinal data collection. For the present study, the data gathering phase in the fields lasted about six months, which constituted, though it might not be sufficient, prolonged engagement with the participants.

As for data analysis, data triangulation was utilized to reduce observer or interviewer bias and strengthen the validity of the study (Bogden & Biklen, 2003; Creswell, 2009; Mackey & Gass, 2005; Patton, 2002). For studies exploring identities, in particular, the value of data triangulation has been highlighted by Tremmel and De Costa (2011). In this study, I consciously collected multiple sources of data from micro and macro levels, including demographic questionnaires, narrative interviews, classroom observations, follow-up interviews and related documents as summarized in Table 3.3 and discussed in Section 3.4. While interpreting these triangulated data, a piece of evidence was compared and cross-checked with other kinds of evidence, such as my field notes and interview transcripts, and themes were established based on converging various sources of participant data. In this way, multiple sources of data would lead to a triangulated perspective of participating NES teachers’ narrated

identities as socially and historically shaped, as well as of their enacted identities in classrooms where the multi dimensions of identities as English teachers were negotiated, and ultimately contributed to a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of their identities formation and transformation.

Besides data triangulation, preliminary analysis pertaining to the identification and categorization of each participant's data were presented to the individual to ensure that the analysis captured the essence of their experiences and their understandings of who they are as English language teachers. Their comments were incorporated into subsequent revision. By employing such a respondent checking strategy (Creswell, 2009, p.191), it was hoped that the bias the researcher brought to research analysis could be significantly reduced. It was also hoped that such constant interpretation of meanings would lead to better understandings of the participants' views of who they are as English language teachers, thus enhancing the trustworthiness of the data analysis and making the final study results more valid (Cohen et al., 2007; Mackey & Gass, 2005).

3.8 Summary

This chapter attempted to provide a clear picture of the research design and methodological approach employed in the present study. Through detailed description of research procedures, it is hoped that the validity and reliability of this study's findings could be demonstrated. The following Chapters 4-7 of this thesis analyses the formation and transformation of the participating teachers' identities in depth. Each of the four chapters will present the findings in one participant's data set, before a cross-case comparison and discussion of findings appear in Chapter 8.

Chapter 4: Caleb's Journey

Caleb was born in Ohio, the United States of America in 1970s. Because his father was a university professor in English and his mother was a middle school teacher, he had been interested in receiving education since an early age. He always did his best and kept good academic records throughout his elementary, secondary and higher education, and he received his bachelor's degree with a major in psychology plus a minor in English and consecutively a master's degree in English from a top ranked university in the US. After receiving his master's degree, he worked for two years as a psychological counsellor for teenagers who were in residence at a correctional facility. Because the teenagers would get violent at times and his work there was unpleasant and tiring, Caleb quit the job and enrolled in a master's program in creative writing at a different university in US, and at the same time he started to teach as a teaching assistant. Table 4.1 below provides a brief demographic portrait of Caleb.

Table 4.1: Demographic portrait of Caleb

Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bachelor of Arts from one public university in United States, major in Psychology • Master of Arts from one public university in United States, major in English • Master of Fine Arts from one public university in United States, major in Creative Writing
Professional teaching experience before coming to China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business and academic English writing courses at a public university in USA for two years • Academic English writing course at a public university in Paraguay for one year
Teaching experience in China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English writing course at private University Z (joint program with an American University F) for five years • English writing course at public University A (joint program with an American University F) for two weeks
Personal interests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooking influenced by his family members, all of whom liked to cook • Writing, has published several short fictions in magazines and edited a Chinese cuisine book which was a collection of essays and accompanying recipes written by his students and edited by him

During the observed semester, Caleb was assigned to teach four English writing classes for sophomore students majoring in finance and law at UA. I observed one of his classes five times, and another class five times. There were respectively 26 and 25 students enrolled in each class, all of whom were present during the lessons I

observed. Each lesson included two forty five-minute periods, with a ten-minute break in between according to the university's schedule. The set textbook was *The St. Martin's Handbook (7th Edition)* (Lunsford, 2011).

The following sections of this chapter will discuss how Caleb constructed and negotiated his identities as an English teacher. To be able to do this, I first examine his motivation to go to China to work as an English teacher. This is followed by a detailed discussion of his identities development during his engagement with students, colleagues and administration in his workplace as well as other teachers outside his workplace when he taught English in the local educational and wider socio-cultural context of China. The discussion also sheds light on the connection between his personal, educational and professional background prior to coming to China and the formation of his understandings of himself as an English teacher.

4.1 Becoming an English teacher in China: just wanting to do it

Caleb's entry into English teaching in China was focused on teaching as a job and driven by his career aspiration. Before he went to China, he was teaching an English writing course at one university in US. Even though he enjoyed his work there and described it as "the job I had was pretty good" and "I loved it", he kept looking for other English teaching job advertisements on the internet. The reason for his professional decision to keep working at different schools was due to his psychological trait developed in his personal life. He saw himself as being less tied to a particular place and he found it difficult to stay in one place for very long, because his parents divorced when he was very young and he often went from one's house to the other's house. In 2007 he applied for a teaching position in China at a private university (UZ) which was jointly run with an American state university (UF). After having an interview at UF, he was hired by UF as an English writing teacher and flew to China to start his work at UZ. He described in interviews his decision to come to China at that time as follows:

I was teaching at the university in my hometown, and they wanted to keep me, they don't want me to go anywhere, and I told them, by the way, I just got a job offer in China, what? China? I said yeah, they said why, and I said why not, I just wanted to do it.

It could be seen from this excerpt that Caleb asserted his willingness and desire to take the job, which differed significantly from the other three participants in this study whose entry into teaching in China was driven by extrinsic factors and lacked agency, as will be discussed in the following chapters. Caleb's interview data also revealed that such a decision was closely linked to his positive impression of teaching as a profession and his strong aspiration to a career in teaching which were developed from his past interaction with teachers both at home and at school. Growing up in a family whose parents were both teachers, he was always surrounded by the professional atmosphere and was familiar with the culture of teaching. He also shared a lot in interviews about the positive images he held of his former teachers, especially four teachers at universities, and evaluated them positively such as "really admirable", "encouraging", "inspiring" and "very helpful". Furthermore, Caleb described them as influential forces in his career path formation. For instance, when sharing instances that helped steer him into the teaching profession, he described one psychology teacher that he studied with as "had a vast amount of knowledge" and "interesting and fascinating", and commented "I remembered sitting in his class and thinking this is great, this is the job I want, I want to teach information, help students but also have a happy job". Such comments clearly demonstrated his imagined self as being part of the professional community of teachers in the future, and in interviews he asserted twice more in similar ways about becoming a teacher as something he had envisioned during his schooling years for his future self.

4.2 Engaging with students: from teaching composition to incorporating EFL teaching

Although Caleb had worked as a professional composition teacher before he started to teach in China, he encountered different challenges during his work in China which necessitated the reformation of his identities to an extent. This section will investigate his negotiation and transformation of identities as an English teacher during one important aspect of his work in China - his engagement with students. With reference to the analytic framework that combined Wenger's (1998), Bucholtz & Hall's (2010) and Richards' (2006) theories as was discussed previously in Chapter Two and Three, I identified five emerging positions that Caleb held both explicitly and implicitly in relating to his students. These positions included: 1. an instructor, 2. a guide, 3. a discipliner, 4. an entertainer, 5. a social worker. The following part of this section will

analyse these five dimensions of relations between Caleb and his students in detail with supporting interview excerpts as well as observed classroom interactional episodes from his data set.

4.2.1 An instructor: teaching academic writing alongside cultivating other language and academic skills

One important dimension of Caleb's understandings of himself was being an instructor with evolving instructional foci which were shaped by his previous learning and teaching experience as well as negotiated during teaching in China with students' population and employing institutions' pedagogical requirements. For his teaching in China, he initially drew on his position as an instructor of English writing skills established during his work in the US and Paraguay. Similar to his previous teaching, his instruction at both UZ and UA focused on teaching English writing skills appropriate to academic discourse, and was based on textbooks and syllabus with target skills set by his employing institution UF. The writing skills, as he listed in interviews, included summary, paraphrase, quotation and citation with APA format, organizational pattern for academic essays, paragraph development, thesis statement, topic sentences, evidence, transitions, conclusions, macro and micro level revision and self-reflection. Besides, he commented that "because this is an American degree, my English department in America has these goals, and this is what I'm doing in my classroom", which reflected his alignment with institutional authoritative discourse to legitimate his instructional activities. Even though major syllabus parameters for his course were determined, Caleb was granted freedom by his American department to make personal choices regarding the content and number of assignments he designed and implemented, as he mentioned "the topics can change, they could be about eight cuisines or brands and whatever, the skills need to be intact, the methodology to do that, to write those in an organized way, this is what they need to learn".

As an instructor, Caleb valued learning and teaching second language within a structured academic route, which was influenced by his second language learning experience. At high school, he took Spanish courses and his teachers followed what he termed "an academic route", including structured learning of grammar and vocabulary then blending what was taught into conversation. Later when he worked in Paraguay, everything he previously learned in Spanish language class came back to

him easily with clear sense. Because his Spanish learning through an academic route turned out successfully Caleb strongly emphasised instructing through an academic approach. This is clearly reflected in his attitudes towards instructing the prototypical five paragraph academic essay. Although Caleb acknowledged in interviews that “the landscape of writing and teaching writing is changing constantly, academically in the States, maybe the five paragraph essay is in the past”, he explained his rationale for teaching it as “with ESL EFL learners I don't think it should be dismissed” and “I think it's still effective with beginning writers to have a nice, clear, rigorous outline and then later on in their writing career they can steer in different directions”. It was evident that, in Caleb’s view, such a structured academic approach to instructing could make academic writing clear and accessible to students.

Furthermore, it is worth discussing that Caleb’s previous position as an instructor of English writing skills in US and Paraguay was not formed in a single day, rather, it was established through a prolonged process of transformation from a graduate teaching assistant to a professional composition instructor. Although Caleb aspired from early on to a future career in teaching as discussed in section 4.1, it was not until he worked as a graduate teaching assistant in graduate school that he started to make a clear commitment to becoming a professional teacher, as he stressed in interview that “I really knew this is something I wanted to do”. During assistant teaching, he honed basic instructional skills from what he called “a mentorship” with the course lecturer. He was given a book on teaching methodology to read about, and he met weekly with the lecturer to talk about his teaching. The lecturer would give advice on how to solve any difficulty he encountered in class and provide assistance to communicate with the administration should any problem arise. Later, it was from the experience of teaching independently at Paraguay that he began to identify himself as a teacher, and in terms of his teaching there he made the following comment:

It was a giant leap in teaching experience, because I was all on my own, I didn't have the same sense of security as I did in the States because, I was just out of graduate school, and if I had a problem I went to my professor, there was just me now, I was the instructor, I had to do everything so, it was hard. I had to be independent, all this problem solving skills, I had to just draw from my own resources.

Caleb's overt mention of the identity label "instructor", which was the first time he used it during retrospection of his past teaching experience in interviews, appeared to demonstrate that he started to take on the identity of an instructor rather than just a mentee teaching in graduate school with guidance and support from professors. He became more competent in basic components of teaching such as solving problems independently with critical thinking during his teaching in Paraguay, and gradually developed his self-identity as an independent English composition instructor. In addition, sustained teaching experience helped Caleb as a novice teacher identify what was important in his teaching, which significantly shaped his shifting understandings of himself as a teacher. His didactic focus shifted gradually from being concerned with instructional contents to cultivating student's writing skills. When he taught at graduate school and at Paraguay, he used to give students a lot of quizzes about the content of a selected chapter in set textbooks. Then during his work as a professional composition teacher in the US, he gradually reduced the amount of quizzes to increase in-class writing time for students to demonstrate their real command of target writing skills. He explained the change as "I'm not gonna assess their knowledge, which is what an exam does, it looks at the knowledge retention, but this is really a skill, can you do these things or not". Previous researchers (Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Tsui, 2003) have also pointed out that once teachers became much more competent in basic components of teaching, they were then able to reallocate their attention to the more substantive questions such as what were the defining aspects of their teaching.

During the observed semester at UA, Caleb's position as an instructor of English writing skills was enacted in many lessons. He was observed to spend more than three quarters of several lessons' time (e.g. Ob-1⁹, Ob-2, Ob-5) in giving instructions on target writing skills with reference to selected chapters in set textbook and assignment outlines developed by him. His instruction often drew on a genre approach (Swales, 1990), and key genres taught during observed lessons included summary, descriptive and argumentative essays, and research paper. In those lessons, he often provided scaffolding at the pre-writing stage with explicit structural outlines for students to follow in organizing their writing in relation to its purpose as well as audience and

⁹ When referring to classroom observation data in each chapter, I used "Ob-lesson number" to indicate the source. For instance, "Ob-1" in this chapter meant the first observed lesson in Caleb's classroom.

analysed sample essays to expose them to the rhetorical moves of target genres that they would need to produce.

In addition, a great portion of Caleb's instruction on textbook information and on his given hand-outs of sample essays and assignment outlines was observed to follow predominantly the teacher-centred transmission style of teaching (Bellack et al., 1966; Cazden, 2001; Mehan, 1979). Excerpt 4-1 below was just an example. This episode was taken from Caleb's instruction on a handout of an essay outline during the second observed lesson. His situated identity (Richards, 2006) as an instructor was quite evident in this excerpt, as he controlled the floor, spoke most of the time, issued instructions, questions and evaluations, and students listened to him and addressed their responses to his prompts from time to time. The elicitation from students followed the initiation-response-feedback (IRF) pattern (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). As in turn 05, Caleb enacted a discourse identity (Richards, 2006) as a questioner, where he asked a display question (Cazden, 2001) to which he already knew the fixed correct answer. Then after one student answered his question briefly, he repeated his answer and offered an evaluative follow-up (Cullen, 2002) of "right" to explicitly accept the student's response.

Excerpt 4-1: Instruction on hand-out of an essay outline

- 01 T: This is an outline for an essay; let's look at this paper together. In the middle you see title. You don't have the title yet right? My advice is don't write the title until after you finish the essay, so you can leave that blank, the next part is one, introduction, let's read this, introduction A, opening remarks to catch reader's interests, do you remember this? Where did you see this before?
- 02 S1: The speech.
- 03 T: From your speech right? When you write an essay, you should also have some opening remarks to catch reader's interests, you don't need to do this now, I just want to tell you this is where you write opening remarks. B, thesis statement, your thesis statement is similar to your one, two, three, four, five (*points at notes on blackboard*), because that is the main topic or thesis that you choose. You can write your sentence in here later for homework, The next one, it talks about supporting paragraphs or the body, number two. Supporting paragraphs. Topic sentence one, your A, here, will give one of three things that can answer the five point two, so in my paper, for A, I would write work hard, do my best, that's what I would write here, nothing else, work hard, do my best. B, I would write, work together well, that's all you need to do, work together well, and C, topic sentence three, don't want this job. After you finish writing your A B

- 04 C here, you can see that there's number one two three, right? (3.0)
(*Ss keep silent*)
05 T: These numbers one two three are, what?
06 S2: Detail.
07 T: Details, right. So if you tell me that you're surprised, you did not expect so many classes at the university, tell me details. (*continues to elaborate*)

While Caleb relied on his previously established position as an instructor of academic English writing skills, he encountered challenges resulting from his Chinese students' low English proficiency as well as the syllabus set by his employing institution, and had to reposition himself correspondingly. Being an academic writing teacher in the US and Paraguay, he was used to building his instruction on what students already knew in terms of basic English skills and described his courses then as "there's no language difficulty, it's just the skill difficulty class". However, with a great portion of his students in China, their limited control of English lexical and syntactic tools to express ideas turned out to be a major inhibitor in the realization of his previously established identity. Due to students' low English proficiency, he modified his instruction to first focus on short essays and to postpone longer research papers until the middle of each academic year, as well as incorporating some vocabulary and sentence building when there was enough time in class. He reasoned in interview that "I had to adjust the course for the needs of the students to prepare for what goals were of my university, you have to change the class to fit the audience", which implicitly displayed his affective frustration towards the negotiation of his positions.

On the other hand, his employing department at UF incorporated a speaking component into his writing course syllabus in order to cultivate students' ability to not only summarize a text in writing but to talk about it verbally. Although Caleb mentioned that he added a small component of presentation task to his course each semester when working in China, interview data revealed that he had been, and still was at the time of this study, focusing primarily on instructing academic English writing skills. In interviews, he made a comparison between teaching algebra and basic math to justify his instructional focus and explained the reason why he personally did not identify with his department's goal of incorporating speaking elements into his course. The following two excerpts evidently reflected the clash between his ideal identity as a writing teacher of academic English skills and institutional imposed identity as an English composition and language teacher:

This shouldn't be a class about the sentence level; it should be about the essay level. (...) When I get my students here, they're supposed to already know some English, I don't cover grammar much in my class, it's really not why I'm here, I'm here for writing class. It's like if you think of math and I am teaching algebra, I shouldn't have to cover addition, subtraction, multiply, two plus two, eight times four. Basic math is something that they should already know.

Our school wanted to add a speaking component into this class which, really, doesn't belong so much, coz it is not a speech class, it's a writing class but, our school wanted us to include speaking as part of what we are gonna introduce them to, speaking in an academic context.

Although Caleb commented in interviews somewhat negatively about the position as an instructor of other English language skills alongside writing, he had enacted such a position during the observed semester. For instance, the first two observed lessons covered oral presentation skills. He gave instructions on how to prepare for a speech with the aid of a speech card which provided an outline for article summary speech, and provided useful strategies for presenting such as eye contact and body gestures. Then each student gave a 2-4 minutes oral presentation to summarize the articles they had read. In addition, during most observed lessons, before he would instruct on a textbook paragraph's information about target writing skills, the whole class would usually listen to either his or a voluntary student's reading the paragraph sentence-by-sentence, and he would at times correct some pronunciation errors and clarify the meaning of certain vocabularies that were important or unfamiliar to students. The following Excerpt 5-2 taken from the first observed lesson was just an example. Immediately preceding this excerpt, Caleb read a short paragraph in the textbook about employing strategies when composing for oral presentations and explained what the paragraph was about in his words. Then he invited a volunteer to read a following paragraph (turn 01) and corrected the stress of the word "anecdote" (turn 03) during the student's reading. In this way, he incorporated, to an extent, speaking, reading, listening components and pronunciation and vocabulary teaching into his writing class.

Excerpt 4-2: "Anybody volunteer to read this paragraph"

01 T: The first paragraph, a memorable introduction and conclusion.

Anybody volunteer to read this paragraph, to practice your oral English? (*one student raises her hand*) Adela, thanks.

- 02 S1: Remember that listeners, like readers, tend to remember beginnings and endings most readily. So work extra hard to make these elements memorable. Consider, for example, using a startling statement, opinion, or question, a dramatic anecdote (*pronounces as /a 'nɪkdəʊt/*)
- 03 T: Anecdote (*pronounces as /'anɪkdəʊt/*)
- 04 S1: Anecdote (*pronounces as /'anɪkdəʊt/*). A powerful quotation or a vivid visual image. Shifting language, especially into a variety of language that your audience will identify with, is another effective way to catch their attention. Uh, whenever you can link your subject to the experiences and interests of your audience, do so.

Furthermore, interview data revealed that Caleb's perception of himself as an instructor in relation to students developed into integrating cultivation of skills needed for students' continued academic studies and future professional careers into his instruction. He described his personal pedagogical aspiration as "I just wanted to help students get some skills to continue in their studies and then go on in their career". One instance that he mentioned to illustrate his target skills was about a project he designed during his third year of teaching at UZ. For this project, students needed to dine in groups in different local restaurants, write first individually an essay to review chosen restaurant's food, service and atmosphere and then mix group member's writing into a final draft, design a website of the chosen restaurant based on the final draft and present their website to the entire class. Caleb elaborated the mixed skills that he taught through this project included collaboration in groups, field research and digital skill of using internet web platforms to convey messages besides English writing and speaking abilities. In addition, he also found based on his years' teaching experience in China that "I think they use QQ¹⁰ and those other things but a lot of the students don't have experience with Microsoft word". Therefore Caleb also attempted to educate students in digital word processing skills by requiring students to type some of their written essays in Microsoft Word and providing basic training in using the software.

However, classroom observation demonstrated that Caleb had to cope with practical constraints he was faced with in realizing certain aspects of his preferred position as an instructor of academic skills beyond language skills and to adjust his instructional practices accordingly. The major constraint that emerged was UA's out-of-date

¹⁰ QQ is a computer-mediated communication software widely used in China.

computer facility. During the observed semester, Caleb used the local restaurant project he had previously utilized at UZ. But at the beginning of the eighth observed lesson he told students “we were going to do website today, but we will not, we cannot do website because the software is too old so we’re gonna scratch the website from this semester”. In post observation interview, he shared his “quite unhappy” experience in the previous day when he tried to give the same lesson to another class, he found out that the software needed to build a website was not preloaded onto computers in the computer laboratory, and when he called the tech person he was told that the computers there were too old to install the software. He commented that “I was disappointed, the small things that shouldn’t be problems become big problems. What university has stuff that’s so old I can’t teach the students?” This comment clearly reflected his frustration towards his inability to control the equipment in his working environment the way he saw fit.

4.2.2 A guide: promoting independent learning and consulting with individualized attention

In addition to instructing academic writing and other language and academic skills, being a guide also emerged from Caleb’s data as an important dimension of his relation with students. In interviews, he pinpointed that one aspect of his work was “I’m there like a consultant”, and stressed that he would usually first tell students where to find answers to their questions in the textbook or class hand-outs and encourage them to look for the answers and understand by themselves instead of directly telling them the answers. Then sometimes when students just could not figure out the answers even after they had attempted, he would help to solve their questions. The rationale for taking the position as a guide was explained by him in the following interview comments:

They got to learn to search for the answer by themselves, instead of being told the answers. So, guide them, show them where it is and they've got to find it themselves. Because the next problem that comes, they've had that experience and they can find it. (...) They themselves need to focus more instead of relying on each other or a teacher. As they say in China, the teacher will open the door; it's up to the students to walk in, right? There's another one from America about teachers will show you what to read not what to think, something like that.

This excerpt clearly demonstrated that Caleb held students accountable for their own learning and expected them to be invested in their own achievement. Such an epistemic orientation was displayed by evaluation about what students “got to” and “should” do during their learning and by reference to traditional sayings about teacher-student relation with which he implicitly aligned. In his view, although teachers had the job to guide students during teaching process, students needed to do their part to participate actively in the learning process and learn to study independently at the same time.

Observational data of Caleb’s lessons corroborated his position as a guide attempting to promote students’ independent learning. In fact, alongside the genre approach to teaching writing, his course was observed to have incorporated a process approach, which included drafting, responding, revising and editing, and he guided students perform writing tasks during the recursive writing activities. Several observed lessons (e.g. Ob-4, Ob-6, Ob-7, Ob-8) were organized by him as writing workshops (Hyland, 2003) where students engaged in their individual drafting and revising or peer reviewing with Caleb’s guidance. For example, he guided students’ peer review by providing peer response sheets, which asked students to mark yes or no to set questions in reading peer’s writing, as a tool to help students focus on reviewing important areas of the writing assignments. Furthermore, in different parts of the outlines and sample essays he gave to students before drafting stage, he often marked superscripts of textbook chapter and section numbers in case students needed to review the textbook to find how to do a particular skill during their individual writing. The following direction Caleb gave to whole class was taken from the beginning of the sixth observed lesson, which reflected his orientation as a guide who valued and tried to cultivate students’ autonomy:

T: If you have questions today, what should you do? If you’re going over the outline and you’re not sure how to do something and have a question, remember the outline has these (*points at chapter and section numbers marked in the outline hand-out*), so if you get a question just read the book, if you still don’t know what to do, you can look in my essay, my essay has examples. Emergency question, you can ask me, emergency, if the book and this (*points at his sample essay*) don’t help you, emergency is ok, all right? Ok.

It should be noted that Caleb also often enacted a position of a guide who offered students assistance and suggestion with individualized attention. It was observed

during several lessons (e.g. Ob-4, Ob-6, Ob-7) that students at times talked to him individually to address questions and confirm uncertainties during their writing or peer reviewing in class. Furthermore, Caleb often gave individual feedback after a student finished drafting. His comments often focused on identifying problems and suggesting what needed to be changed instead of how to make related change specifically. One instance was his comment on the draft of one students' augmentative essay, as "this is almost correct but it's not, check seventeen B eleven, this is not correct" (Ob-7). Instead of giving explicit instruction on how to change the wrong in-text citation in the draft, Caleb only directed the student to refer to the target section of the textbook and revise it by himself. In addition, his after class written feedback on students' handed-in essays was observed to focus more on global development of ideas, clear paragraph structure, effective transition between paragraphs than on local vocabulary and grammatical errors, because he emphasized on directing students in a way that would make their writing more organized. Although researchers found that writing teachers usually assumed that one of their main roles was to correct all the errors of students' writing as language editors (Casanave, 2012; Lee, 2013), this was not the case for Caleb. He was observed to only correct students' language errors selectively and more often would make marks such as "verbs→past" (Ob-4) to guide students to correct by themselves.

These guidance processes with individualized attention, as Caleb revealed in a post observation interview, were shaped by his direct contact with former teachers in an "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie, 1975, p.61). According to him, he had intentionally incorporated "an individualized direction" in relating to his students since he initially started to teach, and he explained the rationale for doing this as "because when I was in the school, I had teachers who did that, I thought it was quite helpful". When he took one English teacher's course for his bachelor's studies, he often met with the teacher in his office and talked about questions he had about the lesson content as well as his future life plans. Because he personally benefited a lot from those one on one meetings, he perceived that "it really helps to have that individual time for the students, I think everyone should do that, it works". Such a comment displayed his epistemic orientation towards what a teacher should do to help students and reflected his implicit alignment with his former teachers who guided students with individualized attention.

4.2.3 A discipliner: setting class rules to control and manage students' behavior

Another important discourse emerged in Caleb's understandings about his relationship with students was related to discipline. It appeared that he favored regulative discourse and class management was of paramount value to him, as he commented in interviews "a big part of teaching is being able to control the class and manage it so that everybody is together" and "I feel this is important to create a working relationship, set boundaries and establish expectations for the students". His interview and classroom observation data suggested that he deliberately positioned himself as an authoritative figure in order to effectively manage his class and students' learning, as discussed below.

For instance, Caleb's position as a discipliner was reflected in his management of class space and time. One approach he utilized to establish his authority was setting up students' seats. He stressed in interviews that at the beginning of the first lesson of each semester, he would randomly arrange students to sit separately in assigned seats throughout the semester, instead of allowing them to sit according to their own will. Part of his rationale for doing this was "it sets up an atmosphere of kind of like this is not too strict but this is kind of established, this is what we are gonna do, I make the rules, the first day sets up a lot", which exerted his authority as a teacher. Classroom observation also confirmed such a seating pattern, as could be seen in Caleb's classroom layouts presented in Appendix M. Students often sat separately in set seats with one empty seat or passage in between during most observed lessons. The only exception to this practice was in the seventh observed lesson. Caleb instructed students before the lesson started to "sit somewhere with your classmate who you trust to check your essay" (Ob-7), and he explained its aim in post-observation interview as for students to practice peer reviewing "in a safe environment".

Another approach he employed to discipline students was checking attendance. He was observed to spend time at the beginning of every lesson in calling students' names to check their attendance. He acknowledged in post-observation interview that he knew their names and he could do it quietly by himself, but he purposefully called their names "for consistency and formality", which made them know there could be no doubt that he would know if they were absent or late for his class.

Besides assigning seats and checking attendance, Caleb's emphasis on disciplining in relating to his students was also demonstrated in the array of class rules he had established and followed strictly. One example was no cell phone usage in class to restrain students from resorting to personal activities unrelated to class. Before the commencement of several lessons for students' individual writing (Ob-3, Ob-6, Ob-8, Ob-10), Caleb was observed to write phrases such as underlined or circled "NO TALKING!" "NO PHONE!" and "NO EATING!" together with the bullet points of lesson agenda on blackboard, and at time even drew a small angry face besides the phrases. Then at the beginning of those lessons, he often reiterated the requirements such as "I want you to do no talking during the quiz because, everyone should write your own answers" (Ob-3) and "work hard today, no talking, no eating in class please. It's a writing class, not eating class" (Ob-8).

Another two rules Caleb elaborated in interview were related to in-class writing and after-class conferencing. He confirmed in post observation interview that all his students' writings happened during class time in order to "keep them from not finishing" and to "monitor the authenticity of their writing". What's more, he also offered opportunity for one-on-one face-to-face conferencing outside class to answer students' questions about his written feedback on their writings. He made it a rule for them to first write him an email with the questions they wanted to discuss before meeting during his office hours. According to him, this rule required students to reflect on their writing and his written feedback and to raise questions about what they needed further clarification on, thereby making the after-class conference have a clear agenda and the utmost benefit.

In fact, one notable phenomenon observed in Caleb's classroom concerned the paucity of disciplinary issues during lessons. Caleb was observed to have spent little time and effort in monitoring students' attention, because the students followed his rules that had been clearly established in advance. Only one exception was observed in Ob-8 where four students chatted audibly during the beginning of individual writing time because they did not fully understand Caleb's direction on the writing task. Caleb exerted his authority to deal with misbehavior by looking in their direction and asking sternly "is there still some question? What's wrong, what's wrong?" As far as a reprimand went, this was a mild one because he did not single out the talking

students. However, it was effective, as the students immediately stopped talking and Caleb went to individual students to further explain the task in private.

Another important aspect of the findings which emerged from Caleb's interview data was the close connection between the development of the above discussed self positioning as a discipliner and his previous study of psychology and work before he became a professional teacher. Those earlier educational and professional experiences developed his insights of teenager behavioural psychology and disciplinary skills, and he brought related insight and competence into his latter teaching contexts to construct and legitimize his latter professional self as a teacher. On one hand, Caleb drew on psychological theories to justify his management practices after he changed his profession into teaching. For instance, he explicitly mentioned in interviews that "my bachelor's degree is in psychology, so I take it kind of a psychological approach to teaching too", and elaborated part of the reason for assigning students' seats as:

To admonish students for talking, and this is a psychological theory, differential reinforcement of incompatible behaviour, you reinforce behaviour, students can't seat next to their friends, and they can't really talk to each other coz there is a seat in between, so you don't have to always be like, hey quiet, don't talk. If they are not sitting next to their friend, they can't chat with their friend, so that behaviour is incompatible with what distracts the teacher or the other students from the class. This is just what I do. It really helps, it does. We didn't cover that in CELTA, by the way, it's not something they told me to do.

In the above excerpt, psychological terminology was the means Caleb used to rationalize his management practice to reduce disruption in class. He also adopted several other terminologies which were associated with psychology during interviews, such as in talking about giving students after class reading assignments and in class quizzes when he taught the English writing course in US, he explained that "so they begin to realize this rewards system, read the material, think about it and then when you have the quiz, the questions will connect very well with the reading" and "then you get reward, and then reinforced that, if you do what you're supposed to do, it will have a good benefit". By using his repertoire of linguistic forms (e.g. lexis of "differential reinforcement of incompatible behaviour" "reinforce" "reward") that

were ideologically associated with psychology register, Caleb demonstrated affiliation to and membership in his previous communities as a student of psychology.

On the other hand, interview data revealed the impact of Caleb's former work in counselling troubled youth on his perspective of relating with university students and how he constructed a coherence that threaded his previous identity as a psychological counsellor with latter one as a teacher. He had worked for two years as a counsellor providing psychological and behavioural treatment for teenagers who were ordered by judges in court to live in residence at a correctional facility. He mentioned in the first interview that discipline reigned in his job at the correctional facility and it was important for him to set rules in place and firmly stick to set rules unless certain unexpected situations called for a flexible deviation. Later when sharing his experience as a teaching assistance in his master's program, he compared the psychological traits between university students and teenagers in the correctional facility he used to work in as "not much different" in that both of them thought "they can do what they want, they can get away with everything" and both were "not very well disciplined"; and he described his teaching as "it was ok and I already had a job in a group home as a counsellor, so I already had the ability, that kind of control but not control, like the flexibility but also some rules in place". His explicit invocation and juxtaposition of the identity label of "a counsellor" in talking about his initial teaching experience illustrated the transference of his management skills through different professions.

Over his years of teaching in China, Caleb maintained his position as a discipliner in relating to students, even though some of his disciplinary methods, especially the seating one, were disliked by students when they took his course and even questioned by his colleagues. He mentioned in interviews about the comment from one of his colleagues in his office at UA "someone like that girl over there she said, you are treating them like kids, and I said well, I'm not treating them like kids, I just, this is where they sit". In interviews, he defended his practice as "I don't know why people don't like it, people here like, why you make them sit, because it helps, that's why I do it". In addition, he commented about his envisioned self as a teacher when talking about his future career plan:

(...) they (*his students*) tell me I'm too strict. Like quiet, you know, no cell phone, I don't want to change that, and actually a former student told me, at the time when we were in class, we didn't like it, but after we finish we know why, that's what I like to hear, that's better than a pay check.

In this excerpt, the reported speech of his former student proved direct evidence of the attitudes and acknowledgement of his students on his teaching. His comments (“That’s what I like to hear” and “That’s better than a pay check”) reflected the importance he attached to his students’ positive opinions of his class management practices. For Caleb, recognition by his students seemed to provide him with emotional satisfaction and validation as well as enabling him to maintain the dimension of his teacher identities as an authoritative persona.

4.2.4 An entertainer: developing culturally relevant teaching materials and tasks

Although discipliner emerged as an important position Caleb held, he also perceived himself as an entertainer by employing intriguing and culturally relevant teaching materials and tasks. He commented in interviews that “the worst was to have a boring teacher”, and elaborated on the significance of creating a relaxed and engaging learning environment for the sake of making students more receptive to learning and also of keeping up his own teaching morale in the following excerpt:

It's a performance really. You gotta entertain students, it's like you are a clown, you gotta keep them engaged or they're gonna shut you off, and it helps me too, I don't like to be bored in my class. Eight years, I'm saying the same thing for eight years, so it's good to find a way to approach it differently. (...) I think it could be a good mix of you being in control, being academically serious also being funny. You gotta blend it together, coz if it's always one, it's gonna feel too stifled.

One approach to entertaining students as narrated by Caleb was adapting textbook materials to make the sample texts used in class interesting and culturally sensitive to students’ demography. In his view, the textbooks set by his employing department were not suitable in that most of the sample paragraphs and essays were about American situations that his students had no experience of. One instance that he mentioned in interview was “going to a drive-in movie, not many Chinese people do that, it’s hard to use that as an example”. According to him, this might narrow

students' focus to the single unfamiliar phrase instead of looking at the sample text as a whole – “they need to think about the larger picture, the organization as opposed to what is a drive in, so that was an obstacle”. Therefore, he only used information from set textbooks as “a reference” but rarely used example essays in the book. Instead, he would use texts selected by him as reading materials, and also write appropriate sample paragraphs and essays to provide students with optimal learning opportunities of target writing skills without stumbling in terms of content.

The above discussed identity as an entertainer was also enacted in Caleb's lessons during the observed semester. For instance, he assigned news articles on various topics (e.g. food security in China, college tuition for overseas Chinese students) selected from online websites (e.g. China Daily, New York Times, the Guardian) for students to read to write summaries and make oral presentations (Ob-1, Ob-2). The sample writing materials he used were either written by himself (e.g. sample argumentative essay related to nouveau riche in China used in Ob-5) or from academic journals (e.g. sample research article about branding in China used in Ob-9). The content of all those materials contained an accessible degree of cultural reference to situations in China and to students' daily life.

It should be noted that Caleb's teaching prior to coming to China appeared to have played a significant impact on the formation of his identity as an entertainer by increasing his sensitivity and respect towards cultural difference. He elaborated two particular experiences in interviews. First, his teaching in the US of international students from around the globe enabled him to observe American culture from a new perspective. He found that answering students' daily questions and reading their essays offered him a fresh look at things that he saw every day and took for granted. The second related to an incident about an inappropriate slang he inadvertently used in Paraguay, which made him realise the importance of being sensitive to local culture. When he taught there, he occasionally used Spanish in class, and once he said in Spanish that he liked to eat chorizo, but he did not know that in local context the word chorizo for sausage was a very bad slang word until his students responded by laughing. These experiences of teaching various groups of students from multiple backgrounds in different cross cultural contexts raised his awareness to cultural issues, and benefited the above discussion of his agentive adaptation of set textbooks during the development of his teacher identities in China.

Further, findings revealed that Caleb also drew on his personal interest in constructing his position as an entertainer by making the writing assignments he gave appealing to students. Specifically, it appeared that being a lover of food and cooking himself added authenticity to many writing projects he designed which were related to food. Over his years of teaching in China, he had created several writing projects that encouraged students to investigate their own culture and lived experiences in real life and to write with enough substance. One instance he elaborated in interview was a project that involved sharing their memories of food culture through written essays and recipes of their favourite Chinese cuisines. In his view, this project not only made the learning process more engaging, but also promoted an inclusive vision of writing that enabled his students to capitalize on the rich local cultural resources and to have their sociocultural identity validated and maintained. Another intriguing project he raised as an example was the local restaurant project discussed in the previous section. Caleb mentioned that “I remember a year I did it, the students said I called my mom, and said my homework is to go eat in a restaurant, so weird”. He commented on the project as “it was fun” in showing students “how different education can be” when “they still learned how to write an essay”. It was clear that for these writing projects, Caleb utilized his favourite cultural resources related to food and cooking out of many other available topics to make learning process entertaining, which added a personal touch to the construction of his identities as an English teacher.

In addition, classroom observation revealed two particular strategies Caleb used intentionally to engage and entertain students during his teaching activities. One was to incorporate Chinese in his instruction on vocabulary, and the other was using local examples, especially by resorting to his knowledge of local practices and referring to his personal experience in China, to illustrate target skills and related points instead of using accompanied examples in the textbook.

Firstly, unlike Daisy (another participant in this study) who was never observed to use any Chinese in class except for students’ names, Caleb often asked students explicitly during vocabulary teaching for corresponding Chinese translations and attempted to learn related Chinese pronunciation. He explained in post observation interview the rationale for such a practice as not only to speed up students’ understanding, but more importantly to “break up a little bit” the long and tiring lesson in English and “divert their attention to watching a foreigner try to say Chinese, I think it’s a little relaxing”.

The Excerpt 4-3 below was just an example. During his reading and explanation of textbook information on critical thinking as a crucial component of argument (turn 01), he identified a key vocabulary “doubt” and invited students to provide its corresponding Chinese saying. Then he attempted to repeat the Chinese word (turn 04, turn 06) and pronounced the tone correctly after one student’s correction (turn 09). In doing this, Caleb enacted a situated identity of a learner about Chinese language during his interaction with students, which transformed the unidirectional flow of information from teacher to students as in the previous excerpts and thereby altered, to an extent, the traditional situated identities of teacher and students in classrooms.

Excerpt 4-3: “What’s the Chinese word for doubt”

- 01 T: T: Playing the believing and the doubting game. Critical thinkers are able to shift stances as they take in an argument, allowing them to gain different perspectives. One good way to begin is to play the believing game, that is, put yourself in the position of the person creating the argument, see the topic from that person’s point of view as much as possible and think carefully about how and why that person arrived at the claims. Think about where they’re coming from, what are they talking about, put yourself in that person’s shoes. Once you have given the argument your sympathetic attention, play the doubting game. What’s doubt meaning? What’s the word, the Chinese word for doubt?
- 02 S1: [[huái yí
- 03 S2: [[huái yí
- 04 T: huái yì
- 05 S1: huái yí
- 06 T: huái yì
- 07 [(Ss laugh)
- 08 S1: [[Yí yí yí
- 09 T: Yí, huái yí, doubt, what does doubt mean?
- 10 S1: Don’t trust
- 11 S3: Not sure
- 12 T: Don’t trust? Not sure? Sceptical, hm. Play the doubting game. (continues to read the textbook paragraph)

Secondly, during his teaching sessions, Caleb was observed to use many examples related to situations in China, especially by telling anecdotes about his personal experience in China, to illustrate related information in the textbook and entertain students at the same time, as could be seen from the following Excerpt 4-4 which was taken from the lesson on argumentative rhetoric (Ob-5). Immediately preceding this episode, Caleb told students there were three ways one could make an argument and instructed regarding the first which was through emotional appeals. Instead of using

the textbook example for this section of a photo which showed protesters rallying against a proposed California state law that would prohibit people from openly displaying firearms, he mentioned he had a story in Beijing and elicited the word “beggar”. In the following interaction, he went on to explain how emotional argument worked.

Excerpt 4-4: “I had a story in Beijing”

- 01 T: A beggar is using an emotional argument, right? Remember argument is to change or get something. A beggar on the street is using emotional argument, how do they use emotion to get you to think about giving them money?
- 02 S1: It's sad story.
- 03 T: Yeah, it's a sad story, right? (*writes sad on blackboard*) They look sad, what are some details when you see a beggar?
- 04 S2: Broken legs
- 05 T: They have some disability? (*writes disability*)
- 06 Ss: Um
- 07 T: Right?
- 08 S3: [[Very old
- 09 S4: [[They're old
- 10 S5: [[Illness
- 11 T: They, sometimes they crawl on the ground?
- 12 S6: 太恐怖了 ((too horrible))
- 13 S7: They have no money
- 14 (*T writes No \$*)
- 15 S8: They have no hat
- 16 (*Ss laugh*)
- 17 T: (*writes poor clothes*) They have something right?
- 18 S3: No arms
- 19 T: Dirty clothes, they have a sad story, some kind of physical disability that you can see, right?
- 20 Ss: Um.
- 21 T: And they're often, in New York city, in Chicago, in Beijing, they are often very easy to see, because they choose where to do this?
- 22 S4: Street.
- 23 T: What kind of street?
- 24 S4: [[Business
- 25 S9: [[Busy
- 26 T: A busy street right? Why do they go to the busy street?
- 27 S5: [[There are people
- 28 S7: [[More people
- 29 T: There's more people, is their home near the busy street? Is that where their house is?
- 30 S9: No.
- 31 T: Probably not, if they have no money, how can they have a house so near the busy street? If they have no legs and no arms and have such a disability, how do they get to that place? Someone has to carry

- them, somebody has to take them to that place right?
- 32 Ss: Yeah.
- 33 T: They can't just live there, so they need to find somewhere to uh, find a place to make people seeing sad. This is an emotional argument that beggars use to make you think that they need your money, right? Often, because I'm a foreigner, the beggars try to get money from me, and I, I don't know how to help them, coz foreigners haven't a lot of money right? But these days, beggars, are choosing a different approach, do you know? Do you know about the beggars of two thousand and twelve? (*writes 2012*) There's a new kind of beggar, do you know them?
- 34 Ss: No.
- 35 T: They look a lot like Jack (*points at a student*)
- 36 (*Ss laugh*)
- 37 T: Yeah, two times, two times in Beijing, the new, the new two thousand twelve beggars, look just like him, and they come to me, and they want money, do you want to hear the story?
- 38 Ss: Yeah!
- 39 T: You know I go to Beijing a lot. Did you know that? I like Beijing, [[and
- 40 S9: [[我知道啥啊 ((how can I know))
- 41 (*Ss Laugh*)
- 42 T:: [[Is that your hometown?
- 43 S5: [[Beijing is very
- 44 T: What?
- 45 S5: Messy, and very expensive.
- 46 T: The taxi is expensive
- 47 Ss: Yes!
- 48 T: But I like Beijing
- 49 S5: And it's very 拥挤怎么说 ((how to say 拥挤))
- 50 S7: Crowded
- 51 S5: 堵车怎么说 ((how to say 堵车))
- 52 S1: Traffic jam
- 53 T: So when I go to Beijing, because I'm a foreigner, people can easily see me and the new beggar in Beijing is not the sad, poor clothes, disabled person on the street, they're young, maybe twenty, nineteen twenty one years old, they have great English, sometimes they have a girlfriend with them,
- 54 (*Ss laugh*)
- 55 T: and they come to me a foreigner, to beg money, how do they do this? Well, I will tell you more about the story, we must study the chapter first, [[and
- 56 S6: [[No!
- 57 T: what the skills we will learn in this chapter will show you, how I know what is a beggar and the skills that we'll study in the chapter, so let's go to chapter eight, part A, recognizing arguments, who will read this? (*a student raises hand*) Owen, thanks.

Although Caleb was the one who introduced the example of beggars to illustrate emotional appeals and a considerable proportion of the interactions in this episode maintained the IRF chains (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) (e.g. turn 01-03, turn 23-26, turn 29-31), there were also several non-traditional exchanges initiated by the students. Unlike the transmission type of teaching where the teacher controlled the floor and students only addressed their responses to teacher's questions when being asked, students in this excerpt actively questioned (e.g. turn 40) and challenged (e.g. turn 56) Caleb in a joking manner and expressed unprompted personal opinions with the assistance of other students (e.g. turn 45, turn 49-52) on the annoying aspects of Beijing against Caleb's claim of his fondness for the city. These discourse identities were not normally associated with their situated identity as a student in a classroom. It would be excessive to claim that these moves by the students transformed the situated identities of the classroom, as for the most part Caleb maintained control of the development of the interactions in this excerpt and barely moved away from his situated identity as a teacher (Richards, 2006). However, by referring to his transportable identity (Richards, 2006) as a foreigner with certain knowledge of local practices in China during his telling of personal experience in Beijing, Caleb seemed to have established a relaxing and engaging environment for students' learning and their open sharing. His self revelation thereby added a possible interactional dimension in the classroom.

4.2.5 A social worker: supporting students on matters related to studying abroad

Moreover, interview data revealed that during Caleb's work in China, the student population influenced aspects of the shift in his identities as a teacher. This shift could be illustrated by the change in his self position as a social worker in relating to different groups of students at different universities. When he worked at UZ, Caleb taught junior students. Instead of anchoring his understanding of self solely as a teacher inside class, Caleb stressed "I also want to help them study abroad" in broader scope outside class, so as to assist students' developing competitive edge for their future job hunting. However, such a position in helping students with studying abroad did not emerge when he discussed his relation with students at UA, because he was assigned to teach sophomores there. He pointed out in the second interview that "now that I'm at a new school, it's probably not gonna continue coz they are sophomores

now in my classes, and they don't really plan on study abroad at this time" and confirmed this in the last interview.

As a social worker at UZ, Caleb started to assist his students to apply for postgraduate study abroad since his second year of teaching there when several students asked him for reference letters. He then took the initiative to give one workshop on curriculum vitae and personal statement writing to his students for free outside class amid every fall semester. He also helped around four students every year with their application process. In addition, he maintained contact with many former students by email.

According to his interview narration, he once invited one former student who went overseas after graduation from UZ back to school, and the student gave a workshop on studying abroad to his students during his fourth year's teaching at UZ.

Furthermore, he gave contact information of former students' who were studying overseas to students who planned for postgraduate study abroad to help build up social network for them to share overseas studying and living experience among themselves. In talking about these experiences in interviews, Caleb stressed that "I found it fun to have that kind of helpfulness that they all can share together their experiences". It seemed that these assistance and support Caleb gave to students both inside and outside school granted him extra joy and fulfilment during his work at UZ.

In addition, another finding that worth some discussion was about the impact of the subject Caleb taught on his overall perceptions of himself in relating to students. For Caleb, it appeared that he mainly understood himself as an English writing teacher. This was not only clearly demonstrated in his position inside class as an instructor of academic English writing skills as discussed in the previous section, but also reflected in his engagement with students outside class as illustrated in this section. A lot of these engagements were related to writing, such as writing reference letters and curriculum vitae. In this perspective, Caleb's teacher identities construction differed significantly from the other three participants in this study who taught oral English courses during their work in China. This point would be examined and discussed in more depth in the other findings and discussion chapters.

4.3 Engaging with administration and colleagues

Despite being transformed by his engagement with students, Caleb's teacher identities were also shaped significantly by his interactions with faculty and administrative members in communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). This aspect of interactions will be investigated in this section. Unlike the other three participants, the programs for which Caleb taught at the two universities in China were both jointly run by his employing American university (UF) and local Chinese universities. Examination of interview data revealed different trajectory positions he occupied with various members in broader university settings, as discussed below.

4.3.1 A non-participating member on an outbound trajectory: resisting assigned positions

One theme that emerged from interview data on Caleb's interaction with faculty members was about resisting positions assigned by his colleagues and administrative staffs at both universities he worked in China to construct his identities as a professional English teacher. As such, within those communities he was on what Wenger (1998) described as an outbound trajectory, where he gradually distanced from the practices of the communities. Related negotiation and resistance included, first, resisting the prevalent positioning of an expatriate teacher as someone who loved going to bars. The second was resisting inefficient administrative meetings and the third was resisting pedagogical demands.

Firstly, Caleb was found to negotiate his position as one who did not drink and didn't like bars with the competing pressure he encountered from his colleagues who were keen on investing much time in bars. At both universities, his colleagues were expatriate teachers who were hired by the American university UF to teach for joint local programs in China. Although he described them as "nice" and "helpful", he mentioned that many of them spent a lot of time at bars in their spare time. The interview excerpt below reflected Caleb's negative evaluative and affective orientations towards his colleagues' bar-going practice and his exercising personal agency to position himself against those colleagues:

The first two weeks, they always wanted me to go to the bar with them, at first I just tell them I'm busy, unpack my room and then, I couldn't use that excuse anymore and then, they're like come on to the bar, and I uh, I have to wash clothes

or something and they finally got it, I'm just not interested in the bar, I think it's quite boring, to me it's a waste of time, spending hours at a bar is just ridiculous, but they like to do that kind of thing I guess.

An identity of opposition towards departmental administration at UZ was reflected in Caleb's interview data. On one hand, he was mandated to go to regular meetings convened by administrators there for expatriate teachers. Caleb regarded those meetings as "a waste of time", because they just covered endless pointless administrative notifications, which he could have known simply by reading the emails sent to him after the meetings. In his view, "meetings are out of date, they are not necessary unless something very serious or important happened".

In addition to implicitly disaligning with the department's administrative requirement, Caleb also overtly resisted the power relationship that existed in UZ by not abiding by the department's pedagogical demand. For Caleb, his identity as an autonomous teacher with the right to assign his own writing assignments for his classes was contested by the department's business-like attitude toward education and preferred ways of doing things. Such a tension was mainly illustrated in interview data as the types of writing assignments given to students, as the excerpt below demonstrated. The department dean at UZ wanted all English writing classes of the same level taught by different teachers to have the same assignments due to students' complaints. Caleb, however, deemed that it would lead to possible instances of students sharing their work with others enrolled in a different teacher's class. Therefore, he negotiated his pedagogical autonomy with institutional demands and did not comply with the department's requirement.

At my old school, they wanted all writing classes to have the same homework, the same topics every day, coz students were complaining that it was too hard and their roommate didn't have the same whatever, so the dean wanted consistency because it's more a consumer based school. (...) I think universities are adopting business models these days, too many times, students are treated like customers, when customer complains, the chicken's too spicy, the paper's too long, then the manager changes something. That's not how it's supposed to work, it's not how it used to work, and I don't think it's good.

In the above interview excerpt, by referring to “how it's supposed to” and “how it used to work”, Caleb drew on his personal value system and traditional practice to delegitimize the inappropriate commercialization of education which, in his view, the administrators at UZ projected. His explicit negative evaluation “I don't think it's good” foregrounded the difference between his and the administrator’s perspectives on education and marked his disalignment with the administration at UZ as well as his stance of resistance toward the discourse of managing education like a business that was adopted by the local institutional community.

4.3.2 A participating member on an inbound trajectory: becoming an initiator of change

During the process of his teacher identities development, Caleb exercised his agency to share ideas with colleagues and initiate new practices in his institutional context, and gradually became a participating member at his employing American university. One instance he shared in interviews was initiating changes to set textbooks for writing courses. Since he started to work in China, he had suggested changing the textbook to his American department every year, based on the reason that none of the examples in the book were contextually relevant to students’ demography. His suggestion was finally accepted during his fourth year’s teaching at UZ. Such realisation of his suggestion through negotiation reflected that he was on an inbound trajectory within his American department where he gradually obtained more participation (Wenger, 1998). Furthermore, Wenger (1998) pointed out that having one’s ideas accepted and adopted during engagement with members of the community was one important aspect of belonging to a community.

Besides encouraging his department to embrace change, Caleb took more initiative during his fifth year’s teaching at UZ in attempting to compile a culturally sensitive writing textbook, in collaboration with two colleagues with their respective expertise in creative writing, TESOL and general education. He recounted in about when he tried to involve his colleagues and get approval from his department:

I said if we can make our own book for this class in China, it would be much easier. This was our idea, and what the school back in America doesn't know, because they only teach Americans and they only come here a short time, but we could

meet these goals by using our point of view instead of this (*pointing at his textbook*). So we three like you do that, you do that, I'll do this. Then we told our boss in America, and he said great, do it.

Although Caleb later dropped out of this textbook designing project because it later became too messy with too many people involved, he envisaged himself taking a position as a textbook developer by compiling the instructional materials he had designed into a book in the future. He made an interview comment of “I have enough to do my own book, that I would love to just do, for maybe not just my class, but if anyone else wants to use it, I'd love to put all my stuff together on a PDF”. In fact, Caleb had already actively shared some of his instructional practices to colleagues. He mentioned in interviews that he had presented four times about his teaching experiences in China for the training workshops during his American department's annual faculty orientations in US.

4.4 Engaging with others in wider social context

This section will examine the influence of Caleb's interactions with others outside his work places on the development of his teacher identities. During his working in China, learning in a CELTA training program and sharing with international academics in his professional field emerged in interview data as the two main types of activities that shaped and reshaped his perceptions of self as an English writing teacher. A detailed discussion will be provided in the rest of this section.

4.4.1 A learner at CELTA program: building up his professional profile

The first theme pertained to Caleb's learning in the teacher training program and its impact on the formation of his self perceptions as a professional EFL teacher. Interview data revealed his motivation for and investment in developing as a teacher and building a career in English teaching, as reflected in his making the effort to apply for and enrol in a Cambridge Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults (CELTA) training program during the spare time of his first year's working in China. Caleb described his motivation to take the program as two-fold: one was due to his thirst for knowledge as “I wanted to learn more, I wanted more formal instruction on teaching English as a foreign language to adults”; another was related to his desire to build up his professional profile. His acknowledgement of “I had a tie in EFL ESL

context before, but I didn't have certificate or any kind of formal degree about it, I wanted that on my resume" reflected the benefit of getting the certificate in enabling him to personally perceive himself as a legitimate member of a larger professional community of English teachers.

In addition, the discourses about teaching that operated in the CELTA program informed Caleb's construction of his teacher identities during his latter work. During the program, he did practice teaching voluntary local Chinese residents. This aspect of training offered him the opportunity to reflect and evaluate his own as well as his classmates' teaching, and gave him exposure to the concept that different teaching approaches could reach the same target pedagogical skills, as he commented about what he had taken from the program's teaching practicum in the following way:

I did change and I did realize that we all have different approaches to teaching, it's impossible and it doesn't make a lot of sense to have a rigid curriculum that every teacher should do the same thing every day, I don't think it works. I think a teacher is responsive to, just the chemistry in the class and the rapport that's developed with the students and the teacher.

The experiences Caleb had during his participation in the CELTA program enabled and encouraged him to not only think more about what it meant to be an autonomous and responsive teacher, but also to articulate and internalize such a position into the construction of his teacher identities. Immediately following the above excerpt, he discussed again the requirement from the department at UZ on unified assignments for writing courses that he had previously mentioned in interviews, and stressed "we should have all the same skills targets, but how we get to those targets should be up to us individually". It seemed that discourses acquired from the CELTA program empowered him in internally disaligning with the local discourse that dominated his teaching context and enabled him to resist the disadvantageous positioning from the department at UZ.

4.4.2 A researcher: sharing with and learning from other academics outside the workplace

Another salient theme that emerged was Caleb's engagement with other academics outside his working contexts, which provided him with extra learning opportunities

for his professional development as an English teacher. He mentioned in interviews about his active participation in one international professional conference on English writing instruction during his fifth year of teaching in China. Attending the conference enabled him to share self-developed writing projects with others around the world by presenting research papers. In addition, he socialised with conference attendees and after the conference he read one attendee's research book. From the book Caleb learned about the changing pedagogical approaches to English writing instruction in China over the past century, as he commented "a lot of it I didn't know and I think a lot of it is really important for others, especially who are teaching here, are learning to teach". It seemed that attending the professional conference and engaging with researchers on writing instruction also provided him with opportunities to network with and learn from other professionals in the field, which might not have been available otherwise.

4.5 Anticipating the future: "I hope for twenty, thirty more"

To Caleb, teaching had been, and would still be in the foreseeable future, a vocation which he loved and took seriously. He commented in the follow-up interview in 2014 that "I wouldn't still be doing it if I weren't interested, coz it's not the money that keeps me doing it, something else, it's the interest I guess". This reflected that he was committed to an identity as a professional English teacher due to intrinsic personal interest. He also felt strong allegiances toward the practices that went with teaching – "I'm serious about my class and my job, and I do as much as I can to work toward accomplishing these goals and help students". It should be noted that although he was still invested in his work and his students, his investment appeared to become more measured and compartmentalized over the years. He acknowledged that compared to his teaching before he came to China, "now it's much easier, it's not as much of my focus as it used to be, I'm not constantly thinking about work" because he knew what and how to teach with accumulated teaching experience and he was able to control his anxiety and separate work from life.

Besides his personal interest in his English teaching career, the perception his students and employing institutions held of him and their recognition and appreciation of his teaching efforts also appeared critical in empowering Caleb's sense of self and constructing his identities as a competent teacher. He mentioned that his students at

both UA and UZ were required by UF to fill an evaluation questionnaire immediately before they graduated from the joint program, and a question of who would you nominate as your favourite teacher was included in the questionnaire:

Three years in a row I was nominated best teacher of the university, didn't win but, I had enough votes. It always is won by someone in the American school, but no one has been nominated three years, except me, so I'm doing something okay, and it's hard to explain that, I can't just explain it but this is what I do.

As was evident in this excerpt where Caleb differentiated himself from other teachers as the only one who had been nominated three times, students' positive feedback seemed to have confirmed his teaching competence and boosted his confidence in himself as a teacher. In addition, although he was not granted tenure and correspondingly was not guaranteed a permanent position at his employing institution UF, he was on the promotional track. Just prior to the follow-up interview, he was promoted in academic rank from instructor to lecturer in English and his comment of "I just got a promotion, so I think they want to keep me, my American school wants to keep me" to an extent reflected his sense of professional security.

Looking ahead, Caleb planned to continue to teach outside of America and aspired for career advancement. At the end of the observed semester, he commented positively about his teaching in China as "overall it's very good experience". He mentioned that "It'll be six years in China with this program, it wouldn't be bad if I'm still here in three years" and "I've been teaching at the university level for eight years now, but I hope for twenty, thirty more". He was still teaching at UA when I revisited the field in 2014. In addition, he wanted to compile and edit two more collections of his students' essays on Chinese cuisines – "I want to get those books done, then I have more, a stronger resume", which saliently reflected his envisioned self as looking for opportunities for upward mobility in his career as a professional English teacher.

4.6 Summary

For Caleb, the development of his identities as an English teacher rose from lived past and present educational and professional experiences as well as from his desires for the future. In terms of his learning experiences prior to going to China, they significantly influenced the construction of his teacher identities from a cognitive

sphere. For instance, his positive impression of teaching as a profession was shaped by his interactions with his former teachers. His emphasis on relating to students with a structured academic route of pedagogy and a psychological approach were connected to his past learning of second language and psychology. His professional experiences before he started to teach in China shaped the formation of his identities as a teacher. He transferred his management skills developed in his earlier work as a psychological counselor to managing students' discipline in class. Later, he developed gradually from a graduate teaching assistant to a professional English composition teacher under the mentorship of the lecturer for whose course he taught as well as with his personal reflection and adjustment.

Although Caleb had formed his identities as a professional English composition teacher before going to China and maintained dimensions of his positions such as being an instructor of target writing skills and a discipliner in relation to students in China, he was found to negotiate his teacher identities with a series of contextual challenges during his teaching in China. Parts of the challenges were from classroom, including local students' English language proficiency level and culturally inappropriate textbooks. Accordingly, he repositioned himself by incorporating instruction of language and academic skills and creating an engaging learning environment with intriguing materials and tasks for his courses. In addition, he exercised his agency and negotiated tensions between individual autonomy and departmental demand at the first university he taught in China, and between personal pedagogical aspiration and limited available computer facilities that formed his working context at UA. Torn between individual positions, class conditions, institutional prescriptions and societal ideologies, Caleb still managed to build up his professional profile through learning in professional training programmes and in the wider academic community during his work in China. In addition, it appeared that positive emotions he experienced as a result of students' positive feedback and promotion by employing institutions also enhanced his commitment to his career and shaped the development of his identities as an English teacher.

Chapter 5: Daisy’s Journey

Daisy was born in Queensland, Australia, in the 1950s, to a very conservative family. She went to Catholic elementary and secondary schools because her mother thought they were the most prestigious ones in the local area. Having led a, in her view, boring childhood that she never really enjoyed, Daisy wanted to be an independent grown-up since she was very young. Thus, after finishing secondary school, she worked as a receptionist for a real estate company for six years. Then, in search of a challenge, she subsequently worked as an account officer, account manager, saleswoman and property manager in the real estate industry in Australia. Daisy became bored with her work in the real estate field in 2003, attended a TESOL certificate program in Australia while looking for opportunity to travel overseas, and went to China with her partner Charlie in 2004. The following table provides a brief demographic portrait of Daisy.

Table 5.1: Demographic portrait of Daisy

Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diploma in Studio ceramics from one private college in Australia • Diploma in psychotherapeutics taken by distance from a public university in England
Professional teaching experience before coming to China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voluntary literacy tutor in Australia for 3 years
Teaching experience in China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oral English course at University B for eight years
Personal interests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doing voluntary work, such as volunteer at an art gallery in Australia for fifteen years • Travelling

During the observed semester, Daisy was assigned six English-major oral English classes, three first year which met twice a week and three second year which met once a week. I observed one of her first-year classes (18 students enrolled) nine times and one second-year classes (12 students enrolled) twice. Each observed lesson was divided into two 45- minute-periods with a ten minutes’ break according to the university’s bell rings.

In the following sections of this chapter, I delineate Daisy's teacher identities formation and transformation. A brief discussion about Daisy's entry into the English teaching profession is firstly provided. Then I look more closely at her identities construction during her engagement with students inside and outside the classrooms as well as with other faculty and administrative members in the workplace, and with non-work related activities while living in China. During the analysis, the influence of her previous personal educational, racial and cultural and professional experience on her perception of self as an English teacher is also thoroughly examined.

5.1 Becoming an English teacher in China: just going to be an adventure

Unlike Caleb, who went to China to teach English out of intrinsic love of the profession and career aspiration, Daisy's initial entry to TESOL work was motivated by extrinsic reasons of burnout in her previous career and desire to travel abroad. In her fifties, Daisy turned tired of her "demanding", "stressful", well-paid yet "boring" job in the real estate industry. She thus decided to look for something "challenging" and described her thought at the time as "Charlie and I like to travel, we sort of thought, we were working fifty weeks a year, travelling for two, working all the years, saving all your money and then spend all in two weeks, there's gotta be a better way." During her search for ideas on where to go in a Sunday newspaper's travel section, she happened to find an advertisement for a three-month TESOL certificate training course which was worded in an appealing way and placed ideally in a location for people who want to travel: "coz one of the big pitfalls (laugh) of travelling is it's so expensive, so something is marketed as an overseas working holiday, it's obviously enticing of people who like to travel but need to have a way to make money to be able to do that". It was obvious from this interview excerpt that, for Daisy, teaching English was perceived at the time as an economic lifeboat when travelling overseas rather than a professional choice.

Analysis revealed that learning in the TESOL training program in Australia influenced the formation of Daisy's teacher identities by allowing her to imagine a new profession before she actually started to work in the TESOL field. For the TESOL program she attended, it was provided by a private local institution. The content of the courses, according to Daisy, not only covered topics on English language awareness such as grammar, but also included anecdotes of tutors' overseas

teaching experiences and job hunting skills, such as where to find jobs and how to find out whether a school was reputable. In response to the question of how the course helped her later teaching in China, Daisy made the following comments:

I can't specifically say, this helped me, this helped me but, as cumulative knowledge I'd say yes, it obviously did, and gave me the incentive to think that uh, something else was possible. (...) It gave me access to a job market that I didn't have access to previously.

Although Daisy pointed out that some of the teaching experience shared by her tutors didn't apply directly to her situation in China because they had taught only in Europe, she stressed the capital value of attending this program which provided her with a path to move outside the boundaries of her previous professional community. This fell into Wenger's (1998) second mode of belonging in identity formation, which was creating new images of oneself across time and space through imagination. Daisy's participation in the TESOL program shaped her teacher identities construction by allowing her to start to anticipate entering a new job as an English teacher that extended beyond her profession in the real estate business field there and then.

It should be noted, however, that even though Daisy started to speak of teaching in terms of a vocation after attending the TESOL program, the travel discourse still dominated the most part of her thinking before she arrived in China. For instance, after finishing the training and successfully converting the educational capital gained from attaining the TESOL certificate into obtaining a job offer in UB, Daisy viewed coming to China as mostly an adventure which was enabled by the availability of an English teaching job. This was evident in her interview comments like "we came here with the idea that in one year we could see everything interesting in China" and "we'll stay here for one year and then we'll move on to somewhere interesting. It was just going to be an adventure". In short, Daisy's entry to TESOL field paralleled with Johnston's (1999) and Kiernan's (2008) discussions about expatriate EFL teachers' passion for travelling, fascination with unfamiliar culture and the resultant transient nature of their EFL work. However, despite her initial plan to move to another place after one year, Daisy had been teaching at UB for eight years before I started my field visit in 2012. How she negotiated and transformed her identities as a teacher over the years will be discussed next.

5.2 Engaging with students: from a transmitter of knowledge to more than just an English teacher

In this section, I will discuss the various positions that Daisy held explicitly and implicitly when talking about her engagement with students in her interviews and that she enacted during observed classroom teaching. These positions will be divided into five parts: 1. a lecturer, 2. a cultural mediator, 3. a facilitator, 4. an entertainer versus a boss, 5. a mentor and friend. These myriad positions reflect the negotiation and transformation of her teacher identities, as presented in the following sections.

5.2.1 A lecturer: reading textbook material and drilling pronunciation

Being a lecturer was the initial position that Daisy established in relating to her students when she started to work in China. She described her first year of teaching at UB as “I was just talking at them, that's just a lecture”. When recounting her work in interviews, she mentioned that she tended to be a transmitter of almost all the knowledge, verbally dominated the teaching process, decided what to teach and directed the flow of lessons according to the textbook set by the university. For the students who were very shy and reserved, most of the time they just sat and listened, and the main type of practice they engaged in class was drilling of pronunciation where “as soon as you say something they repeat it, you know, like a choral”. Daisy viewed this entirely teacher-dominated, pronunciation-oriented and textbook-based teaching during her first year’s work as in “a very controlled environment” and “very static”. These comments displayed her negative evaluation towards her first year of teaching. According to her, she actively started to change her teaching and negotiated her teacher identities since her second year of teaching.

Although Daisy oriented somewhat negatively to the position as a lecturer in interviews, classroom observation revealed that the first period of her lessons, especially the ones with news listening activities in sophomore’s class (Ob-6, Ob-7), in fact included many teacher-dominated instructional episodes. For instance, during the first period of the sixth lesson I observed, Daisy read a piece of news report twice, and then asked students to write down the gist of the news in five minutes. When students worked on writing their summary individually, she glanced over each student’s summary. Then she gave each student a hardcopy of the news item and

instructed them on selected vocabulary and lectured about the content of the news report.

The above comparison of interview and classroom observation data appeared to reveal that the transformation of Daisy's identities was incremental. It was not surprising that she partially remained in rather than completely rejected her previously established position as a lecturer, given her pedagogical emphasis on cultivating students' listening competence which will be discussed in section 5.4. It seemed that, for Daisy, she initially took on the position of being a lecturer who controlled and dominated the learning since she began to teach in 2004, and later she negotiated and added new dimensions such as being a cultural mediator and a facilitator of her identities as an English teacher. These dimensions of her relations with students will be discussed in the following sections.

5.2.2 A cultural mediator: integrating English into students' daily life

During her first year's English teaching in China, Daisy quickly realized that the set textbook was not appropriate for her class because of the culturally irrelevant topics which students could not relate to in their real life. In her view, the textbook was designed to teach English in an English-speaking country, and she illustrated the conflict between the textbook materials and her awareness of Chinese culture as a participating member in the local community. One instance she mentioned was in the book "they're talking about things like the sixteenth birthday party, is it appropriate that students here know about a punchbowl and crystal goblets?" and "oh, let's have a Guacamole dip at the party. It's made with things that aren't available in China. I've never seen avocado in China".

Facing this conflict, Daisy started to reposition herself as an English teacher based on her views of both target and local cultures instead of following strictly what was presented in the set textbook. Fortunately, working in a low structure environment (Wette & Barkhuizen, 2009) where curriculum pre-specifications were minimal and flexible, Daisy was granted freedom to not use the textbook. From her second year of teaching, she discarded the alienating textbook and started to draw on students' real life experience as the main content area and utilize topics which would concern and

interest her students during teacher-fronted class activities, in order to take students from “textbook situation” to “real life situation”:

It has to be in their frame of reference, they can understand so they can link new information to old information, giving them stuff that is totally meaningless does not aid their learning process, so we don't try to convert them into being Americans, British or Australians, we're trying to integrate English into their culture, into their Chinese life, and to give them some ideas of other cultures as well.

In this interview excerpt, although Daisy did not mention any well-established terms on language learning motivation in ELT discourse, her perspective resonated with some contemporary researchers' (e.g. Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Ushioda, 2013) problematization of the relevance of integrative motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1959), which focused on the socially oriented desire to interact with and integrate into the target language community. The above comment also reflected Daisy's commitment to repositioning her teacher identities, which echoes with Ellis's (1996, p.217) label of a “cultural mediator”, because she demonstrated an accepting attitude towards cultural differences as well as emotional openness and a capacity to take her students' experience into consideration.

Daisy's sensitivity and openness towards cultural differences in relating to students appeared to be cultivated during her previous interracial contacts. Two related incidents she experienced in Australia were discussed by her in interviews. The first was about her neighbour's kids with whom she spent a lot of time playing during childhood. However, after she went to school, she was surprised that they were ostracized by other kids due to their black skin colour which differed from her other classmates' and hers. It was not until then that Daisy became aware and felt good that as a child she did not develop a prejudice based on people's skin colour. The second incident was related to the ways her colleagues dealt with racial minority clients when she worked as a property saleswoman. Every time a person who spoke with a heavy accent walked into the office, her colleagues would say “come on, Daisy, can you handle that, you are really good with those type of people”. However, Daisy was happy to deal with the client in the same way as other customers and they got along well, and she stressed in retrospection that “I was even then a little bit more culturally sensitive than what I feel most Australians are”. Her sensitiveness towards cultural

differences developed through these personal and professional experiences was of vital importance in the development of her identity as a cultural mediator.

During the observed semester, Daisy's position as a cultural mediator was reflected in the topics she used for instruction during the first period of each lesson. With the freshmen's class, most of the topics that she was observed to talk about were rooted in students' life and interest. Some of the topics were the ones she had previously used and found to be well received by students, such as homesickness, sleep and dream, romance, ways to communicate informally in English in text and online, and zodiac, all of which students could incorporate into their daily communication. Daisy also added new ones to cater to what most students in the semester were interested in during a particular timeframe. For instance, she explained in a post-lesson interview that in the previous two weeks many students in her three freshmen's classes discussed and asked her in class and in private about an exchange program at the university which allowed students to work and study in the US for one semester. As a result, she introduced the topic of culture shock in Ob-9 to "link with what the students were talking about" (class observation also confirmed this as in Ob-8 one group of students discussed the exchange program during the second period of the lesson). As for the news listening activity during the two observed sophomores' lessons, Daisy pointed out in post-lesson interviews that the online news reports were chosen based on such criteria that linguistically they matched students' English proficiency level and had some connection with students' life in China in terms of content.

In addition, Daisy identity as a cultural mediator who tried to integrate English into students' Chinese life and give them some ideas of other cultures also influenced her approach to teaching cultural issues by comparing cultural practices and providing opportunities for students to become cultural informants. Discussion of several cultural elements were observed in her classroom, such as naming practice (Ob-2), polite and impolite questions to ask when one meets another for the first time (Ob-2), holidays celebration (Ob-8), ways of writing dates and addresses (Ob-11). She was observed to often adopt a big cultural transnational approach (Holliday, 1999; Risager, 2007), which was attaching culture to prescribed national entities and rested on the recognition of linguistic and cultural complexity and on transnational flows in a globalized world. In each case she would often ask students to talk about their

experiences in China, then recount some personal stories of hers, and compare and discuss similarities and differences between cultural practices in Australia and China. In talking about related cultural elements, Daisy often presented herself as a bearer of Australian and western culture and a mediator with partial knowledge of Chinese culture. Such a position was reflected in her mentioning of “in Australia, we...” during lessons. Although the comparison strategy she adopted has been criticized in literature as often resulting in reductionist overgeneralization within nations and essentialization of differences between nations (Harklau, 1999; Holliday, 1997; Kubota, 1999), it was not what often happened in her class. She also attempted to find and present points of congruence between national practices, as during the lesson on Christmas and holiday celebration (Ob-8), from which Excerpt 5-1 below was taken.

Excerpt 5-1: “Now, most people just enjoy the holiday”

- 01 T: It started originally as a religious festival, Christian, Christmas started as a religious festival, but now, few people worried about the religious sound in it, what do you like about spring festival? What’s the best part of that spring festival? What’s the best part? Is it how spring festival started? The meaning of spring festival? Or is it something else you like?
- 02 S1: Eve.
- 03 T: Eve, spring festival eve? In western, in western culture, called Chinese New Year, so, if you say spring festival to a foreigner, they probably wouldn’t know what that was, but if you say Chinese new year, they would know what that is, because every city around the world, every major city, has a China town, and China town celebrates Chinese new year. Now, most people just enjoy the holiday.
- 04 (*Ss laugh*)
- 05 T: They don’t worry about the original meaning, few people might, but in my circle of friends I only have one friend who is religious, all of other friends are the same as me, no religion, no belief.

At the beginning of this lesson, Daisy asked students “what does December mean to you? What do you think of Christmas in December?”, and after one student answered “shopping discounts” she illustrated the similarity between “the west” and China in the shifting globalized practice of treating Christmas as a commercialised holiday, of “more to do with business than is to do with anything else”. Then instead of stressing the religious tradition of Christmas and elaborating much on its Christian origin, Daisy drew students’ attention, by comparing it with Chinese celebration of the spring

festival (turn 01), to the contemporary transnational perspective of viewing festivals just as holidays without focussing on their original meaning (turn 01 and turn 03), yet at the same time acknowledging the existence of exceptions and diversity in practices (e.g. turn 05). Later during the same lesson, as in Excerpt 5-2 below, after one student answered her question about their practice during Christmas (turn 03), Daisy shared her story about the first time she received an apple during Christmas in China (turn 05 and turn 07). Her comment at the end of her story about Chinese culture changing western culture reflected her growing awareness of cultural elements' crossing boundaries and her developing understanding of localized practices even without fully embracing them.

Excerpt 5-2: "You do something for Christmas?"

- 01 T: Jingle bells? Yeah, Christmas, Christmas carols, right? Christmas carols. (*writes "carol" on the blackboard*) Carol means a song, a Christmas carols, now, the younger generation of Chinese people celebrate Christmas.
- 02 S1: Younger?
- 03 T: Younger, your age group, you do something for Christmas?
- 04 S2: Send people apple, apples.
- 05 T: Send people apples, ok, when I was first here, and someone gave me an apple, and I think, um, it's an apple, why?
- 06 (*Ss laugh*)
- 07 T: That's lovely, thank you, I like fruit, but why gave me an apple today? Because it's Christmas eve, and I'm like, I'm still not seeing the connection with apple and Christmas eve. They said oh that's a Christmas tradition! And I think, maybe a Chinese Christmas tradition, but not western Christmas tradition, because in Chinese, the fruit has similar sounds, so there's a similar sound in Chinese with apple and peace, but in western culture there's no connection, so that's Chinese culture changing western culture, you change that a little bit.

Besides sharing her experience of learning about Chinese cultural practices as in the above excerpt, Daisy also at times invoked a situated identity of a learner about Chinese culture during classroom interaction with students. Excerpt 5-3 below, taken from the lesson on money (Ob-10), was just an example.

Excerpt 5-3: Six-together-lottery

- 01 T: Another way to get money, do you have lottery tickets? Do you

- have lottery? You know the word lottery? (*glances over the students*) No you don't, you're looking at me like you don't. (*writes "lottery" on the blackboard*) So you buy a ticket, maybe it'll cost you one or two Yuan,
 [[and you have a chance to
- 02 S1: [[Uh when I
 03 Uh I have bought six, six together lottery.
 04 T: Six?
 05 S1: Together, together
 06 T: Six together, [[six at one time?
 07 S1: [[Lottery
 08 Six together lottery. 六合彩怎么说? ((how to say 六合彩))
 09 (*Ss burst into laugh loudly and chat in Chinese and English for eight seconds, teacher stands and glances over the class*)
- 10 S1: I, just tell you a joke.
 11 T: Ok. (*laughs*)
 12 S1: A, a ticket joke.
 13 T: Is that culture? Is that? Right? I kind of get, oh everybody laughed.
 14 S1: Yeah, Chinese people laugh.
 15 T: Ah Chinese people laugh, Chinese people or Liaoning people gonna laugh?
 16 S1: Chinese, Chinese people.
 17 T: Chinese people laugh. (2.0) Have you ever bought any?

In turn 03, the student attempted to answer Daisy's question at the beginning of turn 01 by relating to his experience of buying a particular type of lottery in China, the name of which was translated literally from Chinese into English by him. However, because of Daisy's limited knowledge in the local cultural product, she had difficulty in relating to the student's example of the lottery he bought, as demonstrated in her negotiation of meaning in turn 04 and 06. Daisy waited patiently for more than eight seconds and then asked in turn 13 and further questioned to learn whether it was a national or regional practice in turn 15. Although this episode failed to foster extended intercultural communication and at the end Daisy still did not fully understand the student's contribution to the interaction due to the student's failure in clearly explaining what he had translated, what this excerpt highlighted was her attempt to provide opportunities for students to become cultural informants in the episode. By taking on a situated identity of an outsider to students' culture, she altered the one-directional flow of cultural information from teacher to students and added a degree of authenticity and relevance to local culture into classroom interactions.

5.2.3 A facilitator: facilitating by allowing students to express freely and providing feedback

Another position overtly mentioned by Daisy in talking about negotiating her teacher identities in the interviews was being a “facilitator”. As a facilitator, she valued establishing situations in class to promote students’ free expression and provide feedback during her communication with them. Since her second year of teaching, besides teacher fronted class activities, she incorporated small group discussion into class for the students to practice speaking English in a “safe environment”. In her view, “normal conversation is about your life”. She described the “number one priority” for the group discussion as to create “an element of freedom” to allow students to talk about what they “feel passionate about” and “want to talk about”, such as things that made them excited, confused or angry in their immediate campus lives or current world affairs.

Correspondingly, Daisy viewed her class as changing from a “teacher centred” one to a “student centred class”. However, her use of the term student centeredness was slightly different from how it was often used in ELT literature where the focus was on the dimension that students were the ones who interacted in classrooms and on encouragement of more student-student interaction (Nunan, 2013, p.55). For Daisy, her focus was on taking students’ life experience into account in classroom discussion as discussed above. It was also related to the choice of language points to be covered in class. Instead of her deciding “ok this week we’ll learn this grammar rule” which she viewed as “a controlled and contrived environment”, the language points to be covered would arise out of students’ performance in group activity. In this way, her interpretation of student centeredness involved, to an extent, learners in making choices about what and how to learn (Nunan, 2013; Tudor, 1993).

In accordance, Daisy’s perception of herself shifted from being just a lecturer in class to a facilitator during her communication with students, which she described as “I facilitate it, keep the conversation going, and playing with the language”. On one hand, she tried to promote students to step out of their comfort zone and negotiate their meaning even when they showed they lacked necessary target language by using alternative vocabulary or describing the feeling they wanted to express. On the other hand, Daisy provided feedback on students’ performance. She would highlight what

the students had accomplished during the process to nurture their confidence. Also, she would build on what students had expressed to correct their pronunciations, explain and provide particular vocabulary or expressions that they did not know for them to learn some linguistic points in situational contexts. In these ways, students could develop conversation with her facilitation during group discussion.

The above discussed Daisy's narrated identity as a facilitator was also enacted during the observed lessons. With both the freshmen's and sophomores' classes, the second period of each lesson was often group discussions during which students used English for interaction and became active participants, and Daisy moved around the classroom to sit and join each group's discussion in turn. The second period always started with students' moving their tablet arm chairs to form several small circles of groups scattered in the classroom, which formed a different spatial layout from the oval shaped class seating pattern during the first period of each observed lesson (as presented in Appendix N). In restructuring the physical space, Daisy appeared to have constructed a new interactional space for free communication and shifted the focus from her to individual students in each group.

During observed group discussion, Daisy established students' control over the members of the group as well as the topic for discussion. On one hand, three or four students formed a group at their own will. On the other hand, they nominated and talked about topics reflecting their shared interest. Daisy elaborated in post-lesson interviews that she did not set any specific topic for group discussion because "each group will have different sets of experiences in the week, so each group will be talking about what is particularly important to them". A variety of topics came up in students' group discussion during the observed semester. For instance, in the sixth observed lesson, one group discussed how to prepare a one-minute self introduction to help one of the group members prepare for an English speech competition she would attend in the coming week, one group gossiped about one member's recent love affair, and a third group planned for their trip together to a neighbouring city during the coming semester break.

Acting as a facilitator, Daisy made communicative interaction with students intertwined with cultivation of their linguistic competence during group discussion. She was observed several times throughout the semester drawing students' attention

to their pronunciation errors, such as the segmental pronunciation of consonants v and t-h. She reiterated some tips for how to make the sounds to enhance students' accuracy in pronunciation and then students often repeated after her in chorus. She used this method since the beginning of her teaching in China because she found that students were used to the choral repetition due to their elementary and secondary school English learning experience. Other than explicit correction of students' pronunciation errors, facilitation of group discussion from Daisy was primarily through her providing message-oriented target language lexical input (e.g. turns 23-30), and occasional grammatical feedback (e.g. turn 15) as in Excerpt 5-4 below. This excerpt was taken from a group discussion among four girls about a masked ball, which three of them attended on the previous Friday night.

Excerpt 5-4: "Did you have a dance"

- 1 S1: Uh, did you have a
2 S2: [[Dance?
3 S1: [[Dance in the party?
4 S2: Yeah sure.
5 S1: Which uh who is your [[pa
6 S3: [[Partner
7 S1: Partner?
8 T: Partner, who's your partner.
9 S2: Huanhuan.
10 (Ss laugh)
11 S1: Why don't you find a boy?
12 S2: Uh because the people is too much [[and
13 S3: [[Too much.
14 S2: Yes.
15 T: Too many people. A lot of people there.
16 Ss: Yeah.
17 S2: A lot of people dancing here.
18 S3: We, when we dance, we, we always 踩脚怎么说? ((how to say 踩脚))
19 S2: Uh, hit?
20 S4: [[踩
21 S1: [[hit somebody?
22 S3: Hit others
23 T: So, so step, you know, you say step on [[someone's
24 S3: [[S l a p?
25 T: No that's slap, that's slap (*imitates slapping with one hand*)
26 S3: Ah (*laughs*)
27 T: Step, you know like you take a step, one step
28 S2: S t e p
29 S3: Ah s t e p

- 30 T: Stepping stone, so you step, if you do it really hard, if you do it lightly it's just step on someone's foot, but when you do it really hard, (*imitates stamping hardly with one foot*) like that, that's stamp, s t a m p
- 31 S2: S t a m p, stamp
- 32 Ss: Ah
- 33 T: So they kept stepping on your foot.
- 34 S3: Yes.
- 35 T: Or did you step on someone else's foot?
- 36 S2: We step on each other's feet.
- 37 S3: Yes. (*laughs*)
- 38 S2: Because we're strong. (*laughs*)
- 39 T: (*laughs*) Ok you're strong and not very uh you have to, it is a skill, it's a skill right? Something you have to learn to do right?
- 40 S2: [[Yeah.
- 41 S4: [[You ever have dance with Charlie?
- 42 T: Charlie doesn't like to dance, when we go to a party, I find another person to dance with.
- 43 Ss: Ah?
- 44 T: Because [[Charlie
- 45 S2: [[He be, he will jea, jealous?
- 46 T: No, not at all, not at all, uh in one, one time, we, there was a party and there was always a Japanese man.
- 47 Ss: Ah.
- 48 T: A Japanese man and he liked to dance, and I like to dance and Charlie doesn't like to dance so I always danced with the Japanese man. He didn't speak, any English [[and
- 49 S2: [[He says
- 50 T: I didn't speak any Japanese, but we love to dance.
- 51 Ss: Ah.
- 52 T: But he had a little bit of English, and he would say, I'm so sorry to your husband, I'm so sorry to your husband.
- 53 (*Ss laugh*)
- 54 T: I said it's ok, he's ok, he's happy
- 55 S1: Charlie feels sad, you break her heart.
- 56 T: No, not at all, he's happy because I like to dance.
- 57 Ss: Ah.
- 58 S2: You can dance.
- 59 T: I like to dance, he doesn't like to dance. But you can't dance by yourself. You need someone to dance with.
- 60 S1: But we can dance by, ourselves with [[cha cha
- 61 Ss: [[cha cha
- 62 T: Ah yeah yeah.
- 63 (*Ss laugh*)

It was noteworthy that, unlike the previous three excerpts, in this excerpt there were many changes in discourse and situated identities of Daisy and the girls, which transformed traditional teacher talk into interactional conversation. The girls, who were familiar with such kinds of group discussion and the safe environment created

by Daisy, actively took on several discourse identities which were not normally associated with their situated identity as a student in a classroom. For instance, in turn 41, the student referred to Daisy's transportable identity as a wife to her partner Charlie and raised a question aimed at her. In turn 60, the student attempted to disagree with Daisy's claim of one could not dance by oneself. These discourse identities of the students of being a questioner and challenger transformed the traditionally situated teacher and student relation in a transmission classroom where the teacher controlled the floor, knew everything, asked questions and the students addressed their responses to the teacher (Richards, 2006). Furthermore, these opportunities for students to ask for information, seek clarification, express an opinion, agree and disagree with peers and teachers reflected, to a certain degree, the characteristics of a communicative language classroom (Cullen, 2002; Kumaravadivelu, 1993; Thornbury 1996).

As for Daisy, by invoking her transportable identities as a wife and a dance lover in answering students' questions during the latter part of the excerpt, she shifted more to be a co-communicator (Larsen-Freeman & Anderson, 2011) who facilitated the girls' group talk by joining their discussion. It was also interesting to note the corresponding change in power relations between her and students. Rather than facilitating through providing correct language as in the earlier part, Daisy's responses later turned to focus more on the content of what the student said without much correction of students' linguistic errors (e.g. "he will jealous" in turn 45, "you break her heart" in turn 55), and the classroom discourse became thicker. As such, it appeared that transforming the situated identities of teacher and students and invoking transportable identities could create more opportunities for students' practicing communication.

Another feature of Daisy's enacted identity as a facilitator was that she often managed to foster students' independent thinking and free expression even during the first period teacher fronted activities. Instead of asking a display question (Cullen, 1998) to which she already had the answer and only asked so that the class could display their understanding, she was observed to often use open-ended referential questions without set answers so that students could voice their individual opinions and develop higher-order thinking (Wright, 2005). Excerpt 5-5 below, taken from the whole class discussion during the first period of the lesson on money (Ob-10), was just an example. Immediately preceding the following excerpt, Daisy was talking about

gambling practice. In the following interaction, she mentioned the experience of one of her friends and asked the students what they would do if they won the money.

Excerpt 5-5: “What would you do”

- 01 T: I have one friend who won one hundred thousand dollars.
02 S1: One hundred thousand dollars?
03 T: One hundred thousand dollars. So one Australian dollar is worth
[[about
04 S2: (*whispers in low voice*)[[six point
05 T: You know? What's the exchange rate now?
06 S2: It's uh six point two eight three.
07 T: Six point two Yuan, almost six right? We'll take it at six, alright? So
one hundred thousand Yuan multiplied by six, so you got about six
hundred thousand Yuan. What do you think they get with the
money? Have a guess, what do you think they might have done with
all that money? One hundred thousand Australian dollars. What
would you do if you had six hundred thousand Yuan?
08 S3: Put, into the bank.
09 T: You put it into the bank?
10 S3: Yes.
11 T: And keep it, and watch it
12 S3: More
13 T: Watch it grow
14 S3: Yeah
15 T: Watch it grow with interest, ok. What would you do if you won six
hundred thousand Yuan?
16 S4: I will, uh with my parents, all my
17 S5: Classmates?
18 (*Ss laugh*)
19 S4: All my, all my friends, all around the world, travel.
20 T: Travel. (2.0) (*walks to stand in front of a student*) What would you
do?
21 S6: Travel all over the world, and have some delicious food.
22 S4: Um (*laughs*).
23 T: Ok, you two can go together. What would you do?
24 S5: Um, buy a new house.
25 T: [[Yes?
26 S5: [[And every day come to the, uh, college's small, small, 门怎么说
来着? ((how to say 门))
27 S7: Gate.
28 S5: Small gate and, and face, face everyone and say, 同学, 租房吗?
((hi guys, do you want to rent a house?))
29 (*Ss laugh loudly*)

- 30 T: When my friends won the money, [[they
31 S3: [[They bet again?
32 T: No, well, kind of, kind of, because they thought, they always wanted to be a boss, so they bought a business, they bought a shop, and they thought, we're going to be in control of our life, we will have no boss telling us what to do, when to go to work, how long we should work for, we will be the boss.

Although Daisy was the one who brought up the topic and a great portion of the interactions maintained the IRF pattern (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) (e.g. turn 07-09, turn 22-24) which was found in traditional classrooms and criticised for related transmission style teaching (Bellack et al., 1966; Cazden, 2001), she attempted to discover students' personal opinions during this episode. She firstly questioned the students about what they thought her friends might have done with the money, instead of telling them directly about how her friend used the money. Then she asked several individual students "what would you do if you won the money" (turn 15, 20, 23) rather than inquiring questions with any fixed correct answer, and later acknowledged each student's opinions. The students, who were familiar with the safe learning environment, participated in the discussion with great agency such as providing information without solicitation (turn 04) and asking questions (turn 31), thereby adding variety to the classroom interactional patterns.

In addition, it was worth some discussion that Daisy's emphasis on cultivating independent thinking and free expression in relating to students was deeply influenced by her former teachers, as revealed by analysis of interview data. Her negative image of her Catholic elementary school teachers was related to their manipulation of children's minds. Specifically, she recounted in interviews about witnessing those uncaring and authoritative teachers' controlling and terrorizing young children during her childhood learning, and positioned them as very "manipulative" and "controlling", and commented that "the religious women were the cruellest women in the planet". In her view, "trying to control and manipulate small children in that way, to believe what they believe, is seriously flawed". These comments displayed Daisy's negative evaluative orientation towards her Catholic school teachers and her disalignment with them. It also appeared that those cruel and manipulative teachers defined for Daisy what the relation between a teacher and students should be for her construction of her teacher identities. Daisy explicitly pointed out in interviews that "students' ideas

could and should be different to my ideas, but the ability for them to be able to express those ideas is paramount”. Such a comment seemed to break away from her negative images of her former manipulative teachers, portraying herself as one who valued students’ independent thinking and free expression during teaching.

5.2.4 An entertainer versus a boss: varied positioning in relation to freshmen and sophomores

A closer examination of Daisy’s data revealed two slightly different positions that she narrated and enacted towards diverse groups of students based on the difference of students’ population and correspondingly varied types of relationships she attempted to establish with them in class. She commented in the second narrative interview that with freshmen, her course was “more of entertainment style” and perceived herself as an “entertainer”, whereas she treated the relations with sophomore students in class more as an “adult to adult working relationship” and perceived herself as a “boss”. Such a difference was reflected in the varied topics and tasks she used during the first period of each lesson and in her assessment practice in the observed freshmen’s and sophomores’ classes, as discussed below.

In terms of topic selection, Daisy was observed to choose simple and entertaining ones which revolved around students’ immediate campus lives, such as topics on homesickness and the other ones that were mentioned in the previous section 5.2.2. However, during the observed lessons with sophomores, she used topics on current affairs in wider Chinese society and the contemporary world which could relate to students in one way or another. One such instance was that the topic of the news report that she used for listening task (Ob-7) was on the baby boom expected for the Year of the Dragon in China, which discussed about the social phenomenon of many Chinese couples trying to get conceived by May of that year in order to have their baby born in the Year of Dragon. In the post-lesson interview (Ob-7), the rationale Daisy explained for the topics she used in class reaffirmed the varied positions she held in relating to freshmen sophomores. According to her, the topics she chose for freshmen’s classes was intended to “make English fun”, based on her awareness that freshmen were going through a huge transition from high school to university and a lot of them felt “despondent, depressed and unhappy”. She focused more on making the class as “lively and interesting” as possible in order to make freshmen become

interested and self-generating in learning and look forward to coming to her oral English course. However, with the sophomores' class, she did not significantly emphasise similar factors in terms of topic choice. In addition, although she incorporated some listening activities in both freshmen's and sophomores' classes during the observed semester, the specific tasks she employed also varied. With the sophomores, she examined each student's written summary of the news report they listened, which were discussed in previous section 5.2.1, whereas she did not give any summary writing task with the listening activity in the freshmen's class.

Furthermore, Daisy's varied positions in relating to different groups of students were also reflected in her assessment practices during the observed semester. With the sophomores' class, she conducted what she called, "observation based assessment" in mid-semester. During the second period of the lesson (Ob-6), whilst the other students were having group discussion, she took one student at a time to a corner of the classroom and had a confidential individual talk. In the post-lesson interview, she explained that the talk was to give the student an oral report on "the positive things that they are doing, but also the things they need to improve". She described this type of assessment as "a performance appraisal" and "it's much more like ok, if I were your boss and this is your performance, whether you will be looking at having a different position, having a raise or you will be looking for another job". However, she did not conduct any type of mid-semester assessment with freshmen because she did not want to give them much pressure in the beginning stage, which corresponded with her positioning herself as an entertainer that was discussed earlier in this section.

5.2.5 A mentor and friend: attending to students' affective and personal development inside and outside class

In addition to the above discussed dimensions of positions, Daisy gradually formed new identities in relation to students over her years of teaching experience and transformed her perception of English teaching in China as a profession. She claimed in the second narrative interview that "(I) see myself as a mentor as well as a friend, encouraging not just in a short term, but as a long-term project". The overt mention of identity labels such as "mentor" and "friend" was evidence of how she perceived herself in relation to students. Examination of interview data revealed that as a mentor and friend, she was concerned with and attempted to assist students' affective and

personal development alongside their language learning, by giving them general learning advice in class, interacting with them outside class and maintaining contacts and helping them to solve problems even after they graduated. These aspects will be discussed below.

To begin with, based on her accumulated years of teaching experience, Daisy gradually learned more about students' thoughts, feelings and learning patterns that she was not aware of earlier, which enabled her to give them learning advice in advance. One instance she elaborated in interviews was about an "interesting" "predictive" learning pattern she discovered about sophomores. She found that they tend to work incredibly hard before taking the National Test for English Majors Band Four test in April. However, after the test they often completely gave up their efforts and avoided learning English till they got the test results four months later, which was reflected in their decreased interest in class participation and increased absentee level. After finding out about this pattern, immediately after the test each year, Daisy told them "if you come out of the exam and you know in your heart that it's in the touch and go or you'll fail, don't waste the time, just keep working, not at the incredibly hard pace that you were working before, but keep working". She hoped that her advice would prevent the problem from happening.

For Daisy, being a mentor was not limited to an institutional role, and the mentoring relationship expanded beyond the immediate demands of her post inside the classroom. According to her sharing in interviews, she set up her QQ account for online communication with students outside of class shortly after her first year's teaching, and would often spend available time chatting with them about things they wanted to share, such as whether they should get part-time jobs and whether they should have boyfriends. Through these chats, she not only listened to and advised students throughout their crisis and struggles, but also promoted their desire to express themselves in English, which she explained as "the more they can use English, the more they will become comfortable with it and the more they will want to improve".

Besides being shaped by her teaching experiences, Daisy's construction of her identity as a mentor and friend in relating to students also appeared to be closely connected with her past professional identities, developed before she went to China.

When talking about her teaching experience in narrative interviews, she drew on her previous professional selves and interpersonal skills developed during those jobs as a friendly manager and approachable salesperson in the real estate business to justify dimensions of her relations with students.

On one hand, Daisy explained that the essence of her being a successful manager involved establishment of personal rapport with others, as reflected in her comments of “probably my work practice hasn't changed, because as a manager, I got my staff and my other managers to like me, therefore they would do the most wonderful things in the workplace” and “because they liked me, so they would work so hard, they don't have to be forced”. Having benefited from such a positive relationship in the business field, Daisy attempted to win her students' fondness for her and valued this affective dimension of the connection as the key to their increased involvement in learning. She explained about the importance she attached to her students' opinions of her in that if students liked her they would want to talk to her, therefore they would be cooperative in class and willing to push themselves on “a global level” to be able to communicate with her in a “better and more fluent” way. In this way, she could “trick” students into wanting to practise and improve their spoken English of their own will.

On the other hand, analysis of interview data revealed that Daisy seemed to have transferred her interpersonal skills developed from her former works as a real estate salesperson and an account manager to the ways she related to her students outside the classroom, even though she did not overtly refer to her previous identity labels for example as a salesperson when talking about her interactions with students.

According to her interview sharing, Daisy perceived herself as in “an on-going supportive role” to her students even after they finished taking her course. Over her years of work at UB, she had taught only freshman and sophomore students. However, instead of thinking “when the last class of sophomores is that sss, cut, you're out of my life”, she maintained contact with and even developed friendships with many students at their own wishes after they graduated. Daisy had been to ex-students' weddings and visited them in different parts of China during her living in China. In these long term interactions, she provided both linguistic and emotional supports to former students such as helping proofread English files they prepared and giving suggestions on how to handle relations with a boss at work.

These types of long term socializing seemed to reflect the relation a salesperson and account manager would have with clients. For real estate salespersons, the ability to socialize with others was widely held to be a significant if not decisive factor which impacted on the success of business outcomes and helped solve customer's problems. Also, keeping customers with follow-up and long-term contact after closing a sale was a widely held form of discourse in the field of business (e.g. Clark, Drew & Pinch, 2003; Richard, 2000; Rosenauer & Mayfield, 2007). As for account managers, building and managing long term relationships with essential customers were given important weight in their job function in commercial industry (Gremmen & Benschop, 2009; Little & Marandi, 2003). In the follow up interview when I revisited her, Daisy confirmed these interpretations I made and further commented that "the way I relate with the students is probably similar in a way that I would deal with clients" and that "So, probably, my business philosophy is not dissimilar to my teaching philosophy".

In addition, due to all the above discussed interactions with students inside and outside of classes over her eight years' teaching, Daisy seemed to have changed her perception of herself as an English teacher and her attitude towards her work. When talking about her current teaching in the third narrative interview, she stressed that "we don't think of it, perhaps say as just a class or a job, it's part of our life, it's not something that we do for money, it's something that is now part of our psyche, part of our life". Here, her view of teaching as "not something that we do for money" contrasted sharply with the view as just a "way of earning a living" that she held before she started to teach English in China, referred to previously in section 5.1. Her claim for teaching as part of her life reflected a growing sense of commitment to the work as a profession, instead of just as an economic lifeboat when she initially started to teach.

What's more, with regard to classroom observational data, the above discussed Daisy's narrated identities as a mentor and a friend in relating to her students were congruent with several salient aspects of her instructional practices during observed lessons. One aspect was related to her lesson flow in both freshmen and sophomores classes. She was observed to always arrive five minutes before a lesson began to chat with individuals or group of students, and started each lesson on time with engaging the whole class in small talks that lasted for a few minutes before proceeding to the instructional activities. These were short conversations she initiated with students

about casual topics, such as what she and the students had done since the previous lesson (Ob-2, Ob-3), or on a topic she picked up from the chatting before the lesson started, for example about the previous night's English speech competition held by the university (Ob-7) and about students' word lists that they looked at before class to remember vocabulary (Ob-8), or about the weather (Ob-9, Ob-10). Through these conversations, Daisy appeared to create personal connection and rapport with students and establish a comfortable and collaborative learning environment for the rest of the lesson. In addition, students often voluntarily surrounded and chatted with Daisy during breaks as well as after lessons and occasionally hugged her (Ob-6) and took photos with her (Ob-2, Ob-4). Daisy's willingness in taking students initiated casual chats and the intimacy displayed in these affectionate gestures seemed to result from her position of self as a friend to her students, which, to an extent, challenged and redefined the teacher student dyad boundary in classrooms.

Another feature of her instructional practices was that Daisy often referred to many aspects of her transportable identities during the observed lessons. In addition to revealing her personal self as a wife and a dance lover as discussed previously in section 5.2.3, she also presented herself as a learner and helper during class, which appeared to enable her to avoid the authoritative stance as a teacher, built solidarity with her students, and create opportunities for more equal interactions with students.

One dimension of her personal life that she mentioned a lot in class was related to her part time studying of psychology during the observed semester. For instance, towards the end of the semester, she shared her own exam preparation experience with first-year students at the beginning of the eighth observed lesson. She mentioned that "I have five exams between now and Christmas, so I'm telling myself, only a little bit longer to go and that helps think more positively, because if I kept telling myself, oh god, when's the time, oh, a long time to go, made me more tired", which, congruent with her self-positioning in interviews as being a mentor, demonstrated and encouraged students to think positively to combat exam anxiety. In addition, this kind of self-revelation seemed to have identified commonalities, established connections and developed rapport between her and her students.

Another instance was related to her willingness to take on a situated identity of learner of Chinese language in class. Although Daisy stressed total immersion in teaching

English, she addressed students by their Chinese names out of respect and pedagogical purpose during the observed semester. Furthermore, after checking students' attendance by their Chinese names at the beginning of the first observed lesson, she mentioned that they had not corrected her pronunciation of their names. She told them "when I say your name, it's ok for you to say your name properly" and stressed the mutual help she and her students could offer each other in learning a second language. In post-lesson interviews Daisy explained the reason for doing this was to intentionally show students it was ok to make mistakes and to give students confidence to practice speaking a foreign language freely without worrying about losing face by saying something wrong. In the next lesson, Daisy was observed to voluntarily ask a student to teach her how to pronounce his name with the right tone. By letting students who were experts in Chinese language correct her pronunciation of their Chinese names, she broke the traditional hierarchy in the classroom and reversed the default teacher-student relation, thereby opening up the possibility that her students would orient to her as a learner other than as a teacher who knew everything and never made any mistakes.

5.3 Engaging with administration and colleagues: from a foreigner to being part of the family

The second aspect of engagement that shaped the development of Daisy's teacher identities concerned her interactions with faculty and administrative members in the workplace. These interactions will be examined in this section. Although teaching formed the bulk of the work that she did during her stay in China, engagement with colleagues also emerged as an important area of her work, which involved participants' workplace trajectories in a community of practice (Wenger, 1998). Daisy herself occupied different and changing trajectories in UB, as discussed below.

5.3.1 A non-participating member on a peripheral trajectory: limited interaction

Daisy had been on what Wenger (1998) termed the "peripheral trajectory" at the English department level in the university setting since she started to teach at UB, and still was when I revisited the field in 2014. When she initially began to work in China in 2004, she perceived herself as a foreigner at the university, and was explicit in her overt mention of this label in the interview excerpt "when we were first here, we were

just foreigners”. This foreign status was reified by the interaction she had with the university’s English department, and the marginalization hindered Daisy from becoming a participating member at the departmental level. One instance she mentioned in interview was related to the English department’s weekly faculty meeting, to which she was told “you can come if you want” and she thought she “would have to” go. But after she went to the meeting, she found that it was all in Chinese, and she was asked “why are you here” and told “you don’t really have to come”. This appeared to be quite demotivating in terms of building a sense of belonging, and Daisy had not attended any English department meeting since then.

5.3.2 A participating member on an inbound trajectory: belonging and recognition

Despite being somewhat marginalized at the English department level, Daisy’s degree of participation increased over her years of work and she gradually became an insider within the department of international education. During her first two years of teaching at UB in 2004, the university was undergoing a transformation from being a college to a university. More than twenty foreign English teachers were hired to meet part of the transformation qualifications, and they were given opportunities to discuss and share their suggestions on course-related issues over several meetings called by the administrative staffs of the department of international education. One suggestion Daisy proposed was to reduce the size of the oral English class to a smaller one. In the following semester, her suggestion was adopted and the student number in her class had been around fifteen since then. According to Wenger (1998), one of the crucial aspects of belonging to a community was having one’s ideas accepted and adopted by members of that community. For Daisy, being given the opportunity to share her pedagogic perspectives and getting her suggestion accepted demonstrated that her professional experience was appreciated and legitimated by the international education department, and she was on the inbound trajectory within that community.

Daisy’s previous learning in the TESOL training program appeared to assist her becoming a participating member at department level of UB through exposing her to TESOL discourse with which she could later align during her negotiation of meaning that mattered within her teaching context in China. In recounting in interviews the reasons she gave for recommending adjusting the class size to a smaller one, she said

that “small class is better, well, that’s the TESOL tradition, and a TESOL class should be in small groups, not large classes”. By referring to “TESOL tradition” when justifying her advice to the administration, she aligned her suggestion on class size with the discourse of TESOL education. In this way, she crafted a professional subjectivity with an implicitly shared ideological stance between herself and a community of TESOL scholars and practitioners in the broader TESOL field. Without her previous learning, she might not be able to make the agentive suggestion to her institution to reduce the class size.

Furthermore, Daisy drew on her interpersonal skills developed in previous work as cooperative employees in the real estate business to relate to university administration. In discussing her relation with the university, Daisy positioned herself as a cooperative “employee” who communicated well with the administration with respect and was open towards the university’s management practice and review mechanism of getting feedback from students on teachers’ performance in the following excerpts:

They know that we're cooperative, with the other foreign teachers it was like going into battle, a meeting with battle, you know, we know how to be employees. Many of the other teachers had never had a job; they've been professional students, so they really didn't have any idea of what a boss wants;

I mean the school's paying us a very good wage, I don't think that's unreasonable that they should be getting feedback, saying we're getting what we feel are appropriate, that's business, that's a performance appraisal. (...) The school doesn't micromanage because they've been happy with results that they've had from my classes.

By overtly mentioning identity labels (e.g. “employee” “boss”) and using linguistic forms (lexis of “wage” “performance appraisal” “micromanage”) that were ideologically associated with the business and management register, Daisy invoked the business world and claimed affiliation to and membership in her previous professional community. She drew on competence developed in former work to construct a cooperative position of self and observe the power relationships that existed in university settings. Further, she differentiated and disaligned herself with many of the other foreign teachers that used to work in UB for a short period of time only to fill their gap year between graduating and getting a job. Different positioning

as compared to a gap year student teacher can be seen in the shift from “we” to the third-person pronoun “they” that signalled distance from and in contrast to them, and exploiting verbs of knowledge in negative form (“didn’t have an idea”) to display their ignorance in terms of how to be an employee in an organization. By contrasting with those unworldly gap-year student teachers without previous work experience, Daisy constructed a different position as a mature and experienced employee in managing communication with the administration.

Furthermore, external validation and positive recognition also contributed to Daisy’s alignment with her identification as a university teacher. In Daisy’s view, the fact that there were 20 foreign teachers working in UB in 2004 and eight years later there were only her and her partner denoted a certain level of satisfaction with her work from the school, and she seemed to take pride in her identity as a surviving teacher throughout the years in the university, as she commented in interviews “if you have a staff of 20 people, and you don’t renew 18 contracts, what’s the logical conclusion about the two that left?”, “so we sort of figure that what we were doing is okay”. As such, although she had been and probably would in the future still be a peripheral participant at the English department level, she had gradually become a participating member in the broader framework of the university community.

What’s more, Daisy’s self-identity as a member in the broader university community was positively influenced by her interaction with faculty members and administrative staffs on a personal level. Because the university and city Daisy lived in did not have a large expatriate community that she had access to and became a part of over the years, she gradually established rapport and developed friendship with many Chinese English teachers and administrative staff in the university. Her interactions with them mainly involved teaching-related issues in the workplace as well as socializing outside the campus. Because a majority of the Chinese English teachers at UB were females, Daisy’s gender made it relatively easy to join their get together outside school, which she described as “the gossip on our school, between girls basically”. Being welcomed into their social networks helped Daisy develop a sense of belonging. In addition, Daisy was content with helping some Chinese English teachers with her linguistic competence, such as clarifying language points or reviewing presentation speeches for their teaching and thereby getting involved in teaching that extended beyond her own course: “we sort of involved not only in our own class, but sometimes in other

teachers' classes as well. They just use us as a resource and we're happy with that". During the personal interactions with faculty members and administrative staffs, the perception they held of her was also revealed to contribute critically in shaping Daisy's perception of self as a university teacher and her sense of belonging in the university community. When talking about how she saw herself as a teacher in the third narrative interview, she made the following comments:

(...) has probably been more involved with students, more involved with the teaching staff than when we were first here. When we were first here, we were just foreigners, now we're part of the family, one week ago, Wang Lijun said, you're part of our family, that's basically how they see us. So Charlie and I are not sort of some **transient** teacher, but part of the family.

It was noteworthy that, during this excerpt, Daisy changed the interactional footings from "we" to "Wang Lijun", one staff member at the department of international education. The reported speech of the staff reflected an evaluative orientation to Daisy's status as a participating member of the university, and Daisy took up the staff's stance and discursively crafted an emerging new perspective of herself, as compared to a transient teacher who originally planned to stay and teach for just one year as mentioned in section 5.1. It seemed that conceiving of alternative subjectivities enabled Daisy to take on the position as a member of the institution, to align with her workplace, and to create a sense of affinity and a degree of belonging she held toward the university she worked at.

5.4 Engaging with others in wider social context: understanding and empathy as a learner

In the previous two sections, I discussed how Daisy negotiated and transformed her identities as a university English teacher in China during her engagement with students, faculty and administrative members in work related activities. This section will turn to examining other activities she engaged in during her stay in China that contributed to the development of her teacher identities as well, and the two main types of activities emerging from the data were her learning of Chinese language and psychology, as discussed below.

For Daisy, the challenges she encountered as a learner of Chinese enabled her to better understand the difficulties her students faced in learning English. Since her second year in China, Daisy started to learn Chinese by taking the university's Chinese courses for international students during several semester breaks and hiring private conversation partners. She regarded the Chinese learning experience as good for her as a language teacher because she could better understand the difficulties of learning a second language as an adult and develop a degree of empathy towards her students, which she described as "if you start to learn a language after you're twelve or thirteen, you can never be completely fluent, so I sort of understand". Daisy mentioned in interviews that as a result of her personal learning, she became more patient in relating to her students, and she often talked with them about the common difficulties they had in learning a second language, such as "trying to make the sounds rights" during class and also privately. Observational data of her lessons also corroborated this aspect of her instructional focus, such as her explicit teaching of the segmental pronunciation of consonants *v* (Ob-2 during lesson) and *t-h* (Ob-4 during chat with one student before lesson started, Ob-5 during lesson).

In addition, Daisy tried to align her teaching practice in oral English class with solving the difficulties she encountered during her Chinese learning. One instance she mentioned in interviews was related to cultivating students' listening skill. She found that listening and speaking skills were closely related based on her Chinese learning experience, where she struggled with having conversation with Chinese people in the local morning market after having learnt Chinese for a while because, for the first part, she could not understand what they said. Although she was assigned to teach only oral English courses at UB, she started to incorporate in her course activities that were aimed at improving students' listening skills after finding out that "the listening part needs a lot of work" for her Chinese learning. She described her current oral English course in interviews as "working on a two pronged tack", one to do with students' listening comprehension, and the other with oral expression, as this perspective of her pedagogical emphasis in relating to her students was also saliently reflected in her observed lessons, as previously discussed in section 5.2.1 as well as section 5.2.4.

The second aspect of activity to be discussed was Daisy's engagement in learning psychology, which influenced how she related to students and perceived teaching as a profession. Daisy decided to study Bachelor of Science in psychology in her spare

time through online courses provided by a British university since 2009, and was half way through the program at the time of the third interview. She made this decision out of personal interest and her lifelong hobby of learning driven by intellectual curiosity. For her, choosing to major in psychology was not due to any employment concern, but purely for her “own enjoyment” because she was curious about “the way people think” and she wanted to take the challenge to learn something on science, a field different from arts in which she had previously been interested.

This learning experience seemed to have influenced Daisy’s self-identity as a teacher in two dimensions. Firstly, it enabled her to better relate with her students due to the commonalities they shared as students. Daisy explicitly stated in interviews that “it makes me a better teacher because I go through exams, I too just like them go through exam anxiety”, which enabled her to “relate better to them as a human being”. Secondly, the contact with her teachers in an “apprenticeship of observation” (Lortie, 1975, p.61) seemed to have an impact on how Daisy perceived teaching. During her online learning, she found “the most responsible, proactive teachers who instead of having idea it’s a job that they are doing, it’s a passion that they are doing, so they sort of give endlessly to their students”. One example she shared in interviews was a health psychology teacher who still responded to her emails past midnight. These positive evaluations of her teachers, as contrasted with the manipulative and controlling ones discussed previously in section 5.2.3, displayed her orientation and alignment with her dedicated and passionate teachers.

5.5 Anticipating the future: be flexible to whatever happens

At the end of my data gathering in 2012 Daisy expressed willingness to continue to reside in China and teach at the same university for the near future, and she was indeed still teaching at UB when I revisited the field in mid 2014. However, it should be noticed that she did not have the security of a tenured position even though she had been working at the university since 2004, which lead to the precariousness of her profession as an English teacher in China. When asked about her future plans in the third narrative interview, this sense of insecurity was reflected in her comments in that “it’s hard to know, I mean we’re on a one year contract with one year visa, so we will be flexible to whatever happens” and she still held this type of one year contract in 2014. Daisy’s experience resembled the situation in Simon-Maeda’s (2004) study on

the construction of professional identities of EFL teachers, where one non-Japanese participant was always on one year contract throughout her 23 years' EFL teaching in Japan universities. Although at a personal level, the staffs at the university regarded Daisy as a participating member who was "part of the family" as discussed in section 5.3.2, the unfavourable employment policy of a limited contract at the institutional level appeared to have, to a certain extent, restrained her from fully developing a sense of professionalism.

5.6 Summary

In sum, Daisy's identities as an English teacher were developed during her teaching related experience in China, negotiated with a myriad of contextual factors, and shaped significantly by her personal biography. On one hand, data analysis revealed that she drew on a wide range of personal educational and professional experiences gained before she went to China as well as during her living in China to form her teacher identities. Varied images of her teachers at different institutions, her second language and TESOL learning experiences, cross racial and cultural encounters during early childhood and later professional lives all played a role in cognitively and affectively shaping the construction of dimensions of her perceptions of self as an English teacher, such as being a friend and mentor, a cultural mediator and a facilitator with particular pedagogical aspirations. In particular, for Daisy, who appeared to be influenced significantly by her former work in the business field over many years, she brought working philosophy and interpersonal skills developed in those previous professions to contribute to her dealing with various relations with students and colleagues in her current career as an English teacher. Her learning of Chinese language enabled her to empathize with her students. Furthermore, even though she was exposed to TESOL program training for only a very short period of time, this learning enabled her to imagine a new profession and to align herself with broader TESOL discourse during her work in China.

On the other hand, during her teaching activities in the local context in China, she negotiated between prescribed large class size and a small one promoted by TESOL discourse, between alienating set textbook and students' real life in local culture, between the institutional goal of getting students to practice speaking English in class and personal pedagogical emphases on cultivating students' listening alongside

speaking skills. With local institution's flexibility and permission, she successfully exercised her agency to move beyond the prescribed curriculum and transformed how she chose to construct her own identities as an EFL teacher. Although she did not strongly envision a teaching self at the beginning of her work in China and the departmental structure imposed on her a degree of marginalisation, the positive personal interactions she engaged with students and colleagues over the years provided her with sense of belonging, helped her to reconceptualise her perception of self as a participating member within the broader framework of the institution, transformed her view of English teaching from only providing a means to make money to being part of her life and boosted her aspiration to remain in the profession in the foreseeable future.

Chapter 6: George’s Journey

George was born in New Mexico, United States of America, in 1980s into a second generation immigrant family. His father was a civil engineer working for the government, and his mother was an early childhood teacher. To his family, being American and succeeding as American people were very important, and his parents had a very strong concern for his education since his childhood, spending lots of time reading him books and taking him to libraries, teaching him to find answers to questions in books by himself, encouraging him to do best in schools and supporting his extracurricular activities as much as they could. During the second semester break of his undergraduate studies in the United States, George was invited by a friend to travel in China for six weeks, during which he became interested in Chinese history. He thus changed his major from music to history, went on a one-and-a-half year exchange program between his university and a Chinese community college to study Chinese language and culture, then returned to the United States to finish his bachelor’s studies. Table 6.1 below provides a brief demographic portrait of George.

Table 6.1: Demographic portrait of George

Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Certificate in Chinese language from one community college in China • Bachelor of Arts from one public university in United States, major in history minor in education and linguistics
Professional teaching experience before coming to China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None
Teaching experience in China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oral English at the community college for one year • Oral English and test preparation English for young adults at a private English training school for two months • Oral English reinforcement course for children at a private Children English training school for one year • Oral English and test preparation English for young adults at a private English training school for half a year • Oral English and test preparation English for young adults at a private English training school for two years • Oral English at University C for three years before commencement of this research
Personal interests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reading and collecting Chinese history books and academic journals • Performing musical instruments

During the observed semester, George was assigned to teach a once weekly oral English course to a class of sophomore English major students, and two short term intensive oral English classes for mixed non-English major students who were enrolled in an English certification program provided by UC. The set textbook was *Inside Out* (intermediate level) (Kay et al., 2007). I observed his oral English class for English majors (22 students enrolled plus 2 non-major students audited) on ten occasions. Each lesson included one 50 minute and one 45 minute period with a 10 minute break in between. Sample layout of his classroom appears in Appendix O.

In the following sections of this chapter, I will explore the formation and transformation of George's identities as an English teacher. The first section examines briefly his entry into English teaching and the gradual changes in his perceptions of English teaching as his profession. Then I discuss in detail the development of his understanding of himself as an English teacher, taking into consideration both his previous personal and educational experiences, and his interactions with students, colleagues and administrative staff inside and outside of classes in institutional settings, as well as with others in a wider socio-cultural context while he lived in China.

6.1 Becoming an English teacher in China: “it was a bit somewhat thrust upon us”

Unlike Daisy and Caleb who were motivated to become English teachers in China either by the opportunity to travel or by teaching itself, George's initial entry to EFL teaching was forced by external factors. He mentioned that he enrolled in the Chinese community college together with two graduate students from his American university as exchange students to learn Chinese language and culture but found that the college had planned to use them as teachers. His description of his teaching of English course since his second semester of studying there as being “strongly suggested I think would be the best way to say it, we come in as students, so technically we weren't supposed to be teaching anything” reflected that he was placed in the position by others instead of personal desire.

For George's subsequent entries to English teaching at private language training schools and at UC, examination of interview data revealed a gradual shift in his

motivations and a concomitant change in his perception of self as an English teacher. In the beginning, he was driven by extrinsic motivations such as earning money and returning to China, and he did not intend to become a professional English teacher in the future. For instance, he explained the reason for his two-month English teaching during semester break as an exchange student in China as “basically I didn’t have money to go home and I needed a job to make money, that was really the only thing I could think of to make money so that’s what I did”, and commented that “I had no desire to be a career English teacher at that time”. After received his bachelor’s degree in the US, he applied for English teaching jobs in China in order to get back to and stay in China to improve his Chinese and then to manage to enrol in postgraduate program as a foreign student to continue his study and later work within the research side of the historical field. According to him, at that time “I wasn’t really interested in being an English teacher” and “I saw it as a very temporary thing”. It was not until he decided to change to teach at university level that he started to frame his work in the ELT field as a long term career that he aspired to become a member of and contribute to it, rather than see it as a temporary bridge to fulfil his personal academic research goal. Correspondingly, he began to envision himself as “I was hoping to be a more professional English teacher” and “I wanted to be an established teacher”, which differed from his previous perspectives as discussed earlier in this section.

6.2 Engaging with students: from “a performing monkey” to “an educator”

Starting out as an inexperienced English teacher without much pre-service training, George gradually formed and transformed his teacher identities during his various teaching experiences at different institutions in China. Examination of interview and observation data revealed five evolving positions George explicitly and implicitly held in relation to his students: 1. a lecturer; 2. a performer; 3. a facilitator; 4. a motivator; 5. a consultant. These positions will be elaborated separately in what follows.

6.2.1 A lecturer: developing students’ linguistic and sociocultural competence

Since George started to teach English, his initial self perception in relating to students was being a lecturer. Interview data revealed that his instructional foci shifted from only explaining about the content of textbook materials to cultivating students’

linguistic and sociocultural competence with reference to their needs, and such a shift occurred alongside his accumulated teaching experience as well as developed didactic skills, and was influenced by his personal biography and previous learning. In talking about his teaching at the community college in China, he described it as “somewhat ineffective” and stressed “I didn’t know how to structure a class at that time”. What he mainly did then was just to read and paraphrase textbook materials sentence by sentence, similar to his giving sermons about content in the bible at church when he was young.

After he learned how to plan and execute lessons at the second school that he worked at, his teaching, except at the private Children English training school which will be discussed in the next section, changed to developing students’ linguistic and sociocultural competence. According to his interviews, on one hand, he often attempted to teach at least three to five new words in each lesson and highlight nuances in word meanings. He also tried to correct pronunciation and grammar mistakes selectively, depending on the individual student’s English proficiency and types of mistakes. It appeared that these aspects of instruction were closely linked to his previous foreign language learning, which enabled him to sympathize with his students’ learning experience. Before and during his stay in China, he had learned Spanish, German, Mongolian and Manchurian out of institutional requirements or personal interest at schools and through private lessons. As a result of these learnings, he was well aware of the difficulties in learning a foreign language, such as how to make certain sounds, and was sympathetic towards his students, as reflected in his comment of “I have had those kinds of difficulties in other languages so I become more sympathetic”.

In addition, students’ communicative needs and what they expected to learn were taken into consideration when he planned courses. He stressed that “the way I taught was set to what that class’s common needs were”, and one example he mentioned was about a class he taught at the fourth school. Most of the students in that class were members of a prestige local high school’s youth basketball team that travelled a lot around the world to play games. Thus he focused more on the communicative functions his students needed to perform, such as greeting and politely interrupting people in English. His teaching was more about “the proper way to use English in a social situation”. What he did was teach students to look at why and how the people

in the textbook dialogues interacted in certain ways, such as the impact of social status and distance on communication.

On the other hand, interview data highlighted that George valued relating to student with cultural sensitivity and also attempting to raise students' sociocultural awareness, which was deeply shaped by his racial experience in childhood and his tertiary learning after he finished the exchange program. He made the following comment in the second interview:

Teaching cultural awareness of language or at least trying to help them understand that just one cultural perspective in language is not the only thing, is quite important, so when we talk about diversity, it's something that I do try to keep aware of, there's not always enough time or let's say opportunity to do this in every class, but when possible I do try to incorporate that as well.

One instance from the interviews that reflected George's cultural sensitivity was his gradual shift from sticking to set textbooks and doing every exercise to adapting book materials and only using selective sections that matched his pedagogical plans since commencing his work at the fourth institution in China. This was because, according to him, many examples presented in textbooks had little association with contemporary world, such as examples for famous people in a textbook he used two years ago included Michal Jordan and Yoko Ono, who were popular with people decades ago but were not known by most of his students. Due to this problem, he used only textbook topics and ideas but substituted outdated examples with ones that were up to date or less dependent on a certain time period, and incorporated Chinese cultural elements into his teaching. In his view, one aspect of the advantages of talking about students' cultural practices was to prepare them for future cross-cultural encounters because "people want to know about your own culture if you are speaking to people".

Another specific instance George elaborated in interviews was about one class he previously taught. During his second semester's work at UC, he had a large percentage of Uyghur students from Xinjiang province in the ethnic make-up of that class. He found out that the Uyghur students typically avoided talking about things such as Chinese language because most of them didn't speak Mandarin very well. Thus during that semester he did one lesson on how to speak about the different

languages within China, in which he highlighted there was not an automatic link between the concepts of nationality, ethnicity and language, in order to make students realise that it was not a strange thing there were many people who would happily consider themselves Chinese but did not speak Mandarin, and that mingling of the ethnic term Chinese with the language term Mandarin might produce divisions in multi-ethnic China. This instance clearly reflected George's sensitivity in relating to students with a multicultural look and his efforts in changing students' sociocultural conceptions.

The cultural sensitivity George drew on in relating to students when he worked in China was developed from his strong awareness of being an outsider that he experienced in early childhood. He grew up living in the only white family in a black neighbourhood because of his parents' financial difficulties. Due to the colour of his skin, he was always treated as an alienated minority. Such an experience led to his understanding of racism as "the alienation of a group because of perceived differences and it doesn't matter if you are looking at the person as an example of positive or negative behaviour", and he described his shifted attitudes towards the outsider position as follows:

It used to bother me a lot, as always be reminded that you can never be accepted as the same. By the time I got to middle school, I come to peace with that problem. Now I still see it as an alienating factor but I don't see it as bad necessarily, I think it's just a certain cultural construct of self, but I do notice that I spent more time thinking about it than many people do, I'm sensitive to the words that people use for framing outsider.

Later, several education courses he took during undergraduate studies validated the importance of George's sensitivity towards cultural issues. Although he had developed sensitivity to cultural divisions and diversities based on his personal experience, he did not really understand why it was important and used to think that "it might just have been my own psychological hang-up, maybe it's not that important". It was not until he took the educational courses that he realised it was "extremely important", especially for a language teacher, to be "at least culturally cognizant, if not sensitive". He described such a realization as "a very useful thing" for his latter teaching. One example George mentioned was the influence of a course

on exam system theory on his thoughts about the best ways to instruct language points, and the excerpt below reflected how he drew on the theory to justify his using of Chinese examples to illustrate meanings of English words:

Why I use a lot of Chinese examples when I'm teaching, the idea of exam system theory, it did that, showing when you use examples or test questions that are outside a person's culture, statistically they will perform worse. So if I'm trying to teach some word like homophone, I can do this in English using see, sea, cee, but using four and death or fish and surplus¹¹ is a much better way because it's something they know, and giving a Chinese example doesn't change the meaning of English word at all, it helps them to contextualise it in a faster way.

During the observed lessons, George's identity as a lecturer was also enacted. One feature of his instruction was that he often adopted the knowledge-transmission model with a focus on cultivating students' linguistic competence in reference to their needs. Besides providing corrective feedback to students' pronunciation and grammar, he gave lots of instruction on vocabulary, either on related topic words at the beginning of introducing a new unit or on the words that were unfamiliar to students during his teaching of textbook materials and exercises. The reason for this pedagogical emphasis, which he mentioned in post-lesson interviews, was due to many students' desire to improve their vocabulary that he discovered through talking with them during his previous academic years' teaching. His instruction was observed to incorporate analysis of the words morphology and semantics. For instance, when teaching the vocabulary "synchronizing" (Ob-5), he gave explicit instruction on its word root and affixes. The following episode taken from the ninth observed lesson was just another example where he elaborated subtlety in the connotation of "touristy" during his instruction on a textbook exercise:

Excerpt 6-1: "What does touristy mean"

- 01 T: It's quite a touristy place, what does touristy mean?
02 (*Ss whisper their answers*)
03 T: Christine, what do you think touristy mean?
04 S1: Uh, a place you can travel.

¹¹ In Chinese, words for four and death share similar pronunciations of /sì/ and /sǐ/, whereas words for fish and surplus share the same pronunciation of /yú/.

- 05 T: Ok uh partly, Lucy, can you tell me a little bit more?
- 06 S2: Uh, a place that attract many people to, to pay a visit
- 07 T: Ok, that's better, touristy means it's made for tourism, uh for example, in China, what places are very famous for tourism?
- 08 S3: Xiamen.
- 09 S4: Beijing.
- 10 T: Ok, Xiamen, Beijing.
- 11 S5: Shenyang.
- 12 (Ss laugh)
- 13 T: Ok, so if you go there, many of the businesses, many of the jobs and the services are for tourists first, it may not be the real kind of culture or food that you'll eat there, but it's what we think should be here, uh, so for example. if we go to Beijing, Beijing's a very big city but, if you travel near the Tiananmen or Gugong, there's a lot of people who'll sell you maps, who will help you to find your way, tour guide and so on, that we call touristy, it's made for people to travel and visit, not really to live or stay a long time. So touristy often is not a very good word in English, it means that it's not very true, not very original, but it's made only for outside people to see something different, it doesn't, it doesn't need to be a bad word, but it usually has a negative, remember the word? (Writes connotation on the blackboard) connotation, that's the feeling of the word. Touristy only means it has the tourists, but the feeling is it's not a very true place. So if you want to know about the life in Yunnan, going to Lijiang and stay in a tourist hotel may be not telling you what the real people in Yunnan's life would be like. So it has a little bit of a bad feeling. So he says oh it's quite a touristy place but the people are very
- 14 Ss: Friendly.
- 15 T: Friendly.

This episode also reflected his typical instructional practice in observed lessons where there was little change in his discourse and situated identities as a teacher. Although he would often first provide opportunity for students to demonstrate their understandings in their own words, he controlled the floor for the most time and issued prompts and evaluations which followed the IRF pattern. As in the above excerpt, he asked display questions (turn 01, 03, 05) for students' explanations of the meaning of touristy, then offered evaluative follow-ups such as "ok" (turn 05, 07) with more comments on student's answers before explaining the meaning of the word and providing deeper illustration in turn 13.

Another feature of George's instruction was that he was observed to raise students' awareness of the multicultural and multilingual nature of life around the globe, which was reflected in his instructional practices on cultural knowledge in three ways: 1) demonstrating cultural diversity and hybridity in English speaking countries; 2) comparing similarities and differences between western and Chinese cultural perspectives and practices, and 3) highlighting local differences in language and culture within China, as will be discussed below.

Instead of orientating toward just one target language speaking culture, George purposefully presented various practices in diversified countries and regions with an international perspective, as could be seen from Excerpt 6-2 (Ob-5) below.

Immediately preceding this excerpt, he was leading the class as a whole to discuss answers to an exercise of crossing out the dates of four listed holidays on a calendar in the "Time Expressions" section of the textbook. This excerpt was their discussion about the third one – Boxing Day, which was not observed in America where George came from.

Excerpt 6-2: "There are two boxing days"

- 01 T: What about boxing day?
02 Ss: Boxing day?
03 T: Who can tell us? (*One student raises her hand*) Ok, Jennifer.
04 S1: Twenty seventh.
05 T: Twenty seventh, why?
06 S1: Why?
07 (*Ss laugh*)
08 T: Yeah, coz it's not always twenty seventh.
09 S2: [[为什么? ((Why))
10 S1: [[Uh the boxing day is on, on the after uh
11 S3: Is the first work day
12 S1: Is the first work day after Christmas
13 T: Yes, uh now in fact there are two boxing days.
14 S1: [[There are two boxing days?
15 S4: [[Yeah?
16 Ss: Why?
17 T: Ok why, that's a good question. Twenty sixth is boxing day in Canada (*Writes Canada on the blackboard*)
18 Ss: Oh.
19 T: It's always the day after Christmas. (*writes UK on the blackboard*) In UK, it's always the first work day after Christmas, so boxing day is never Saturday or Sunday in the UK, [[and

- 20 S5: [[Teacher!
 21 T: Uh-huh?
 22 S5: US 呢? (*laugh*) ((What about US?))
 23 T: Uh US hasn't a boxing day, that's a good question too. America does not celebrate this holiday, but for UK and many of the Common Wealth countries, this is an important holiday, for UK, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and even in Hong Kong they celebrate boxing day, though each has their own traditions, but the most common is either the day after Christmas, which is always the twenty sixth, and this is true in Canada, or the first work day after Christmas, which means it's on Monday, uh to Friday, so if Christmas is on Thursday, boxing day will be the next day, but if Christmas is on a Friday, boxing day will be three days later on Monday, so it's always on a weekday, Monday to Friday, never Saturday or Sunday. So this one's a little bit special, because different countries have different traditions about this, and how about Christmas eve?

His effort to capture the multicultural practices of celebrating one holiday (turn 08, 13) immediately drew students' attention, as in turn 14 to 16 students actively took on the discourse identity of a questioner which was not normally associated with their situated identity as a student in classroom, doubted the information presented by the teacher and asked for further explanation. Then his elaboration of the different dates of Boxing Day (turn 17, 19) obviously triggered students' further curiosity, as S5 constructively interrupted him and initiated an unsolicited question about the practice in America (turn 20, 22), instead of just passively accepting the knowledge presented by him in the previous turns. Even though George was situated in the context to teach about Boxing Day and his situated identity as a teacher remained unaltered for the most part, his navigation towards explaining the difference contributed to the development and lively nature of this interactional episode.

Further, classroom data revealed that George frequently mentioned Chinese cultural practices and perspectives. He did this either to illustrate meanings of vocabularies (as in Excerpt 6-1) or to compare and contrast them with those in other places around the world when preceding or following discussion focused on cultural practices and perceptions in English-speaking countries. For instance, one section of the third observed lesson was his lecturing about the origin of Halloween, and when explaining the relatively short history of the practice of trick or treat he mentioned that "just like watching the spring festival gala on TV, it's not a very old tradition in China, so I

don't think that Kongzi or Libai¹² watched the TV when they were young". In this way, he compared the similarity between the spring festival gala watching with trick or treating in being not really a traditional part of the holiday celebration.

In addition to presenting the multiplicity of target language culture, George was also observed to highlight heterogeneity and complexity in regional cultural practices within China whenever possible during lessons. For example, when wrapping up a textbook exercise of completing several English jokes (Ob-1), he stressed that "most jokes are culturally sensitive" and "people in one culture will understand or can be affected by the jokes, while people on another culture maybe won't understand or have a different understanding of a joke". To illustrate this point, he not only discussed the difficulty in translating English jokes into Chinese, but also moved to highlight problems in understanding jokes for people from different regions of China due to the variation of local dialects as the classroom excerpt below demonstrated. In this way, he engaged students in potentially critically approaching culture and presented Chinese language as a pluralistic entity rather than a monolithic one.

T: In Shenyang, there's a kind of performance we call Errenzhuan, and there's a lot of jokes made on different sounds of words, sometimes just from the difference in local languages, the Fangyan, probably sounds differently from other places, so even to explain it in Chinese to someone from Guangzhou might be very different.

Unlike the other three participants who had all enacted a situated identity as a learner during observed lessons, George was rarely observed to do so and the situated identity he enacted was often that of a teacher with expertise in both target and local culture. This difference might be due to his intercultural experience of having been living in China for a relatively long time, and particularly his research expertise in ancient Chinese history, having provided him with additional access to and knowledge of local culture. For instance in Excerpt 6-1, even though he questioned students about places that were famous for tourism in China in turn 07, he maintained control of the development of the interaction and acknowledged their answers. In addition, his discussing relevant touristy practices at places of interest clearly reflected that his previous questions were merely display questions, and his providing additional examples of Yunnan and Lijiang in explication of the connotation of the word touristy

¹² Kongzi (551 – 479 BC), also known as Confucius, was a Chinese philosopher, and Libai (701 – 762), also known as Li Po, was a Chinese poet.

further demonstrated his in-depth knowledge about touristy places in China. The difference might also be because altering the situated identities of teacher and student and acknowledging a lack of knowledge might put him in a vulnerable position in his teaching context.

In fact, in most of the cases when George introduced and oriented to a transportable identity during class, it was the position as a Chinese historian specialist, and he often demonstrated a measure of distancing from his native culture and practice. Examples of related teaching episodes were abundant in observed lessons. For instance, in the above Excerpt 6-2, S5's question in turn 22 indicated that she knew where George was from and introduced an aspect of his transportable identity as an American into the interaction. Instead of aligning himself explicitly with the target culture, however, George used "US" and "America" in turn 23 and maintained a somewhat neutral position as an observer of the target practice during his explanation.

More explicitly was, when he taught the word "fortnight" (Ob-4), his usage of "people in America never used the word fortnight" instead of the first person pronoun "we". Such wording seemed to reflect that he positioned himself as an objective presenter with a degree of detachment, rather than enacting his transportable identity as being an American and a member of the culture. In contrast, George often claimed membership as a researcher in Chinese history, which was observed in almost every observed lesson. Such as in the second observed lesson, he mentioned that "the country of Chu had twelve days for one week, but after the Qing in China, we used ten days" when talking about how many days a week had in old China in response to an example of superstition one student raised. Later during that lesson he also referred to ideas in Yijing in explaining the rationale for the practice in China of wearing red underwear during one's cycle of year. In referring to these examples of historical background and practice, he invoked the position as a historian with insider knowledge of Chinese history, and drawing on his field of expertise seemed to grant him extra confidence in establishing authority in relation to his students.

6.2.2 A performer: reinforcing what students previously learned with entertaining games

Differently from when working at other institutions, George's position changed to being a performer when he taught at the private Children English training school. He

worked as a foreign teacher there and was responsible for only reinforcement classes for four to eight year old children. What he was required to do was reviewing what the students had already learned during the week with Chinese English teachers in the set textbook instead of teaching anything new. In interviews he described his work there in the following way, which reflected his perception of self as a performer whose main job was to entertain rather than to educate students:

My job was to reinforce language concepts, so I wasn't teaching students anything new, and even in that, it was really just keeping them entertained for the most part. It was in many ways a lot more of a performance or a face aspect than it was an educational aspect. In fact we have a term for that, we call the performing monkey, your job is to go and be an English speaker, not really to be English teacher, you go in front of a class of Chinese children and speak English, maybe sing a song, make them happy, your job is done, you're really a performer.

It should be noted that George had attempted to negotiate between the positions as a performer and as a teacher, but his effort was undermined by the institutional structure of classes that formed his working context. When he initially started to work at the school, he tried to make detailed lesson plans with linguistic and cultural points to teach based on lesson topic and student proficiency level, but he quickly gave it up and resorted to playing games and singing songs in the textbook. He mentioned the reason was that teachers at the school were expected to move around nineteen branches that the school had in different locations within the city to teach various groups of students according to the school's arrangements, and the cycle of both Chinese and foreign teachers' classes kept changing every week which led to no continuity of instruction. He did not know what and to whom he was going to teach until he went to a branch and a Chinese teacher told him which lesson to review that day. As a result, there seemed to be no possible way for him to dismiss the position as a performer which he was forced to enact by his teaching environment, and he felt sceptical of how much impact his work could have on students: "you can make your performance as good as you can, but it's not going to affect the children very much" and "other than letting them come face to face with a foreigner, I don't think I really educated them in any real way, because that's not the way the classes were set up to be". Such a perception of self remained until after George changed his job to work at another private language school where he was directly responsible for teaching

classes to high school students and young professionals instead of giving only reinforcement lessons.

Furthermore, both interview and class observation data at UC confirmed George's internal disalignment with being an entertainer in relating to students. Differing significantly from Caleb who valued creating an engaging learning environment and from Daisy who explicitly stressed the importance of being liked by her students, George did not personally identify with entertaining students and was not concerned with how his students perceived him. When talking in interviews about his work at UC, George reiterated three times that what his students thought about him was not important to his own self-perceptions as a teacher. He also commented "if the students don't like me, that's okay because I don't come into this to be a popular person, I come in to be an educator" and "it's not my job to make them happy, it's my job to make them learn. Even if they hate me, if their English is better, I'm happy, that's the more important thing for me". It appeared that his ultimate goal as a teacher was to improve his students' language proficiency, and did not view personal connection between him and students as a precondition for their learning. Being an entertainer was also absent from the observational data of his classroom teaching.

6.2.3 A facilitator: varied approaches to help English and non-English major students to use English

After he left the private Children English training school, George's relation with students gradually transformed from being just a lecturer to that of a facilitator. As a facilitator, he tried to help students to use English to communicate, as he discussed explicitly that "now I see teacher not as sort of a boss or dictator, but rather a facilitator, my job is to help them to use language, it's facilitating through their own discovery using language in a correct way, that's the more important idea".

Examination of interview data highlighted that this transformation was gradual and that differences in learner population influenced his varied approaches of facilitating even during teaching at the same institution.

For George, the evolution of his understandings of self as a facilitator seemed to be a prolonged and incremental process with mediation and negotiation. It was informed by the courses he learned during undergraduate studies, and happened during the

teaching experiences he accumulated. On one hand, the linguistic courses George previously took opened his minds to the communicative language teaching approach, and provided theoretical foundations for the subsequent development of his identity as a facilitator in relating to students. These courses introduced him to the rationale and importance of communication between teachers and students and their corresponding roles in a language classroom, and raised his awareness of the drawback of his old way of teaching where students would just listen to him without active interaction in class. Correspondingly, he stressed that “I had a very big shift in what I thought about the role of language teachers and students in a classroom, I think it's to communicate, it's using the language as a tool” as a result of taking the courses.

Although George was able to articulate the ideal role of language teachers during his undergraduate course studies, he did not fully understand related ideas at the time. It was not until he engaged in attempting to incorporate related theory into his teaching practices after he returned to China that he gradually started to take on and actually enact the position of a facilitator in class, as suggested in the following quote when talking about his changing thoughts about language teachers' roles:

I don't think there was ever a moment of epiphany, my linguistic classes helped me to understand it, but I don't think I really fully understood it even after finishing those classes. ... It's taken a long time to form the identity, I think I had ideas of what it should be, but I don't think I made it, even when I came to China after that, I don't think I could have framed it in that way at that time. It's just a long series of trial and error that, I come into that paradigm.

It was also important to note that, according to George, he had gradually become more adept in integrating varied positions as a lecturer and a facilitator during lessons over his years of teaching experience. For example, he mentioned that he used to make a clear distinction between in class lecture time and group work time with a stop for students to move their chairs to form groups, which he described as “used to be a very big deal” and later found to be “very disruptive”. Gradually, he tried to integrate group work as a section into one smooth united lesson without changing students' seats and stopping a lesson's normal flow:

I have been trying to integrate my sections and do a lot more interaction and group work now than I used to. I think I've become better at changing between the lecture

time and group work time to personal response time. Now we change between these different sections without disrupting the class in any way.

Furthermore, interview data revealed that George had different ways to facilitate communication with regard to different groups of students. One instance he elaborated was related to his teaching at UC. According to him, he adopted more group work with English majors who were generally self motivated to learn in order to maximize the time for students' practicing speaking among themselves without much interference from him. He found that it helped to improve their vocabulary and grammar because they would be more willing to experiment with the language using diversified vocabularies and complex sentences in small groups and could help each other elucidate ideas. Alternatively, in non-English majors' classes, many of the students would do other course work and not actively participate during group discussion. Thus interaction in those classes would be mainly in an "individual form" between him and random individual students during class. He would ask open questions for reasons and examples, which helped students to express their thoughts as deeply as possible and gave him more opportunities to correct their grammatical mistakes, if any.

In terms of observational data, it was necessary to acknowledge that only George's oral English classes for English major students were observed due to schedule limitation. However, the position as a facilitator was enacted by him in the observed lessons. Although George acted as a lecturer during a significant proportion of class time, he also included lots of pair and group discussion in his class activities. Students were asked to talk in pairs or groups of four to six persons about questions that were related to lesson topics and set by him (e.g. Ob-2, 3), or to collaboratively complete textbook exercises (e.g. Ob-4, 5, 7, 8, 9). During these activities, George seldom interacted with students directly. He would remain silent and walk around the classroom to monitor what students were doing to make them stay on topic. Occasionally he would make brief comments such as "that's a very good idea" (Ob-2) after he listened to one group's discussion, ask for students' feedback such as "is this easy or difficult" (Ob-7) about one textbook exercise, and attend to students who asked for his help in completing the task at hand, such as "you have dictionaries, so you can use them" (Ob-8) when a student asked him about the English name of one country during group discussion about a world trip map in the textbook.

Besides facilitating students' discussion within small groups, George's facilitation was also in the form of moderating discussion among the whole class after they finished group discussion. Differed from the lecturing episodes when he focused on transmitting knowledge and asked lots of display questions to which he already knew the answers (e.g. questions in Excerpt 6-1 and 6-2), he used many open ended referential questions to elicit students' individual thoughts. He also provided ample opportunities for students to voice different perspectives on one specific question and promoted alternative thinking by asking questions such as "anyone else have a different answer" (Ob-5) instead of accepting a single student's opinion. Excerpt 6-3 (Ob-4) below was just such an example in which he attempted to involve more students in whole class discussion and promote potential negotiation among their perspectives.

Excerpt 6-3: "Let's hear your counter point"

- 01 T: Alright, let's talk about some of these ideas, so for a first date, who can tell us what your window of punctuality might be?
(3.0) Elizabeth, what do you think?
- 02 S1: What? Jennifer, Jennifer!
- 03 S2: No!
- 04 S3: Jennifer is an expert!
- 05 S2: Ok.
- 06 T: You are together, so, whoever wants to do that.
- 07 S2: We think, uh we think, uh the boy should arrive early in half an hour.
- 08 T: Ok
- 09 S2: Uh and, but the girl should be late!
- 10 Ss: Laugh
- 11 T: How late is ok?
- 12 S2: Uh, five to ten minutes.
- 13 T: Five to ten minutes, so not one hour late?
- 14 [(Ss laugh)
- 15 S2: [[Ah?
- 16 T: Not one hour late?
- 17 S2: No.
- 18 T: Ok, so about five to ten minutes late is ok for the girl, but the boy should be there about thirty minutes early, ok. Let's see what a boy thinks about this. Peter! What do you think?
- 19 S4: I counter argue this point.
- 20 [(Ss laugh)
- 21 T: [[Ok.
- 22 S1: 不许 counter! (laugh) ((Counter is not allowed))
- 23 S4: This is the first, the first date, I think both of boy and uh, they
[[should

- 24 S5: [[Both boys?
 25 (Ss laugh)
 26 S4: Both ah, girls and boys, they should uh be there on time, or
 ten minutes earlier.
 27 T: Ok
 28 S4: Because if you're late, this is your first date, you are late, you
 will have a bad impress, impression on others.
 29 T: Ah, [[interesting.
 30 S6: [[No!
 31 T: And you say no, ok so let's hear your counter point.
 32 (Ss laugh)
 33 S6: Ah, I also think, if the boy uh don't wait for the girl, I think
 the boy is not worth loving.
 34 (Ss laugh)
 35 T: Ok. Alright, very different ideas about this, very good, so
 both people have good reasons, I think both of you will agree
 to disagree about this, alright, excellent, good ideas, does
 anyone have a very different idea about this? One hour early
 or two hours late?
 36 Ss: No.
 37 T: No, not so much? Ok, how about the second one, going to an
 English lesson?

Immediately preceding this excerpt, students just finished small group discussion about how much time they think was ok to be early or late for different events listed in a textbook exercise on punctuality, and this excerpt was their whole class discussion initiated by George on the first event - a first date. Although George attempted to control the floor in terms of nominating one student to give an answer at the beginning (turn 01), he quickly allowed students to self-select among the group in making their contribution (turn 06). His facilitation of students' discussion during the rest of this excerpt was mainly through revoicing students' viewpoints (e.g. turn 13, 18), probing about the meaning of students' viewpoints (e.g. turn 11, 16) and managing students' turn in holding the floor (e.g. turn 18, 31). After S2 finished giving her answers with George's probes, George continued to purposefully elicit a male student's response in turn 18. His attempt indeed created tensions and expanded the interaction, as S4 argued against S2's opinion (turn 19), then S1 joked about S4's rejection of her group's opinion (turn 22) and later S6 actively challenged S4's opinion without solicitation (turn 30) to advocate her viewpoint openly. It could be seen that with George's aid, students actively advocated, challenged, and negotiated their viewpoints and a relatively high level of involvement was achieved in this discussion episode.

6.2.4 A motivator: promoting personal responsibility and voluntary participation

Moreover, George positioned himself as a motivator when he taught at UC. In his view, if a student did not learn at the private English training schools where he used to work, there was not much he could do, whereas at UC he could enforce consequences if necessary because his course was part of his students' normal curriculum. He explicitly pointed out in interviews that "I tried to motivate them", especially with non-English major students who mostly focused on their major academic courses and were not really interested in improving their English proficiency.

The formation of such a position as a motivator appeared to be closely linked to George's empathy with his students in terms of lacking learning motivation. Such empathy was developed as a result of his previous learning experience. When talking in interviews about the situation that most of his non-English major students at UC just wanted to pass the oral English course, which was compulsory, George mentioned that he used to take several history courses only to get required credits during his undergraduate studies. He also explicitly compared the similarity between his students and himself as an undergraduate student in retrospect – "it's just a requirement, similar to how I considered my history of Latin American studies when I was in school, so I understand their feeling, just something that at university people have to live with". Due to the similar experience of being required as a history major student to take history classes that he was not interested in, George could relate to his students' feelings and actively took on the position of a motivator in relating to his students when he worked at UC.

Interview data revealed that the methods George used at UC to motivate students changed from using negative reinforcement through homework and exams to later positively promoting personal responsibility with in-class participation rewards, and his understanding of the relation between himself and students shifted from "I will grade you" to "you earn your grade". In the beginning, a large portion of his students' grades came from lots of written assignments, but George quickly realised that it was not very effective and many students would copy other's work. From the second semester, he modified his grading structure. Class attendance and voluntary participation points became the highest percentage of their final grades, where playing on mobile phones or doing other classes' homework would get demerits and

volunteering to answer questions or talking actively during group discussion would gain merits. He stressed to students that it was their choice of participation or nonparticipation that would make their grades. In this way, their personal sense of responsibility was pushed and George regarded it as “the most useful approach so far” to motivate students to learn. According to him, he also told students explicitly that it was ok to be wrong and they would be penalized only for not participating instead of giving wrong answers.

During the observed lessons, George’s self-position as a motivator appeared to have influenced students’ participation in class. One striking point was that almost no disciplinary problem ever emerged in the observed lessons. Most students appeared to be listening earnestly, taking notes and consulting dictionaries at times, and volunteered to answer questions during his instruction. They were also observed to participate actively in group discussions.

Although few students showed up late for his class on occasions, all of the latecomers were observed to voluntarily go to the front of the classroom and explain to George why he or she was late during breaks. Excerpt 6-4 below was just an example that happened during the break of the sixth observed lesson. When being asked about this phenomenon in post-lesson interview, he explained his rationale in that he made it a policy that if one student came in class late but talked to him about it during break time or after class, the student would still get an attendance mark. This policy, which aimed at making students care more about being punctual, indeed motivated students to take on personal responsibility in participating and learning.

Excerpt 6-4: One students’ explanation about being late for class

- 01 S1: I have, I have to ask uh, say sorry to you I’m late.
02 T: That’s ok.
03 S1: Because I have a lot of work from vary kind of organization, tonight, I will attend an English salon¹³ and I will introduce my club for other people so I will prepare PPT and prepare for a speech, prepare lots of thing.
04 T: I thought English salon was on Tuesday?
05 S1: Uh, but this, uh, uh
06 T: Is this a different English salon?

¹³ In China, the phrase “English salon”, which is also called “English corner”, commonly refers to informal periods of students’ practicing speaking English at specific locations at schools.

- 07 S1: Yes, because last uh yesterday evening we have a test, so uh adjust to tonight.
- 08 T: Ok, so what kind of club will you introduce?
- 09 S1: Uh, uh exotic style.
- 10 T: Ok, what kind of style is that?
- 11 S1: Uh we, I will introduce Japan, China, France and England, some tourist attractions.
- 12 T: Ok
- 13 S1: And another, another club will introduce some dress and makeup in these cultures.
- 14 T: Oh, very interesting. Do you have to leave the class early to prepare?
- 15 S1: No no no, I have prepared so I'm late.
- 16 T: Ok, glad you prepared.
- 17 S1: Sorry, thank you.

6.2.5 A consultant: giving extracurricular advice related to English learning

In addition to the above discussed positions, interview data highlighted that George's understandings of his relation with students outside class time had gradually evolved from a mixture of positions to being just a consultant with clear professional boundary. During his teaching at the community college in China, he struggled with the tension of dealing complex relations with his students who were also his classmates in several classes. What made the situation worse was he was one year younger than most of his students at that time. Due to such a complex nexus of positions and age ranges, his students did not treat his course very seriously and it was difficult for him to establish himself as an authoritative figure in gaining students' attention and managing his class:

When you had students who wouldn't acknowledge with you when talking to them, it was difficult at times, I learned just to ignore those problems at that time because there wasn't much I could do about it, the relationship between classmates, older and younger, teacher students, was not delineated at that time because of the strange mix up of teaching and studying.

In his subsequent years of teaching, George intentionally established an "open professional relationship" and managed to strike a balance between being friendly and not friends with his students. He elaborated this relationship as "I'm open but I'm not their friend, there's still very strong teacher student dichotomy" and "the perception I try to give them is to be someone who's authoritative, knowledgeable and open but a bit distant". He attempted to build rapport with students and emphasised the need for

them to feel that they could talk to him before or after class about things related to English learning and extra curricula activities and he would offer advice upon their request. For instance, when talking in post-lesson interview (Ob-8) about answering his students' questions after class to help them with preparing their extracurricular English salons during the observed semester, he commented that "I don't have to actually help them because they're the ones doing it, but I feel that I should, and I encourage them to do that, they should use the resource they have". This comparison between what he had to and should do in relating to students implicitly reflected his cognitive orientation towards perceiving himself as a helpful consultant from whom students could seek advice.

Examination of interview data further revealed that such an orientation seemed to be influenced by George's former teachers. The interaction he had with his teachers shaped his perception of the value of relating to students with encouragement and guidance outside class. In particular, he mentioned one history teacher he had during undergraduate study in America. In his view, what this teacher loved was teaching and was very well connected with students and spent a lot of time with students outside of class, encouraging them with their own specialities and guiding them to know what to learn. For George whose interest was classical Chinese studies, he lent him books which were restricted and could not easily be got in libraries and occasionally had dinners together to discuss issues related to Chinese history and literature. George commented those interactions he had with his teacher as "really helpful" and "quite important", which implicitly reflected his alignment with his former teacher in constructing a dimension of his self as a teacher.

However, it should be noted that George also maintained a certain level of authority and professional distance from students out of personal concern as well as institutional regulation. According to him, he did not involve himself in students' personal life, never spent time with them outside school, and gave them only his professional email address instead of telephone number in case they needed to contact him to request absence. Although he acknowledged the potential value of being friends with students, he was cautious of potential problems that might be caused by such relations, and he also drew on the institutional authoritative discourse from the fourth school that he worked at in justifying his preferred relation with students, as expressed in the quotes below:

It's not always bad to be friends with students but, for most students it's hard to separate classroom life and outside social life, and I just personally tend to avoid that, because it creates more problems I think than it's worth. ... This came from (school's name) as well, one thing that they told us was, when students become very comfortable with a situation, they tend to become less attentive and lazier.

Class observation revealed that George succeeded in achieving a balance between being friendly and not friends with his students, and his enacted position as a consultant created extra interactional opportunities between him and students. It was noted during my field visits that all of his students would address him as "teacher" instead of using his first name, which to an extent reflected students' awareness of the distance between them and George.

Yet many of the students were observed to take the initiative to talk with him during breaks as well as after class. On several occasions, they asked him individually for advice related to personal English learning. For instance, one student asked George after class (Ob-6) about how to improve her English speaking fluency, and he suggested that "one thing you can do is after you watch the movie one time, go back and try to speak with the person as quickly or slowly as they speak" and elaborated on reasons for this practice. During the break of another lesson (Ob-8), he advised one student to improve the clarity of her writing through peer review in response to her inquiry. He was also observed (e.g. Ob-3, 6, 7, 8) to give many suggestions to students who were in charge of organizing the university's English salon. They often asked him questions about how to approach a certain topic and plan related activities in preparation for the salon, such as in Excerpt 6-5 (Ob-3) below.

Excerpt 6-5: "Do you think what we can talk about in our show"

- 01 S1: Teacher, we want to tell you something about our next English salon.
02 T: Uh huh?
03 S1: Our next topic is [[imitation show
04 S2: [[Imitation show
05 T: Imitation show, ok.
06 S2: Yes.
07 S1: And we want to know, what do you think about this topic? And do you think what we can talk about in our show?
08 T: That's a very good question. I have one question for you first, what is an imitation show?
09 S1: Uh

- 10 S2: Mofang, xiu ((literal translation of imitation show into Chinese)).
- 11 S1: (*Laughs*) Very good Chinese!
- 12 T: Yeah (*laughs*), I understand both words, but I don't know what the show is about.
- 13 S1: Uh. (3.0) [[We
- 14 T: [[Is it imitating people, or is it uh imitating a show itself or what does this mean?
- 15 S1: Uh we will show something about imitation
- 16 S2: Yes.
- 17 S1: Uh imitation in many forms.
- 18 T: Ok, imitation of?
- 19 S1: Of movies and the stars, famous people.
- 20 T: Ah, the word we use when we do this about famous people is, impression.
- 21 S1: Impression?
- 22 T: Yeah, impression, and we call the people who do this impressionists, for someone who will speak or act like another person, so imitating is usually for things, impression is for people.
- 23 S1: Oh, what do you think we can talk about, in our English salon, about this topic?
- 24 T: Ok, some suggestions I would have is, first, maybe choose two or three examples of some famous impressionists, maybe one from China, maybe one from the western, uh most famous comedians in America do a lot impression
- 25 S1: Yes
- 26 T: So you can find movies or in cartoon uh, doing impression or impersonating, that means acting as the person, so not just to say, I will speak like that one, but want people to believe he is that person. So I would say maybe find a video or pictures of the show, and [[then
- 27 S1: [[And we, we will have a game.
- 28 T: Ah
- 29 S1: Uh the game is about an impressionist, we will wear uh a picture, for example, a picture uh printing uh Michael Jackson, and then a picture on her head is Taylor Swift, and, and I will say, uh, Michael down Michael down Michael down, Michael down's over Taylor down, we will play this game.
- 30 T: Ok, that's a very good idea.
- 31 S2: Do you understand? (*laughs*)
- 32 T: I do yeah. Well, what you might do is, look at a film and do impression, so when you do impression uh for example, some people would say a catch
- 33 S2: A catch?
- 34 T: Uh this means if you think this sentence, everyone will know who said this. (*continues to elaborate*)

Unlike most of the teaching episodes during class time (e.g. Excerpt 6-1, 6-2) where George decided what and how to teach and controlled interactional development, in this excerpt students attempted to navigate turns at several times, such as S1 actively asked him for suggestions (e.g. turn 07, 23), and interrupted to illustrate an activity

they intended to implement (e.g. turn 27, 29). There were more negotiations of meanings from both him and the two students to construct shared understanding, as he asked for students' further explanation of the meaning of imitation show (turn 08 to 19), and students sought clarification and confirmation (turn 21, 31, 33). The two students also commented on each other's turn and provided supportive feedback like "yes" in turn 11 and 16. Although George was still situated for the most part as a bearer of knowledge with legitimacy to offer suggestions, it could be argued that this excerpt, which was similar to other talks between him and students during breaks and after classes, was marked by a degree of openness of interactional topic and participation from students. In addition, such help to students outside his normal teaching load appeared to have granted George extra enjoyment in his work, as he made a comment of "it makes those classes much more joyful, because when they come to ask questions, it's because they really do want to improve" when talking about the previously discussed interactional episode in the post-lesson interview (Ob-3).

6.3 Engaging with administration and colleagues

This section examines the impact of George's interaction with his colleagues and administrative members at various institutions on the transformation of his perceptions of self as an English teacher. Interview data suggested that he occupied changing positions at the various institutions that he had taught in China, which will be discussed in the following sections.

6.3.1 A non-participating member on a peripheral trajectory: being an outsider

One striking theme about George's relation with administrations at most schools was being marginalized, which appeared to have negatively influenced his sense of professional belonging and development of his ideal self as an effective English teacher. Except at the first private English training school which will be discussed in the next section, he was given only set textbooks without clear curriculum structure or professional oversight. He mentioned at those schools no one had ever examined what he did in class, and commented "it doesn't help you become a better teacher unfortunately, it maintains a status, as long as you show up and do your things, that's enough, but there was no feedback on how to be a more effective educator", which

indicated his disappointment. Another instance of nonparticipation was that foreign English teachers were not invited to faculty meetings of English department at UC. In his view, the nice part of this marginalization was that it provided an opportunity for personal freedom and enabled him to not worry about internal politics. Yet more importantly, this kind of marginalization created many frustrating aspects, including being kept separated from Chinese English teachers and out of educational planning such as curriculum design and assignment of teaching load, which was summarised by George as “the foreign teachers are a bit outside”.

It was noteworthy that the ways George understood and dealt with his position as an outsider in relationship with administrations at different institutions varied significantly. At the last three private schools, he attributed the reason to the money-orientated nature of the institutions and the commodified perception of English teaching and foreign English teachers held by the schools’ bosses. According to George, they were “terrible” and “didn’t really care about education in any way at all”, and their primary concern was to make profits rather than help learners to develop English skills. The reward and recruitment system both exemplified this. He mentioned that at the Children English training school, whichever teacher had the most students signed with the school would get a bonus and “it became something like a sales competition, who can sell the most cars, who can get the most students, and it didn’t matter about quality, it mattered about quantity”. The last training school he worked at gradually eliminated many highly paid certified teachers who had worked there for a relatively long time and substituted them with cheaper unqualified ones due to competition from growing numbers of other language schools in the city. George’s comments below highlighted his understanding of administrators’ practices of hiring foreign teachers only for face value at the three schools, which demoralized him and diminished his perception of own usefulness:

Foreign teachers are seen more as a commodity than as a resource, so it’s something that you have, you put on pictures of your school, but they don’t really care what we do in class. They want to be able to tell the parents they are paying more money because they are learning from a foreign teacher. (...) Honestly the school wants to have as little to do with you as possible, they don’t want to hear any suggestions. They see you as a white face who speaks this language, so for a

lot of people that really can make you somewhat depressed, because you are not really seen as a person even.

However, at UC George rationalized his outsider position as a by-product of a large bureaucratic system rather than as a result of deliberate ignorance as was the case at private English training schools. Similarly with other expatriate English teachers at UC, he was hired by the university's foreign services department and international education department, but taught for the English language department. Therefore, he described his position in the university as "we were sort in the strange nexus between a lot of departments, groups and statuses", and made the following elaboration:

No one is really trying to make us an outsider, I think it's more of a by-product of the system, as a large part, no one really knows where we should be and no one wants to take that first step to claim responsibility. None of the departments want to take direct control because that means they have to worry about these other parts.

Due to the above discussed difference, George only exercised his agency at UC to resist his identity as an outsider in relating to the administration, but did not do so at the private training schools. He stressed that "when you have a boss who doesn't care, there's not much you can do to change the company". Yet at UC, during the semester prior to the one observed, he had discussed with his co-teacher his desire to take part in educational planning at department level, and his co-teacher had brought it up with the English department's administrators.

6.3.2 A participating member on an inbound trajectory: from a learner to a collaborator

Despite being somewhat marginalized at broader institutional level, especially in relating to administrators, George's degree of participation and identification of self as a professional English teacher had increased alongside his interaction with English teaching colleagues at different schools. George's inbound participation involved learning from more experienced members in the community, and related learning included the following two aspects.

Firstly, George gradually learned many teaching skills from his colleagues. For instance, at the community college his two foreign classmates who used to be graduate teaching assistants in the US before coming to China gave him the suggestion about writing blackboard notes to assist presenting information. Moreover, he considered the first private English training school he worked at as “where I really learned what teaching really could be” and “that was my first encounter with actual teaching English”. Unlike other training schools, the headmaster there, who cared a lot about education and had been a professional teacher for twenty years, also taught classes at the school. George undertook many developmental activities such as observation of the headmaster’s classes, and received purposeful training like weekly performance reviews including not only his self-reflection of lesson plans and teaching performance but also feedback from the headmaster, which led to a sort of professional mentorship. As a result, he learned many practical teaching skills, such as how to make structured lesson plans based on students’ proficiency levels as well as needs and organised by lesson topic and time. He also learned how to balance between pressing for students’ answers and moving on to revisit the same language point later. The excerpt below reflected that after learning these skills, George began to establish himself as a professional by highlighting the growth in his teaching skills.

In *(name of the community college)*, the teaching was just thrown at you, and they assume if you are a native speaker, you can teach people to speak English, there was no talk of how to organize, how to teach to the students’ needs. Coming back from *(name of the first English training school)* I felt that my teaching had made a big change, I was a lot more comfortable because I was prepared, I was able to make a standards based lesson plan.

Secondly, George also assimilated colleague’s ideology of treating education seriously and their attitude of viewing teaching as a profession when working at the last private English training school. Different from the situation at the second and third training schools where there were many short term “tourist teachers” who did not see their job as being very serious and did not care what other colleagues did but spent most of their time in China partying or traveling, most of his colleagues at the last training school were invested professionally certified long-term expatriate English teachers. According to George, they saw education as being “fundamentally important” and teaching as “a profession” and “a way of life” instead of just a “McDonalds's type”

of occupation. Also, there was strong sense of collegiality as the teachers there worked to support and oversee each other to perform properly, which positively influenced George' developing self-identity as a member of professional English teachers and alignment with professional respect for high standards of teaching, as demonstrated in the following excerpt:

It was more about the comradely or responsibility between colleagues, they had a very high standard for themselves and expect the same of their colleagues, everyone else is coming in and doing a good job, you come in you have to do the job as well, they consider that to be important to their identity and themselves in the school. So I also sort of took in the pride of having a higher stand, where it wasn't you're teaching to get money, but it's you're teaching because that's what you do. Those were some of my best times teaching in private parts of China, with that school.

In addition to learning from experienced teachers, George also took the initiative to collaborate with colleagues since working at the second private training school. Even though the bosses at the last three training schools did not care about education, George, who described himself as “personally I have a strong affinity for education”, strove to make his classes more effective and meaningful for students' learning through concerted efforts with colleagues. For instance, he designed and implemented several games such as a snake game to reinforce plural form –s with one dedicated Chinese English teacher at the second training school. Later, he actively shared openly the style of his lesson plans with other expatriate English teachers at the third and fourth training school as well as UC, and highlighted in interview his colleagues' response as “I suggested the lesson plan, the style that I learned in Beijing, a lot of the teachers did use it, not as formally of making copies, but we shared”. At UC, he had initiated informal meetings with two expatriate English teachers to discuss and agree on what was important to cover for one course in an attempt to make their pedagogical objectives similar to each other's during the same semester. These engagements suggested the evolution of his position from a learner to a collaborator. George's efforts in constructing himself as an English teacher were tied not only to his personalized use of related teaching skills such as lesson planning in his own class, but also gradually developed to attempt to share and collaborate with his colleagues within the community at the schools he worked.

6.4 Engaging with others in wider social context

In the previous two sections I explored how George formed and transformed his identities as an English teacher during his engagement with students, colleagues and administrative members at different institutions in China. The following section examines how his sense of self as an English teacher was influenced by the interactions he had with people in wider sociocultural contexts, and two aspects related to his positions as a married man and as an academic in a historical field in particular will be discussed below.

6.4.1 A husband: keeping personal distance from students

The first theme concerned the impact of George's gendered identity on his professional choice and the way he related to students. He married a local Chinese girl in 2009 and intended to stay in China for a long time, and he aspired for professional security and stability – “we wanted a better visa because private companies often get in trouble for not following all the rules of hiring foreigners or business problems which in some schools causes the teachers to be sent back to their own countries”. Therefore he quit his previous job in the private sector and started to teach English at the public university of UC even though the salary was much lower.

George's marital status also influenced his decision to erect and maintain a division between his students' and his personal domains. He mentioned in interviews that “my primary role, even more than teacher is a husband”. As a married male, he preferred to maintain personal detachment from his students, especially female ones, outside the classroom setting. The following excerpt explained part of the reasons for his preference in addition to pedagogical concern and instructional regulation as discussed previously in section 6.2.5:

When I first came, many of the students would invite teachers to play football or to go out to eat with them, and some of the teachers did do that, but I tried to keep a distance from that, one's the professional and the second part is, especially English classes, these tend to be girls, I'm married I don't want to be in a situation where there is a picture of me and a young student girl eating food on the internet, so I personally try to keep away from that as much as possible.

6.4.2 An academic in a historian field: maintaining and utilizing expertise in content knowledge

Besides being a husband, at the core of George's personal identities was his love of research in Chinese ancient history, and he drew on this identity to construct aspects of his identities as a professional English teacher in China. He valued being a researcher in history, as reflected in his comments of "I'm a historian by trait" and "my identity as an academic is important to me, so an important part of my life is study, whether it's official or unofficial, to keep me within my realm of history". Over his years of working in China, he kept subscribing to and reading a few international academic journals on Asian and Chinese studies so that he could be informed of progress in the academic field of Chinese history, even though he did not have time to do much research writing. He also combined his personal research interests with English teaching by incorporating Chinese cultural elements into his class instruction and discussion. Part of the benefit in doing this was when students talked about an example he could follow and knowing how to help them elucidate related ideas with his expertise in related actual reasons and historical backgrounds.

6.5 Anticipating the future: "now I see it as a permanent thing"

Even though George initially viewed becoming an English teacher as only a very temporary option out of extrinsic purposes as discussed in section 6.1, he confirmed in interviews that his understanding of himself as an English teacher had changed. Since he started to teach at UC, he perceived teaching English in China as his long term profession and intended to continue working at UC for the near future. The ways he rationalized his choice in teaching English also changed from only "a job to make money" in the beginning to "I don't teach for the money, because we don't make that much, I teach because I really do like it. I really do want to see the students become a better English speaker".

In envisioning the future, George's positive perception of self as an English teacher appeared to be dependent on his capacity to continuously develop his teaching at individual level as well as the extent to which he would participate as a member at departmental level, which reflected that the identity shift would be ongoing and orientated to the future. He stated in the last interview "I think I will still continue to

become a better teacher in the future”, and stressed that “if I am not a better teacher five years from now, I wouldn't consider that good, because it means I wouldn't be able to adjust myself for what's best for the students”. One instance of possible adjustment he elaborated was related to technology utilization in class, as the following plan he verbalized in the last interview when discussing his career for the next three years:

The one thing that I plan to change was very difficult for me, is I want to start making my lessons into power point, as much I hate it, I do have to implement. Like I said, I do intend to become a better teacher, some of that is doing things I don't like. I prefer books and blackboards but I come from a much older tradition of teaching styles. I think it's now to the point where students are becoming accustomed to PowerPoint as a learning tool, PowerPoint is near universal.

Interestingly, it could be noted that George's preferred self as a teacher with traditional blackboard and chalk style of writing during lessons clashed with his ideal self as a teacher who felt the need of incorporating contemporary means of presenting information in classroom. According to him, he preferred the traditional style because it made adding and revising notes easier in whatever way that was necessary for teaching in real time, and he regarded PowerPoint as a “nuisance”, “distraction and crutch” in classroom. However, driven by his desire to become a better teacher who could adjust to changing learning environments and student population, he planned to start to incorporate it into his classroom soon, and envisioned that “if I decide it's not useful, later I may stop using it”. Even though how well he would embrace the change in terms beyond his preferred style of teaching in the future was beyond the scope of discussion here, it was clear that he struggled in reconciling his different positions in the face of technological advancement, but his aspiration in continuing to develop would empower the transformation of his identities as an English teacher in the futuristic dimension.

In addition to adjusting his teaching in accordance with student populations, George expressed a willingness and aspiration to take part in educational planning at the English department in the future. By education planning, he meant, but did not limit this to, selecting textbook and setting a unified, skills orientated, standards based syllabus which still allowed freedom for individual teachers to design their own

lesson plans in their preferred styles. His comment of “I don't know if it'll happen any time soon, but I hope it will” reflected his desire for increased engagement in his working context.

6.6 Summary

George's construction of his identities as an English teacher was firstly influenced by his personal and academic background. Growing up as an alienated minority during childhood influenced the way he related to his students with sensitivity towards cultural issues. He credited the linguistic and educational courses learned during undergraduate studies as being important for his transformed understanding of language teachers as facilitators. Besides being influenced by the contents learned in various courses, his former teachers also shaped his perception of the value of relating to students with extracurricular guidance. Furthermore, his previous learning of foreign languages and history courses enabled him to emotionally empathize with students' learning difficulties and their lack of learning motivation.

In addition to being informed by the above cognitive and affective factors, the development of George's identities as an English teacher was also shaped by the teaching experiences that he gained at various institutions in China. His perceptions of self evolved from being a lecturer to a performer and then a combination of a teacher who valued developing students' linguistic and sociocultural competence alongside facilitating their use of English to communicate, motivating them to take personal responsibility in participating learning and consulting their extracurricular English learning. During the evolvement, he exercised his agency in negotiating between his internal desire to make education accountable and meaningful to students and the professional contextual factors such as institutional structure of class setting and curriculum design, out of date textbook materials and students' lack of motivation to learn English. Furthermore, the increased didactic skills that he accumulated by personal reflection as well as learning from colleagues during teaching assisted him in successfully overcoming turbulent teaching experiences. Despite being marginalized to differing extents within broader institutional frameworks at various schools, George's degree of participation and identification of self as a professional English teacher gradually increased during his interacting with students and collaborating with

colleagues, and he thus formed a professional self as a long term English teacher that he envisioned continuously developing in the future.

Chapter 7: Samuel's Journey

Samuel was born in Kentucky, United States of America, in 1980s. His father worked at a public university as an English teacher, and his mother was involved with childhood education at various kinds of institutions. Samuel had a stable childhood. He was home schooled by his parents until grade eight and then attended local high schools, because his father was very religious and did not want him to be influenced negatively by what other kids did such as playing video games at a young age. He had always been interested in science and technology since a young age, thus he chose to study engineering after he went to university. However, after one year's learning and finding out that he did not really like the subject, he changed to double majors in marketing and management with the hope that after graduation he could work in the marketing field related to future technology even though he would not work technically. The following table provides a brief demographic portrait of Samuel.

Table 7.1: Demographic portrait of Samuel

Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bachelor of Business Administration from one university in United States, major in business
Professional teaching experience before coming to China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None
Teaching experience in China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oral English at private University E for one and a half years • Oral English at University C for half a year before commencement of this research
Personal interests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Future science and technology • Volunteer work, such as at a museum, an old folks' home and a preserved historic building, in US for more than ten years

Samuel was assigned four classes during the observed semester at University C, two oral English classes for fourth year students who majored in architect and two short term intensive oral English classes for mixed non-English major students who were enrolled in an English certification program provided by university C. I observed one

of his classes (32 students enrolled) for the fourth year students for four times¹⁴. There were respectively 18, 10, 14, 22 students present for the four lessons I observed. The layout of his classroom could be found in Appendix P. Each lesson was divided into two periods, the first period was 50 minutes and the second was 45 minutes, with a 10-minute break in between as set by the university's bells. The required textbook was *Inside Out* (advanced level) (Kay et al., 2007).

The following sections of this chapter will explore Samuel's teacher identities construction. Firstly, I examine his motivations to enter the English teaching profession despite his initial disalignment with the teaching profession. This is followed by detailed discussion about the formation and transformation of his identities as an English teacher during his engagement with students inside and outside the classrooms as well as with colleagues and administrations in the workplace, and with non-work related activities while living in China.

7.1 Becoming an English teacher in China: more for the opportunity to travel

Samuel's motivations to go to China to teach English were closely connected with his desire to run away from the bleak job market in US and his aspiration for overseas travelling experience. When he finished his undergraduate studies in 2010, he was unable to get a good job in the field of marketing as a newly graduated worker due to the stagnant economy and the competitive job market where many experienced professionals had lost their previous jobs. Thus, he decided to go overseas to travel for just one year: "I can see the world a little bit, and then after a year I'll come back to America and find a job". He chose China because of the local business atmosphere and the potential huge market which many international companies were interested in entering. He imagined living in China as a useful way of acquiring cultural and linguistic capital that would benefit his future career development, because he would get the opportunity to explore Chinese culture and he wanted to learn Chinese language which would grant him an advantage in getting a decent job in international marketing in the future.

¹⁴ Samuel's lessons were observed for considerably less time for two reasons: the once weekly classes for fourth year students, according to the direction Samuel received from the administration, finished one month earlier than the normal calendar of the university. In addition, he rescheduled, due to personal issues, his last week's lesson to one week earlier, which clashed with my observation schedule with another participant.

Samuel decided to teach English in China out of holiday entitlement, visa and financial concern. When he talked to his father to get ideas about travelling, his father, who had previously taught English for an English summer camp and travelled in China for two months, suggested to him that English teaching jobs were “very easy to get for native speakers”. Samuel took his father’s suggestion because he did not have enough savings for travel, and getting a working visa into China for teaching was easier than getting a tourist visa. What’s more, he was intrigued by the long vacations which he described as “while I’m teaching I’ll have a lot of holidays, all the national holidays, I’ll have the winter and summer break, which is like three months off each year, which is a lot of time to travel”. In response to a question about his initial expectation towards teaching English in China, Samuel acknowledged that “when it came to teaching, I hadn’t given it that much thought, I thought more about the opportunity of travelling, also the opportunity of moving to a business related job if that’s possible”, and that “I’m sure when I get there, they’ll tell me what I have to do and give me the resources and information”. With the aim of travelling in mind, Samuel searched online and sent out applications to some of the listings on an ESL job board, and was placed to UE by a Chinese agency that hired foreign teachers through job postings on the board.

Similar to Daisy’s case, the travel and teach discourse, as discussed above, also appeared in Samuel’s perspectives; yet an additional interesting point concerning Samuel’s teacher identities construction was his initial personal disalignment with teaching profession. His negative impression towards the profession since a young age and his resultant aversion to choosing teaching as his future career were developed from his schooling experience. There were two incidents Samuel elaborated in the first interview being concerned with his former teachers’ receiving little respect from his classmates when he attended high school. The first incident was related to one chemistry teacher who was in her first year’s teaching. Samuel’s classmates did not listen to the teacher but instead played games in class, and towards the end of the semester the teacher did not want to teach and just played movies in class. Similar treatment from students happened to an experienced math teacher and it ended up with her “running out of the classroom crying one day” and later “quitting the job”. In Samuel’s view, “both the teachers were good, but the students were very

disrespectful”. These experiences granted him the perception at the time that becoming a teacher was not something he would envision for his future because he would not want to be in a similar situation to his teachers. His explicit interview comment of “when I was growing up one of the things that I said I would probably never do was to teach” clearly reflected his non-identification with teachers and non-participation in the community of professional teachers through imagination.

7.2 Engaging with students: from “want to do my best” to “completely give up on teaching”

Although Samuel once regarded teaching as one of the things that he would probably never do and he had not thought much about teaching prior to taking up his first English teaching job as discussed in the previous section, he felt excited and strove to do his best when he started to work at UE in 2010. He described his exuberance at that time as “in a new country and gonna do a job I’ve never done, teaching English, it sounded kind of cool, so at the beginning I was really excited, I wanted to do the job, I wanted to do my best”. In this section, I explore how he formed and reformed his teacher identities during his engagement with students to address emerged challenges which led to his change from wanting to do his best to teach to exiting from the teaching post in China in the end. Data analysis revealed myriad positions that Samuel narrated explicitly and implicitly in interviews relating to students and enacted during observed lessons and enacted during observed lessons. The following five dimensions: 1. a presenter, 2. a thought provoker, 3. a facilitator, 4. a friend, 5. a motivator, will be discussed in detail below.

7.2.1 A presenter: demonstrating genuine everyday English usage through conversation

To begin with, Samuel underscored the value of employing authentic English language with colloquial expressions instead of formal bookish ones in textbooks and positioned himself in interviews as a presenter demonstrating genuine everyday English usage. At both universities, he was assigned set textbooks, but in his view, the dialogues in those books and accompanied tapes were not very realistic. This was due to the fact that the dialogues were very situational around simple topics such as friendship, school, family, that the vocabularies used often were not the common

words that English speaking people used in daily life, and that the dialogues recorded in tapes were spoken very clearly and slowly. Besides the unnatural topics, word choices and speech pace, he further pointed out a drawback of the textbooks in which the way people spoke: “in real life most people don’t speak correct English, you can learn all the correct English from the textbook but when you go outside and talk to a native speaker, you have no idea of what their sayings are, then all the textbook knowledge is useless”. It was evident from this excerpt that he valued colloquial register more than formal register as a teacher of oral English.

In order to bridge the gap between “what you learn in school” and “what you actually say in real life”, Samuel drew on “a conversational style” since the beginning of his teaching, which allowed students to hear and try to understand English as it was actually used in the real world through interaction with him in class. He explained this style of teaching in interviews in the following way. He would work on the books only during the first half of his lessons for students to have structured learning of correct grammars and pronunciations. For the second half then, he would bring in a topic related to the book or his own topic to talk in the way he normally would in daily life at regular pace using colloquial English with slangs, ellipses, spoken contractions and dialectal expressions. In sum, he described his class as “that’s what I tried to do, textbook and then forty five minutes of just talking, letting them hear how a natural native speaker speaks, and also trying to get them to engage in conversation with me so that they get practice speaking to a native speaker”. It was evident that, in this excerpt, Samuel positioned himself as a native speaker of English who could provide authentic language input, a position coincidentally echoed with the widely held perception in ELT field of native speakers as English speaking role models in educational settings (Barrat & Kontra, 2000; Breckenridge, 2010; Moussu, 2006).

However, Samuel’s identity as an authentic target language presenter was challenged by the reality of his students’ English proficiency with which he had to grapple during his teaching. At both universities, his students’ English level was much lower than his initial expectation. He was surprised and disappointed to find out that many of his students knew the meaning of a lot of words but they did not know how to pronounce nor use them, and they had difficulty in understanding when they hear the words. When he explained something, some students who understood it would try to translate it into Chinese to explain to others, but often they translated it poorly and it took a

long time to set up a conversation. In addition, he mentioned that students would at times tell him that he spoke too fast and ask him to slow down.

His students' limited English proficiency compelled Samuel to lower the complexity of his language input and provide more visual aids during teaching. He pointed out that "often times I have to think about which words to say before I say it, because they might not understand, or I'll say something, I get no response, just blank stares". This comment implied his affective frustration towards using simple vocabulary and sentence structure as compared to his envisioned self-position as an authentic target language presenter. Furthermore, because his students' reading ability was better than their listening, Samuel often would provide some visual materials through PowerPoint's for students to read along when he explained something. Although he evaluated being a visual aid provider negatively as "not very good" in that it did not challenge students' listening skills, he still chose to provide visual aids at times in order to maintain the flow of the lesson and to avoid his getting worn down by explaining the same thing many times.

The above discussed Samuel's narrated position as a presenter of genuine English corresponded somewhat with observation data. His class activities were heavily teacher led and the first periods of the first periods of lessons were almost completely based on the reading and speaking tasks in the textbook. Often, he asked students to volunteer to answer set questions after he explained a task in the textbook and attempted to engage them in more conversation with him, during which he often spoke at his regular speech pace using colloquial register with ellipses, spoken contractions and dialectal expressions. Further, it was worthwhile to point out that although applied linguists proposed that learners should be allowed to determine their own target accent and there should be a decreased emphasis on NS target norms along with intelligibility being the primary goal of production (Brinton, 2012; Tomlinson, 2006; Walker, 2010), Samuel adopted General American pronunciation as an appropriate standard to teach and a target model accent of correctness for students in class. Excerpt 7-1 (Ob-2) below was just an interesting example in which Samuel positioned himself as a presenter of American English. Immediately preceding this excerpt, he asked students the textbook question of "if you were a food, what would you be and why" and several volunteers expressed their individual opinions, then S1 raised her hand to answer the question as in the following interactions.

Excerpt 7-1: /'vitəmin/ versus /'vaitəmin/

- 01 T: Ok, what about you?
02 S1: I'd like to be an apple.
03 T: An apple, ok.
04 S1: I think it's uh very delicious and full of vitamins (*pronounces i as /i/*).
05 T: Vitamins? (*pronounces i as /ai/*)
06 S1: Vitamin, vitamins (*still pronounces i as /i/*).
07 T: Vitamins, [[yeah? (*still pronounces i as /ai/*)
08 S1: [[Uh, yeah.
09 T: There's a difference between American English and British English, in American English we say vitamins (*pronounces as /ai/*), in British English they say vitamins (*pronounces as /i/*) or vitamins (*pronounces as /e/*) or something different, I don't know how they say it but they say it very funny, well at least to Americans, they say it very funny, we say vitamins, and they say vitamins or vitamins or something but it's different, ok. Uh in American we say vitamins, vitamins, ok so you would like to be an apple, because it's very delicious and it's full of vitamins, ok. Anybody else?

After the student pronounced the word vitamin in turn 04, Samuel questioned her in turn 05 and turn 07 using a markedly American pronunciation of the vowel *i* as /ai/, which displayed his identity as a native speaker of American English and as a teacher with a focus on presenting native speaker norms to his students. Further, he went on to describe the phonological features of the vowel *i* in turn 09. While explaining the accentual difference between American English and British English, he positioned himself, in using the first person plural pronoun “we”, as being an American as opposed to using the third-person plural pronoun “they” when referring to British. Although Samuel to an extent acknowledged the legitimate existence of British English as a valid form of English and the variation in linguistic norms of English around the world, his evaluating British way of pronunciation as “very funny” reflected a bias against British English and implicitly orientated American English as superior to other varieties of English.

In addition to positioning himself as a presenter of American English, classroom observation revealed that Samuel also identified himself as a presenter of target language culture, which influenced his approach to teaching cultural issues. For instance, he commented in post lesson (Ob-1) interview that “I thought that the topic of men are from Mars, women are from Venice was a little bit foreign to them maybe,

I think it's kind of more a western concept" and positioned himself as "trying to get them to understand that underlining theme so that when they left the classroom, they had an idea of the concept that men think very differently with women". It seemed in these comments that his culturist reduction of the topic to a "foreign" and "western" concept fell into the big culture (Holliday, 1999) and national paradigm (Risager, 2007) in ELT, which was characterized by attaching cultural elements to prescribed large national or international entities and concentrating teaching on presenting standard norms of target language cultures.

His positioning of self as a presenter of target language culture was more evident in his classroom discourse where he often focused on presenting American cultural practices. One case in point was observed in the second lesson. When engaging students in the textbook activity of associating food with the situation of being in love, he mentioned that "in America, around Valentine's Day, which is our day of love, we often give each other candy" and explained about celebration of Valentine's Day in America for which various types of candies other than just chocolate were associated with love. By using first personal pronouns "our" and "we", he introduced an aspect of his transportable identity as being an American with legitimate insider knowledge, which closed off the opportunity for students to object to the factual information he provided.

In addition to presenting target language and culture in the observed lessons, Samuel occasionally enacted a situated identity of a learner about Chinese culture due to an asymmetry of local cultural knowledge, which transformed the unidirectional flow of cultural information from teacher to students. As a result, there were at times shifts away from the situated identities of teacher and student in the traditional transmission type of classroom where it was the teacher who knew everything and controlled the floor and students only responded to the teacher's questions passively when being asked, as the following episode from the second observed lesson demonstrated.

Excerpt 7-2: Wood-ear

- 01 T: Next question, question four, it says were there any foods you particularly loved or hated as a child? Do you still love or hate them? So when you were growing up, when you were a child, was there any food that you really loved that you wanted to eat all the time? Or was there any food

that you hated and you didn't want your mother to cook? Can you guys think of anything? (5.0) For example when I was a child, when I was growing up, I did not like broccoli, I didn't like broccoli, and when my mother cooked it, I refused to eat it, I would say no, but now I'm an adult, I often eat broccoli and I like it. For example, ok? So think back when you were little, you know, most of you are in your twenties, yeah? To think back when you were about five or six, and your mother would always cook something, is there anything that you can think of that you really didn't like? Or something that you really did like? (2.0)

- 02 S1 I don't like eat wood ear.
 03 T: Wood ear?
 04 S1 木耳 ((wood ear))
 05 (Ss laugh)
 06 T: What?
 07 S1 木耳, wood ear.
 08 T: What is it?
 09 S1 木耳
 10 T: What is it?
 11 S1 It's black
 12 T: It's black?
 13 S1 And, likes human's hair
 14 T: It's black like human hair?
 15 S1 And tastes so terrible.
 16 T: What is it though?
 17 (Ss whisper and some look up the word in dictionaries)
 18 S1 It is always made of, with ice.
 19 T: Made with **ice**?
 20 S1 meat
 21 T: And meat?
 22 S1 Yes
 23 T: Rice and meat?
 24 S2 [[A-u
 25 T: [[What is it called?
 26 (S2 walks to the lectern and shows his dictionary to Samuel)
 27 T: I don't know this, A auricula-judae? I don't know. Is it popular here in Asia? Do many people eat it here in China?
 28 Ss: Yes.
 29 T: Ah many people eat it here in China, and why don't you like it?
 30 S1: I don't like it, so bad, it tastes.
 31 T: You think it tastes bad
 32 S1: And it uh looks very ugly.
 33 T: Uh and also looks ugly, ok
 34 S1: And when I look it, I will feel so terrible.

- 35 T: When you look at it, you feel sick?
- 36 S1: Yes.
- 37 T: Ok, interesting. What about now, still when you look at it, you feel sick?
Or just when you were little?
- 38 S1: Yes.
- 39 T: Even now?
- 40 S1: All the time
- 41 T: All the time. (*laughs*) Ok, very good. Darren right?
- 42 S1: (*nods*)
- 43 T: Alright, very good.

At the beginning of this episode, Samuel raised two questions from the textbook. After attempting to elicit students' answers in vain, he provided an example of his own by briefly making relevant the fact that he hated broccoli as a child. Such referring to a transportable identity of a "broccoli hater" and mentioning of personal experience seemed to establish an open and positive climate for sharing and create enough time for students to comprehend the set questions and reflect to answer the questions, as a student did in turn 02. The food mentioned by the student, *Auricularia auricula-judae*, also known as Jew's ear and wood ear, was a species of edible fungus widely consumed in China. But without previous knowledge about this food, Samuel initiated a repair sequence with a request for a definition (turn 08) and took extended turns (turn 10-23) to negotiate its meaning with the student until another student took the initiative to offer its botanical name unsolicited in turn 24. In turn 27 Samuel explicitly admitted his lack of knowledge of the food and more students involved actively in the interaction in turn 28. What's more, this episode seemed to lead to students' more active participation in interaction since after this excerpt several more volunteers shared individual answers to the questions and the ensuing exchanges for this exercise lasted for more than seven minutes in class. However, it should be noted that similar kinds of active interaction which was enabled by the teacher's taking on the situated identity of learner of local culture only happened occasionally in Samuel's lessons out of communicative need and in response to students' answers.

7.2.2 A thought provoker: questioning real life issues to promote creative and critical thinking

Besides transmitting authentic everyday English language, Samuel had pedagogical goals of raising students' creative and critical awareness that extended beyond

linguistic matters, and these goals touched the core of Samuel's vision of self as a teacher. His interview data suggested that he used English as a tool for communication rather than just an object of study. The meaning of students' utterances was often prioritised over form, especially during the second periods of his lessons, as he claimed "often times there was more about really finding out what they think, and not so much focused on their language ability". It seemed that his language teaching transcended the utilitarian development of linguistic skills through combining language and cognitive development and became an educational endeavour (Nunan, 2013; Ribe & Vidal, 1993).

Deeper analysis of interview data revealed that Samuel's goals for promoting students' creative and critical thinking were profoundly influenced by his undergraduate learning experience. After he changed his major from engineering to double majors in the business field, he found that he really enjoyed courses on marketing because, in his view, unlike the management courses he took at the same time which involved a lot of rigid rules and regulations, there was a lot of creativity and criticality in the field of marketing, such as coming up with new advertisement campaigns and figuring out how to best communicate with different target customers and markets. Due to such learning experience, Samuel valued creative and critical thinking abilities a lot, which later influenced his pedagogical emphasis and activities he used in his oral English class when he taught in China.

To achieve his pedagogical aspiration, Samuel attempted to select thought provoking topics in order to engage them in developing their own opinions and thinking more about the world in alternative ways and to discuss and debate their personal attitudes, feelings and preferences. One instance he elaborated in interviews was a group discussion project that he gave to students who majored in civil engineering during his first semester's work at UC. This project asked students to discuss about their ideal home in the future and what they thought it would include. His aim for this project was to make students think creatively about design and how things are going to change in the future, especially with the advancement of technology. He had also incorporated current and controversial social issues drawn from real life and immediate environments around him and posed open-ended questions for discussion. For instance, he mentioned in interviews that he used topic on social media to elicit students' opinions towards Chinese government's restriction on the internet access to

Facebook and Twitter when he taught at UE. He attempted to use these topics to link his course to wider society and to prepare students for the coming stages of their lives in the global world. In his view, such controversial topics would be helpful to students if they talked with foreigners in real life. More importantly, although his students had chosen certain majors for undergraduate studies, they did not know what kinds of opportunities awaited them in the future; some of them might end up working in the government and making decisions for the country. Discussing real world issues and cultivating critical thinking in their minds in class might have a longer impact on their life in helping them to make decisions and take actions as future leaders.

Although Samuel had previously attempted to bring thought provoking topics into class, the discussion, according to his interview comments, seldom went as well as he had envisioned. The dissonance lay in that to the controversial questions, students often kept silent or gave just brief comments like “well that’s how it is”, instead of actually well thought out and elaborated responses. He attributed students’ lack of interaction, which he called “feedback”, to his questions to several possible reasons as in the following excerpt:

The biggest problem with this is the feedback was poor. Maybe it was not developed well enough on my end. Or it just was lacking on their English ability to do it, or their motivation or desire to do it was lacking, I think it’s a little bit of both, but really I think their interest isn’t there.

Besides his limited teaching ability, students’ low language proficiency and lack of motivation to learn English, Samuel also regarded the idea of “saving face” in Chinese culture and the large class environment as factors that potentially hindered students’ participation in discussion. The idea of saving face was described by him as not to make mistakes and show that one did not know something during social interactions in China, and was deemed by him as an obstacle to learning and a hindrance to pedagogy. According to him, this idea “seriously cripples and paralyzes the learning environment”, because it made students feel very shy and unwilling to speak for fear that they might make mistakes in front of the teacher and embarrass themselves. He found out that students were often slightly more responsive to textbook exercises when there were simple and definite right answers, than to the open-ended questions on creative and controversial topics. In addition, he mentioned

in interviews that sometimes after class, students would talk with him in private, telling him some real personal thoughts towards the questions raised in class. In his view, some students did not openly share their thoughts during lessons because they did not want to feel segregated or ostracized from the rest of the class due to their different opinions. Although it was beyond the scope of the present study to investigate the real rationale for his students' silence from their perspectives, Samuel's perceptions corresponded with previous empirical investigation into Chinese students' silence in English classrooms, which had identified an array of silence types including meaningful silence due to teachers' controversial and challenging questions (Bao, 2014; Wang, 2009; Xu & Wang, 2011; Zhou et al., 2005), resistive silence due to teachers' poor class management and low elicitation skills (Ma, 2004; Wang & Zhang, 2008; Wang, 2009), inattentive silence due to students' loss of inspiration and lack of motivation (Liu, 2005; Pang, 2010; Zhao, 2010), and reluctant silence due to students' low communicative ability (Bao, 2014; Li & Wu, 2010; Qin & Guo, 2008) as well as fear of teacher and peer judgment and avoidance of risks of errors (Hall, 2007; Li, 2002; Qiao, 2010; Zhao, 2010).

Although Samuel positioned himself as a thought provoker in the interview data as discussed above, his attempt to raise students' creativity and criticality was rarely observed during his lessons, even when the situation called for it. Part of the reason might be that the four lessons observed were during the last month of Samuel's teaching and he did not follow his traditional lesson pattern of bringing a creative or controversial topic of his own into the second period of a lesson to discuss as he mentioned in interviews. Instead he reviewed answers to the midterm written exam and prepared students for the final presentation test. However, classroom observation revealed episodes where he could have approached the activities set in the textbook critically but did not do so. The following Excerpt 7-3 (Ob-1) demonstrated just such an instance, and this episode was chosen because it struck me in class as a moment where the teacher's moves to engage students critically in discussing the set task might have better supported students in going beyond normative ways of thinking.

Excerpt 7-3: "Do a lot of women go to computer stores"

- 01 T: What about sports?
- 02 Ss: Men.

- 03 T: Probably men right? What about clothes?
- 04 Ss: Women.
- 05 T: Probably women yeah, probably women. What about shopping?
- 06 Ss: Women.
- 07 T: Probably women right? More women go shopping, right? What about gadgets and gizmos?
- 08 (Ss keep silent) (4.0)
- 09 T: Uh a gadget would be something that is uh probably small and electronic, and gizmo kind of means the same thing, a gizmo would refer to something again like small electronic, uh so we can say things like computers, uh computer gadgets would be things that are related to computers, or computer and computer gizmos would be things that are related to computers, so we might refer to uh, a keyboard, or a mouse, or a new modem, we might refer to that as a device or a gadget, right? So who might like gadgets? Do a lot of women go to computer stores?
- 10 Ss: No.
- 11 T: No, so gadgets and gizmos probably more related to
- 12 Ss: [[Men
- 13 T: [[Men, right? So gadgets would be anything electronic, cell phones, computers, uh small machines, we say those are gadgets, ok?

This excerpt was related to textbook exercises in a section called “the gender gap”. After reading an extract from the relationship guide book *Men are from Mars, women are from Venus* by John Gray (1992), students were asked to complete a series of tasks and this episode happened when Samuel engaged students in a whole class activity of deciding which of the ten vocabularies listed in the textbook they thought the book’s author associated with men and which with women. After briefly explaining the task, he went over the listed vocabulary in a similar flow as presented above where he initiated a question about one word (turn 01, 03, 05), several students answered in chorus (turn 02, 04, 06, 10, 12), then he provided follow-up to confirm their answer (turn 03, 05, 07, 11, 13) and moved on to question the next listed word, or to provide some explanation of a word during the process if he found out that most of the students did not know its meaning, as in turn 09 he explained gadget and gizmo with examples.

In terms of the content of the above excerpt, both genders were stereotyped as reflected in the ways they were represented in both Samuel’s and students’ comments, and the entire episode related to this activity during class seemed to simply reproduce and reinforce rather than critically deconstruct and engage gender stereotypes in

society. It was understandable that this activity was in reference to Gray's book, and students were not asked to express how they personally associated these vocabularies with men or women. But after they completed the exercise, Samuel could have drawn students' attention away from the set task and engaged them in alternative thinking. Possible activities included asking students to discuss their personal opinions on whether or not they agreed with the author in terms of his association and of his premise that men and women were very different. He could also attempt to elicit their thoughts on whether men and women's roles had become less defined in the contemporary world as compared to the past. In this way, he might have generated more interactions from the students and cultivated potential criticality through their challenging, negotiating and advocating certain personal viewpoints against or for the book author's perspectives.

Therefore, this episode illuminated the important role of the teacher in the construction of a critical thinking environment in classrooms. It might have been difficult for Samuel who positioned himself as a presenter of target language to orient to a critical position in this episode, as he commented in the post-lesson interview that "I was trying to get the underlining idea that many times when English speakers speak, certain words and phrases can be used to imply or infer a lot of things". However, his perspective reflected in this excerpt, together with his post-lesson comment of "I think it's kind of more a western concept" as discussed in the previous section 7.2.1, pointed to the fact that his personal ratification of the concept of "gender differences" appeared to have contributed more to the absence of relevant critical discussion during the lesson. The "gender differences" concept had been criticized as implicitly sexist not only in terms of making unnecessary categorical distinctions of masculine and feminine qualities, but also in the sense of helping to produce and maintain essentialist assumptions about males and females while ignoring similarities between them (Baker, 2008; Cameron, 2003; Mullany, 2010; Sunderland, 2004). It seemed that for teachers to foster and promote criticality in students' thinking, teachers themselves needed to first develop critical perspectives of seeing the world rather than just simply embracing and reproducing widely held stereotypical concepts.

7.2.3 A facilitator: creating an environment likely to promote students' communication

Due to the idea of saving face, Samuel shifted his perception of himself in class from being just a presenter and thought provoker to a facilitator, which he described in the way of “my job is to facilitate an environment of learning where people won't feel shy or awkward”. Analysis of interview data revealed that, as a facilitator, Samuel attempted to create a relaxing and pressure free classroom climate through making fun of himself and correcting students in a positive way, as well as incorporating group work into his class activities. On one hand, he tried to establish a milieu in class for students to practice speaking English without having the anxiety of making mistakes and being reprimanded. One method that he used to create this environment was by making fun of himself, and he explained the rationale in the following way:

I find that if I make mistakes in class and I identify them, like what am I saying, that's silly and I laugh about it, they become more relaxed, ok, the teacher doesn't have all the answers, the teacher even makes mistakes when he speaks in English, for students, I think, that loosens them up when they see a native speaker making mistake.

In this excerpt, Samuel overtly mentioned the teacher and native speaker labels, yet interestingly he positioned himself as a person who could make mistakes when speaking, thereby challenging the authoritative figure of an omniscient teacher as well as the idealized notion of an error-free native speaker (Chomsky, 1965; Cook, 2003; Kirkpatrick, 2007). He hoped that through consciously using self-deprecatory humor, students would realize that they did not have to get everything right and feel less pressure about making mistakes. Another method he adopted was correcting students in a “positive way” in order not to make them feel embarrassed. He mentioned that when students said something incorrectly in class, he never directly confronted them by saying “that's wrong, you should say it this way”. Instead, he would say “that's good, so what you are trying to say is” and then rephrase what the students had said so that they could hear it being said in a correct way. By making fun and correcting errors in a positive way, Samuel hoped that students would become more willing to speak in his relaxing classroom environment.

Moreover, Samuel incorporated group work into his course since his second semester of teaching in China to create an ambience where students could feel comfortable in sharing ideas and making arguments. Because he found out that many students were too shy to stand up to talk, he asked students to create their own groups of four or five people to discuss the given topics first with the hope that they would be willing to discuss their opinion more openly because the group members were usually friends. Then he would ask one student from each group to present the group's opinion to the whole class instead of forcing each student to voice an individual opinion in public. He wished that students would voice their real opinions without having to claim ownership of individual's ideas. During the group work, Samuel perceived his specific positions to be a monitor of students' performance. He would move around groups and remind students "this is an English class, remember, try and say in English" if they spoke too much Chinese, and he believed that "it may not help a lot when it comes to improving their language skills in a sense of them discussing among themselves, but it does get them think in English".

Samuel's teaching practices during the observed lessons echoed, to an extent, his narrated positions as a facilitator. Facilitation of students' communication consisted primarily in his providing feedback on students' utterance and occasional utilization of small group discussion, yet no usage of self-deprecatory humour that he mentioned in interviews was actually observed in lessons. A great proportion of the interactions in his classroom maintained the IRF exchange structure. When volunteers answered questions, different from turn 05 in Excerpt 7-1 which was among the few explicit corrective feedbacks observed in his class, Samuel often provided discursal follow-up in the form of implicit corrective feedback where he reformulated their utterances into corresponding targets like linguistic forms (e.g. turn 14 in Excerpt 7-2). At the end of an interactional episode with a student he often gave evaluative follow-up such as "it's ok" "alright" "right, good" to explicitly accept the students' responses and made some short comments to repeat or elaborate more before initiating another chain with another student or for another question. As for incorporating group work in class to create an ambience where students could feel comfortable in sharing ideas discussed by him in interview data, class observation revealed that, in fact, a great proportion of his lessons were controlled and dominated by him. Group activity of discussing set questions with partners was observed only

twice in the four lessons, during which Samuel walked around the room to listen to students' discussion and at times asked some individual students in private for their answers to the questions.

7.2.4 A friend: socializing with students outside of class to build rapport

Other than attempting to facilitate communication in the classroom, Samuel also tried to establish an interactive and open relationship with his students outside of class to remove the problem of saving face. One identity label overtly mentioned by him in talking about this dimension of relation was a "friend". He pointed out in interviews that since his second semester of teaching in China, "that's where I go from being that teacher student relationship more into that oh, he's like my foreign friend", and he reoriented perception of himself in relation to students to "I'm your teacher but I'm also your friend so you can talk to me freely". By claiming the labels of "friend" and "teacher" as coexisting, he crafted a professional self that accommodated both dimensions of positions. According to his interview narration, as a friend, he gave students his email address and telephone number so that they could send him emails or phone him. He often greeted his students and had simple chats when he saw them around campus. What's more, he also interacted with students outside school if they invited him to various activities. For instance, he played football with students on weekends at both universities, and at UC he was once invited to a student's birthday dinner. Samuel valued these outside school activities with students in that these interactions could make him "more accessible" and "more human", and his students would view himself as "somebody they could interact with on more kind of personal level, not so much on a strict teacher student relationship" and feel more comfortable around him. He hoped that these after-hour involvements would "translates back to more interaction in the classroom" in that "they know that you aren't going to embarrass them in front of their friends because you are one of their friends".

Although Samuel attempted to create an interactive and open relationship with his students, he managed to maintain a balance between his self-positions as a teacher and as a friend. In interviews, he explained the slight conflict between the two positions in that "you don't want to completely eliminate the barrier of this is my teacher because there are certain things as a teacher you have to do", such as giving students' final grades. He would not be lenient on them out of the feeling that "he's my friend I don't

want to fail him”, and at the same time he wanted his students to understand that they could not rely on being friends with him to pass the course. Furthermore, Samuel specifically pointed out that he never invited students to do things outside of class because he did not want the university to think that he had any kind of inappropriate relationship with his students:

I still am their teacher and still a senior, I’m close to their age but I’m still supposed to be professional, the school hired a professional, so I think there are certain lines, that if they invite me I’m ok with it but I don’t think I should invite them.

In this comment, Samuel explicitly enacted a senior–junior relational position to his students and implicitly evoked a position as a professional employee upon which he created an identification of a shared moral stance between himself and the institutional authority of the university in terms of whether he should invite students to activities outside class. Based on a juxtaposition of these positions, he endeavored to strike a balance between being a teacher and being a friend with appropriate professional distance in relation to his students. In addition, classroom observation of his lessons appeared to confirm such a balance. Unlike Daisy who also positioned herself as a friend to students and often chatted casually and intimately with students before observed lessons and during breaks as discussed in Chapter 5, Samuel barely had any interaction with students before and after observed lessons. This might be due to his conscious attempt to maintain a balance between being a teacher and a friend as discussed above. As such, it seemed that Samuel’s position of self as a friend in relating to students was only limited to outside classrooms.

7.2.5 A motivator: motivating students to participate by rewarding class participation grade

In addition to the idea of saving face, students’ lack of motivation to learn English, according to Samuel’s perception, posed a big challenge to the realisation of his envisioned self as a presenter and thought provoker, and led to his taking on the position of a motivator. Over his two years’ teaching in China, he had tried different methods to motivate students to participate in class and practice speaking English, but without much success and the subsequent aggravating sense of frustration contributed

to his exiting the teaching post in the end. Specifically, Samuel summarised his students' lack of motivation as "they never had an interest in English, it's just something they've been forced to do their whole life since they were five or six, there's no real desire to learn". In interviews, he mentioned several examples that happened at both universities and reflected his students' lack of motivation to improve their English and participate in activities, such as working on homework for a different subject and falling asleep in class.

One method Samuel previously used to motivate his students was attempting to make them feel the need to learn English for their future career, and this method was based on his empathy towards students that was shaped by his own second language learning experience. He recounted in interviews that when he studied at high school, a two-year second language course was compulsory. He confessed that at that time he was more concerned about cars and girls, and did not care about learning a second language because "I didn't really see the value of it. I didn't know how I would be able to use it later in life". Thus he only paid enough attention to get a pass grade and graduate from high school. It wasn't until he graduated from university and applied for jobs that he realised, with hindsight, the value of commanding a second language, which could have definitely given him some competitive advantage in the job market of international marketing. His sense of regret towards not having taken his previous French course seriously was evident in the following excerpt when he talked about his Chinese students' attitudes towards learning English in the second interview:

But most of them just don't see the value of it, like me in my French class, you know, when I was sixteen, I saw no value to it and now I'm looking back and thinking I should have really tried, and maybe when they get to their careers, like ten years from now, they'll be like I really need to know English and they'll have desire, they'll go to a training school for adults, but at this point, it's just a class they have to take, and so long as I pass, that's all they care.

As in the above interview excerpt, by juxtaposing his students' English learning with his French learning, he established a discursive ground for the similarities between his students and himself through comparison. Since he did not see the value of learning a second language when he was young, he could understand his students who did not see the value of learning English at their current stage of life. Further, he tried to

motivate his students by explaining to them the potential value of learning English for their future. However, Samuel later realised this was not a viable method through talking with his students, because the students at UE that he was assigned to teach majored in Korean, French and Spanish, and they focused on learning their major languages instead of English for their future job seeking. At UC, he taught students of civil engineer and architect majors, and most of them planned to work for local companies after graduation and their interactions with foreigners would be very limited in their target industries, thus they “felt no need to learn English” for their further career development.

On the other hand, Samuel mentioned that he attempted to motivate his students to learn by incorporating class participation grades into their final grade since his second semester of teaching in China. When he explained grading guidelines at the beginning of a semester, he would stress that the participation grade came from unsolicited verbal interaction in class instead of being nominated to answer questions. He hoped that by threatening students about a poor grade, they would be more likely to interact in class. However, the reality was that the few students who were actually concerned about their grade would participate, but the others who did not care that much would still not talk much. Based on his failed attempts to instrumentally motivate his students, Samuel poignantly commented later that “I’m not their babysitter or their mom, I’m not going to hold their hand the whole way, they’re adults, if they don’t want to participate, it’s not my job to force them to. If they are unwilling to even try, I can’t do anything”. By explicitly negating the identity labels of “babysitter” and “mom” in the excerpt, Samuel displayed his perception of what he should and could do as a motivator, and attributed his failed attempts to motivate his students to participate in English learning to what he perceived as circumstances beyond his control. It seemed, in his view, that personal investment in learning English could not be forced and the onus of learning lay with the students instead of with him.

During the observed lessons, Samuel often acted as a motivator by giving students participation grades. After a student volunteered to answer a question, he asked the student to confirm his or her name, and then made a record in his attendance checking sheet to reward the student class participation mark for the final grades. What he did in turn 41 of Excerpt 7-2 was just an example. He once even joked in class after a student answered a question that “you guys need to come to class more often than I’ll

remember your names” (Ob-2). When no student volunteered to answer questions, which happened a lot during the observed lessons, Samuel would attempt to elicit their opinions and would at times give answers by himself in a monologic way. The Excerpt 7-4 (Ob-1) below was just an example.

Excerpt 7-4: “What do you guys think the book is about”

- 01 T: What do you guys think the book is about?
02 (*Ss keep silent*) (5.0)
- 03 T: Any ideas? What is he referring to? What kind of advice is he going to give in this book? (2.0) What kind of advice might he give? What is he talking about in this paragraph?
04 (*Ss keep silent*) (6.0)
- 05 T: He’s talking a lot about men and women, so what might he talk about in the book, what advice might he give? (*one student’s cell phone beeps three times*) (3.0) Any idea?
06 (*Ss remain silent*) (9.0)
- 07 T: No? He might give relationship advice, right? Coz he’s talking about the two different sexes, he’s talking about men women and how we see things differently, so he might give relationship advice. Yes? No? Maybe? (4.0) Too busy on your cell phone to pay attention? Very well. (*shakes his head frowningly*)

After reading an extract presented in the textbook, Samuel started this episode with open-ended questions such as “what do you guys think...” (turn 01, 03) for students to voice their opinions. Without any response from the students, he gradually illustrated the gist of the extract and narrowed down the scope of his question to display questions of yes or no for students to display their comprehension (turn 07). Despite Samuel’s efforts in eliciting student’s thoughts and fostering their involvement in conversation, the students’ inactive response and ensuing silence resulted in Samuel’s bitter final remark on students’ performance and moving on to the next section in the textbook. This particular interaction reflected that the teacher could initiate attempt to engage students in conversation and instrumentally motivate students through grades, however, such initiatives would remain only in the realm of attempts if they were not taken up by students through verbal involvement in class.

In addition, Samuel’s claim about his students’ lack of motivation in learning English, as discussed earlier in this section, was corroborated by many observed lesson episodes. Differently from the other three participating teachers, Samuel was observed

to spend a considerable amount of time and effort monitoring students' performance and trying to regain control of their attention in class. The strategies observed included issuing warnings, yelling at students and asking students to leave the classroom. For instance, I observed that two students kept playing on their cell phones for almost twenty minutes, and the sound effect of the video game one student played made noises to the class (Ob-2). Samuel warned him several times and for the last time exhorted him sternly with "ok, if I'm going to ask you one more time, I'm going to send you out of the classroom, ok? So turn it off". During the first observed lesson, one student who sat at the back row even answered a phone call in class when another student was reading an extract in the textbook. Only after Samuel yelled "Hey! Don't answer your phone in my class. Now leave, don't come back. That's unacceptable. You don't show up for five weeks and then you answer your phone in my class, that's unacceptable" did the student exit the classroom to continue his phone call.

Furthermore, it was important to note that student's negative attitudes towards English learning and lack of verbal participation in class had caused Samuel to feel an array of negative emotions such as discouragement and frustration during his teaching, and these emotions negatively shaped the development of himself as an English teacher. Specifically, the negative emotions Samuel had symbiotically negatively affected his motivation to teach, and compromised his willingness to invest himself in teaching. He compared two situations, where at the beginning of his teaching in China he spent two hours trying his best to make plans for each lesson, with later, when he stopped planning lessons carefully in advance and just did "oh, I have class later, oh topic I want, quick internet search and spending ten minutes putting together power point", and found out that he received "the exact same reaction". He described his feeling towards students' lack of involvement regardless of how much effort he put into preparing lessons as "very discouraging" and confessed his emotional turmoil as "you get kind of to the point where it's oh they aren't going to do anything, why should I do anything, why should I waste two hours' of my own time outside of school when I could be doing other things if it's gonna get the same result as I spend two minutes". Therefore, he gradually withdrew his investment in lesson preparation during the last semester at UC and did only whatever he might need to in order to get by in his teaching. It was evident from Samuel's sharing that students' verbal contribution

played an important role in affecting his morale and their silence became detrimental to the development of his teaching self.

The situation was worsened by the type of classes he was assigned to teach during the observed semester at UC. Unlike the previous semester when he had sophomore and junior students, in the last semester he was assigned fourth year students, and the attendance rate fluctuated due to students' focusing on seeking jobs and often skipping class. He described the situation as "very frustrating" because it made setting up class activities very difficult: "when you plan that the group activity is going to take quarter of the class, and then you have only two groups and the activity takes only ten minutes". Samuel pointed out that "I kind of knew that yes, they do have other obligations, but at the same time this is a class and they're obligated to be in class", and "I'm showing up I'm doing my job, so they should show up and do their job in a sense". Further, when students did come they would make up excuses for why they were absent from the previous sessions. In Samuel's view, even if students did have job interviews which clashed with his class schedule, instead of "missing five classes in a row then you come back and you said oh I had interviews", they should have sent him a simple email to inform him of their absence in advance.

Towards the latter half of the observed semester, Samuel's accumulated sense of disappointment and frustration over his two and a half years' teaching led to his dwindling passion for teaching and culminated in his intention of leaving the teaching profession. He appeared to attribute this intention to a great extent to the lack of desired class interaction between him and his students, which, in his view, was predominantly due to his students' lack of motivation to learn English, as he commented in interviews in the following way:

I gave it (teaching) my best shot, considering I never went to school trained to be a teacher, I think I did a decent job, but the response I got just wasn't enough to keep me interested at the job. I'm not leaving the classroom happy or feeling like I've done anything, this is in a sense waste of my time. (...) If I had students that really wanted to learn English and had I got in every class, and the students were excited to see me and they were interactive and you had discussions you know things were a bit different, I probably would continue to teach because it would be enjoyable for me.

The excerpt above demonstrated that, in Samuel's view, it was mainly his students' responsibility to be innately interested in learning English and make the effort to participate in class, and not necessarily his. Feeling unable to alter the situation of students' lack of interaction during class despite all his possible efforts as discussed in the previous sections, Samuel had reached an impasse with teaching where there was nothing left to do but to give up. He emphasized during the third narrative interview that "especially at the last semester I just completely gave up on teaching. I told myself I'm done teaching, that unless I have to for whatever reason, I don't want to teach anymore". The use of an adverb of degree "completely" and modal verb "have to" forcefully declared his disalignment with the teaching profession and his unyielding decision to quit his job as a teacher.

7.3 Engaging with administration and colleagues

In the previous sections, I discussed how Samuel negotiated and transformed his identities as a university English teacher during his engagement with students for teaching related purposes. In this section I will examine his interactions with faculty and administrative members in the workplace by analyzing his interview data. At the two universities he had taught at, he occupied different and changing trajectory positions with different groups. Although he had received assistance from some of his colleagues, his self-identity as a member in broader university community was negatively influenced by the reduced involvement with most of his colleagues and the lack of professional support from administrative staff, especially when he taught at UC, which partly prompted his decision to quit his job as an English teacher in the end as discussed below.

7.3.1 A participating member on an inbound trajectory: learning informally from experienced teachers

Samuel was on the inbound trajectory at the department he worked for in the first university, since one aspect of becoming a member of a professional community involved learning from the more experienced members of that community (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). As mentioned earlier in section 7.1, before Samuel arrived in China, he expected the university to tell him how he should teach and to provide related resources and information. But what both the universities that he had

worked at actually provided was “a lot less” than his expectation. Instead of being given any syllabus or lesson plans, he was only given a textbook and told “here’s your book, go and teach”. Therefore, he had “a very difficult time” during his first year of teaching at UE because, without any previous training or teaching experience, he had to “teach myself how to teach”. In addition to developing his teaching expertise through browsing different websites to search for teaching materials such as lesson plans posted online for free by EFL teachers around the world, he also learned from some experienced expatriate English teachers at UE who had been teaching there for more than five years.

Samuel exercised his agency as an active learner by turning to those teachers for guidance, including seeking their advice on activities and topics as well as feedback on what he did in classes. He described this kind of learning as often through casual conversation outside class without “trying to sit them down and hey you, I need to talk to you about teaching”, because the university did not provide sufficient support to pair new teachers with experienced old ones. During his first two months of teaching, his lesson plans were always not long enough although he thought he had prepared enough material. He learned about a “trick” from other teachers to solve this problem, which was to bring in some interactive and competitive games in English to fill in the last five or ten minutes of a lesson. Although there was some tension between utilizing the suggested games and his perception of himself as a university teacher as implied in his comments of “I’m not really big on games, I’m not teaching kindergarten” and “I thought it’s a joke to be playing games in a university”, he still at times unwillingly incorporated some word association games to fill in gap time in class. Samuel also asked those experienced teachers what topics they had used got students to be more responsive, and then he tried some of the suggested topics, such as relationships and marriage, in his class. Further, he actively sought for feedback from other teachers when his lesson did not work as he had planned. After explaining to them what he did in class and his confusion about whether “did I do something wrong or is it the students”, they would give him some feedback such as “the topic’s good but you didn’t present it properly, maybe you should give them more information about it so that they understood it better” to solve the problems he encountered. Although not all the games, topics and feedbacks other teachers suggested to him worked successfully with his classes, he regarded them as quite

helpful in that they gave him many ideas on how teaching could be conducted differently.

7.3.2 A participating member on an outbound trajectory: gradual distancing from hedonistic teachers and limited interacting with administrative personnel

Other than learning from some experienced expatriate teachers through informal queries, Samuel gradually withdrew from his young colleague's social circle with which he used to socialize when he initially started to work at UE. Whereas in UC there were only five expatriate teachers besides him, three of whom were older and had families, in UE there were a large number of young single expatriate teachers around his age in the twenties when he worked there because it was a university of foreign languages. Many of the young teachers liked to party and drink almost every night, and Samuel went out with them in the beginning but later became tired of the party and drinking culture and explained the rationale for distancing himself from them:

The atmosphere was fun at first but as I started to progress, I started to be out less and less with the colleagues, because all they wanted to do was to go out and have fun. I was trying to slowly move away from that, just because we had different goals or different ideas of what we want to do. I was trying not to drink as much and to mature and become more responsible.

In the above excerpt, by contrast with his colleagues who just wanted to enjoy life and himself who wanted to become more mature and responsible, Samuel presented oppositional portraits and displayed his different stance on what was believed to be desirable from those of his colleagues'. He made implicit negative evaluations of his colleagues' heavy partying and drinking, and positioned himself as antagonistic to his hedonistic colleagues. In this way, despite the existence of a conflict between his appropriated presentation of himself and the surrounding practices of other young colleagues, Samuel negotiated his identity in order to live up to his personal principles and aspirations and gradually reduced involvement with those colleagues.

Further, limited professional support from the administrative personnel, especially at UC, appeared to have negatively influenced Samuel's self-identity as a participating member in the work place and prompted his decision to quit his job in addition to the

factors related to his students as discussed in section 7.2. Although at both universities he had to solve difficulties he encountered in class by himself and to undertake professional development through learning from online materials and other teachers as mentioned in the previous section, at UE he received a bit more support from the administration and the department assigned Chinese co-teacher. He could turn to them for help on administrative issues, and described them in interviews as very “responsible”, informative and “organized”, and they would fix any problem within two days. But his assigned co-teacher at UC was not very responsive and never really contacted him to give him information in advance. For instance, at the beginning of the observed semester, his co-teacher did not give him the name list of students who enrolled in his classes. In addition, he and his students were not given the set textbook and it took three weeks to order from the university’s bookstore. Instead, he got needed information either through asking the department by himself, or from his girlfriend who taught at the same university and whose co-teacher would often call her with information she needed to know. The evaluative adjectives and modal verb in the following excerpt clearly reflected Samuel’s frustration as an employee towards the administrative personnel:

It’s kind of frustrating because my girlfriend is not my assistant, I’m an employee of the university as much as my girlfriend is an employee of the university, so if I need to know something, they should tell me, which can become kind of frustrating, because you expect certain things and then it didn’t happen. (...) So it gets a bit frustrating when the school doesn’t provide you with simple things like textbooks.

What’s more, there was no evaluation from the administration of Samuel’s teaching performance at UC, and no recognition of the competencies he displayed during his teaching. When he worked at UE, a mid-term review was conducted each semester for which somebody would sit in one of his classes and take a few notes. Samuel pointed out that he would actively seek feedback from the reviewer “usually at the end of the class before they left, coz I wanted to know for my own self, I would usually ask them like how did I do, usually would just oh you did good, no problem, don’t worry about it”. In his view, although there was not much “constructive feedback to help me improve as a teacher” such as suggestion on possible alternative classroom activities or criticism on time management, there at least was a review process and “it was at least more than this university (*UC*), at least I had an idea of whether or not I was

doing well”. But at UC, nobody had ever come to review his classes. The lack of recognition of his teaching performance from the administration seemed to disable him from identifying himself as a competent member in the broader framework of the university, which also prompted his decision to quit his job at last.

7.4 Engaging with others in wider social context

Although teaching students and engaging with colleagues and administrations as discussed in the previous sections formed a great portion of the activities that Samuel engaged in while living in China, the interactions Samuel engaged in with people outside of university work place also shaped and reshaped his perceptions of self as an English teacher. This aspect of interactions is discussed in the following section, and the main activities emerged from interview data included his interaction with Chinese people in daily life, his relationship with his girlfriend, as well as his learning of Chinese language at UC as discussed below.

7.4.1 A foreigner in China: imagining what universities want him to do

When talking about his interactions with Chinese people in daily life outside a university setting, Samuel positioned himself as a foreigner, and this position played a significant role in shaping his understanding of himself in relation to his students as a presenter of daily English through conversation. Since arrived in China, Samuel had always been a visible minority in the society, and his foreign status was reified by local people’s constant attempt to converse with him, as he mentioned that “everywhere you go as a foreigner in China, every bus I get on, every train I get on, (...) every day the same kind of questions from every single Chinese person that I run into”. At the beginning, he was surprised by local people’s friendliness and felt “it’s fine and you like, oh, whoa, they are so nice”. But shortly afterwards, he became tired of having the same kind of English get-to-know-you conversation of “where are you from, how long have you been in China, do you like Chinese food” over and over again. Subsequently, he changed his attitude towards the situation into “just leave me alone, I just want to go where I’m going and I don’t want to be bothered”.

Drawing on such transnational experience of his own, Samuel interpreted what he felt the university wanted from him as “I think many of the schools or institutions hire foreigners just to give their students the opportunity to interact with a foreigner”. He

reasoned that it was not easy for many students in China to get such an opportunity because “one, there’s not a lot of foreigners to interact with and two, the foreigners that are here are constantly hassled or harassed, they have heard the questions, they’ve dealt with Chinese people, and they get an attitude almost like leave me alone”. But he had no problem talking to students and answering their questions because he was getting paid for the job. Therefore, in Samuel’s view, his work did not primarily involve teaching a language but human interaction, and he positioned himself in classrooms accordingly, as had been discussed previously in section 7.2.1.

7.4.2 A boyfriend: continuing to teach in order to stay together

Another theme emerged from interview data was the effect Samuel’s gendered identity exerted on his staying in China and continuing the English teaching work despite his initial disalignment with the profession as mentioned in section 7.1 and his accumulated frustration over his teaching experience as discussed inside section 7.2. Shortly after he started to work in China, Samuel started dating a girl from the Netherlands who was teaching at the same university, which “complicated things” for him. Thus, despite his initial plan to return to America after one year’s stay in China, he renewed a half year’s contract after his contract with UE expired in order to stay longer with his girlfriend to see “what kind of a future we could have”. After the second contract expired, he decided to quit the job so as to stop dealing with the malfunctioning agency that hired him, and described his choice at that time as: “I had to decide if I want to stay with her in China, or go home and say goodbye to her”. He mentioned at that time “we’ve been dating for like over a year, and we still didn’t want to say goodbye, so we had to find another job, and the easiest is to teach, for both of us”. Out of the two job offers he received through searching various universities’ web pages and sending application emails, Samuel originally plan to take the other one which offered the better salary, but he chose the one at UC in the end because the other university would not hire his girlfriend due to the reason that English was her second language. Once again, being able to stay together with his girlfriend played a vital role in his decision to stay in China, and it seemed that working as an English teacher was framed by him only as a convenient method to realise his plan rather than a professional aspiration.

7.4.3 A learner of Chinese: understanding towards students’ language learning

experience

Furthermore, Samuel's Chinese learning at UC enabled him to better relate to his students' English learning experience and adjust his classroom instructional activities accordingly while teaching English. Although one of his aims in coming to China was to learn its language as mentioned in section 7.1, he did not study any Chinese until after he moved to UC, where there were Chinese lessons for international students. Thus he took one semester's level one Chinese course, and hired several students to be conversational partners to practice speaking. When he was alone, he attempted to read Chinese characters he saw in real life silently instead of actually saying them out loud, but later found out in conversations that saying a word out was very different from saying it in one's head: "in my head I think I was saying Chinese words correctly all the time and then when it comes out of my mouth, nobody understands me, I'm like, but in my mind it makes perfect sense". According to his perceptions, his students, similar to his Chinese learning experience, might read English here and there online or at other teachers' classes, but they might seldom say English words out loud. Therefore, he deliberately attributed some class time to asking students to read out paragraphs in the textbooks when he taught at UC, which was corroborated by classroom observational data. In this way, he could provide his students with opportunities to speak English out loud and practice their pronunciation even if they could sometimes read paragraphs perfectly.

7.5 Anticipating the future: "at least I'm out of teaching"

At the end of the observed semester, Samuel quit his job at UC and had already started working in a different city in China for an IT company that specialized in software localization when the last narrative interview was conducted. He described the new job as a bridge between what he wanted to do and teaching, because what he really liked to do was marketing and his job at that company was to review software and decide whether the language was appropriate, which still relied on his language skills. But he viewed moving out of teaching as a desirable path and commented that "at least I'm out of teaching, at least in my mind it's slowly going in the right direction". When talking about his job seeking process during the latter half of the observed semester in the last interview, Samuel framed his English teaching experience in China as detrimental to his subsequent career development and his

professional identity in business field, and completely dismissed the identity as a teacher upon reflection:

It really does not reflect well on your resume when you try to switch from teaching into a professional position. Teachers in China have got kind of bad label, that they are unprofessional, that they are lazy that they drink a lot and, most companies when you apply for, when you tell them that you were a teacher, they kind of, oh, ok, (*imitates facial expression of contempt*), kind of look, they look very poorly upon it. Once you've been labelled a teacher, no matter what you studied, you are often times not considered for a position;

Of that two and a half years' teaching, it didn't help me in any way for my actual career, my career is not teaching, I studied marketing and management. The only that could have helped me was becoming more culturally aware, I learned a lot about how things are going in China.

Here in the first excerpt, the reported speech, in which Samuel quoted his job interviewers' conversational style in the fleeting interactional moves when being told that he had worked as an expatriated English teacher in China, reflected their positioning of him as a particular kind of expatriate teacher with poor reputation in a disempowering way and their negative evaluative orientation towards his teaching experience. The unprofessional trait attached by others through discursive practices also negatively influenced Samuel's perception of himself as a teacher. As in the second excerpt he overtly negated viewing teaching as his career, constructed a position for himself as not belonging to the professional community of teachers, and further regarded English language teaching as interfering with his real career goals and viewed a teacher identity as a liability for his envisioned alternative professional identities. For the near future, Samuel planned to later apply for an entry level marketing job, and if he could not get such a position in China, he would probably go back to America to find one or to study for a master's degree in the business field.

7.6 Summary

The formation and transformation of Samuel's identities as an English teacher was, to begin with, influenced by his personal and educational backgrounds. The way in which his former teachers were treated by students shaped his negative image of

teaching as a profession. His own second and foreign language learning experiences enabled him to emotionally empathize with his students and to aspire to motivate his students and develop their English speaking, listening and reading skills when he taught English. In addition, his undergraduate learning in the field of business influenced his career aspiration and how he related to his students with particular pedagogical focus on cultivation of creativity and criticality. These were among the forces that contributed to Samuel's formation of his incipient professional self as an English teacher.

Despite his initial disalignment with the teaching profession and his extrinsic motives in going to China to teach English for the opportunity of travelling and moving to a business related job, Samuel attempted to do his best in teaching and learning about how to teach. However, having fewer previous professional experiences than the other three participants, Samuel's identities appeared to have been transformed more readily by immediate external contextual influences. Due to his interaction with local Chinese people, he initially envisioned himself as presenting genuine everyday English language through conversational interactions with students in class. Such an incipient position of self as an authentic target language presenter as well as a thought provoker fostering students' creative and critical awareness were challenged by immediate external contextual and internal emotional factors, such as unrealistic textbook materials, students' low English proficiency level, lack of motivation to learn English, the idea of "saving face" in Chinese culture and the resulting class environment. Facing these challenges, he managed to reposition himself and struggled in negotiating multiple aspects of his positions through attempts to socialize with students outside of class as a friend, facilitate a relaxing and pressure free classroom environment, and instrumentally motivate them to feel the need to learn English for their future career and take part in class interaction. Observation data confirmed, to an extent, his efforts as a presenter, facilitator and motivator in class, yet also revealed the practices that he enacted in his teaching were in many cases not compatible with his incipient visions of self as a presenter of genuine English through interaction with students and as a thought provoker due to students' lack of active participation as well as his limited pedagogical ability. In addition to being strongly shaped by his students during his teaching, Samuel's self-identity as a teacher in the broader university community was also negatively influenced by limited engagement with his colleagues

and by the negative emotions he experienced as a result of lack of administrative staff's professional support, especially when he taught at UC. All these contextual and affective factors contributed to the weakening and ultimate shedding of his overall identity as an English teacher and deterred him from further investment in teaching. In the end, his accumulated sense of disappointment and frustration over his two and a half years' teaching culminated in his decision to exit teaching and opt for his previous career aspiration in the business field.

Chapter 8: Discussion

The previous four chapters have presented research findings from each participating teacher individually. In this chapter, I will compare and contrast the four cases to address the overarching research question of this study: How do the participating native English speaking teachers construct their identities as English teachers in China? This chapter will first summarise the main findings from four cases in relation to this question. Then, it will present a cross-case discussion by making connections across the four cases and linking findings to existing studies on English language teacher identities to answer en masse the three sub-questions asked in the Introduction Chapter:

- (1) What, if any, is the impact of NES teachers' personal biographical backgrounds in the construction of their identities as English teachers?
- (2) In what ways do they negotiate and transform their teacher identities during their teaching practices in China?
- (3) How do the institutional and wider academic, sociocultural communities shape the development of their teacher identities?

8.1 An examination of major findings

The four participating NES teachers differ in their sociocultural backgrounds, educational and profession experiences and motivations for entering English teaching in China. They have also worked in various institutional contexts in China: from private English training schools to public universities, from “low structure” environments where curriculum pre-specifications are minimal and flexible to relatively “high structure” environments (Wette & Barkhuizen, 2009, p.198), from teaching non-English majors students to English majors, and from teaching oral to written English courses. Despite all these differences, it can be concluded from the findings that the construction of the participating teachers' identities, which has been defined in Chapter 2 as “teachers' continuing emerging understandings of themselves as teachers across time and space, developed through their participation in practices and negotiated by relationships with others in their contexts” is a complex, evolving process that is dependent upon an intricate array of factors.

This study has identified four main factors that are important to participants in the construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of their identities as English teachers. These factors are teaching and learning experience, teacher cognition, teacher emotion interplayed with their personal biography as well as local institutional and wider sociocultural contexts. It is important to note that the participating teachers' identities are not shaped by a single factor. These factors interact in guiding teachers' transformation of themselves as English teachers. The rest of this section will summarize main findings related to participants' teacher identities construction.

Firstly, this study reveals that the construction of participants' teacher identities is inseparable from their cognition. Operated within the cognitive sphere, their attitudes, assumptions, and thoughts about all aspects of their teaching appeared to be closely intertwined with their images, perspectives, and future aspirations of themselves as English teachers. Part of their cognition derived from personal biography, including but not limited to former education and model teachers, previous working and professional experience; personal lives framed by age, race, gender, marital status, hobby and interest, and so on. Their understandings about themselves were also shaped by learning to teach in professional education courses and programs as well as in local institutional and wider academic communities. These learnings provided them with exposure to alternative conceptions about selves as English teachers that were aligned with professional communities in local and wider EFL fields.

Secondly, findings highlight that teaching practice in institutions serves as a mediational factor in the development of teacher identities for the participants. In addition to cognitively derived from personal biography and professional learning, participants' teacher identities were enacted and transformed in and through concrete teaching experiences in China. More specifically, engaging in teaching and related practices with students, colleagues and administrators offered participants opportunities to explore and experiment with alternative positions and transformed how they see themselves as English teachers. Related transformations did not happen overnight but were an ongoing and gradual process embedded in local institutional and wider societal contexts, such as student population, textbook and curriculum, institutional pedagogical requirements, employment policies and management structure, technological advancement and commercialization of education. Challenges

and dilemmas from these contexts shaped the development of their multidimensional and shifting sense of self as English teachers.

Thirdly, it is noted that participants' identities construction is shaped by their emotions. Their emotions were intimately intertwined with teaching experiences as well as the contexts from which the emotions arose and further shaped how they thought and acted as English teachers. The vast array of both positive and negative emotions that participants felt in response to instructional as well as non-instructional situations informed and oriented participant's emerging and evolving teacher identities in the process of becoming. Their changing understandings of themselves as English teachers and the profession in turn guided and shaped their feelings about being English language teachers and related changing processes.

8.2 A further cross-case discussion

The sections below will further discuss several themes from cross-case comparisons regarding participating NES teachers' identities construction. The following four major points are included: (1) the connection between teacher identities and personal biography; (2) the link between teacher identities and learning to teach; (3) the nexus of teacher identities and teaching in local contexts; (4) the relation between teacher identities and emotions.

8.2.1 Teacher identities and personal biography

This study demonstrates that the formation of participating teachers' identities is deeply embedded in their personal biographies. The close link between participants' personal biography and their construction of selves as English teachers has been identified in each of the four cases, which was in line with many previous researchers' (Ajayi, 2011; Amin, 1997; Appleby, 2013; Breckenridge, 2010; Cho, 2012; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Nagatomo, 2012; Simon-Maeda, 2004; Varghese et al., 2005) findings about English teacher identities. Participants' previous educational and professional experiences, racial and cultural backgrounds, and personal life including marital relation and hobbies, although unique and idiosyncratic, emerged as salient common aspects of this biographical domain across four cases. These elements, to varying degrees, influenced who they were as English teachers through shaping their potential

perspectives about teaching as a profession and about relating with students and others during English teaching.

8.2.1.1 Impact of former teachers

To begin with, it is noted that images of former teachers have influenced participants' constructing identities as English teachers. The impact of former teachers on future teachers has been best described by Lortie (1975, p.61), who argues that the thousands of hours of direct contact with former teachers in an "apprenticeship of observation" plays a significant role in how would-be teachers view teaching. Previous studies on English teacher identities (Nagatomo, 2012) have pinpointed a connection that positive impression of former teachers contributes to liking of teaching as a profession, and negative images of former teachers lead to an aversion for the profession, which is echoed by findings in the present study. For instance, Caleb attributed his strong alignment with the teaching profession in his early years to his former teachers, and Samuel related his active resistance in becoming a teacher since a young age also to his former teachers.

More importantly, results reveal the important role their former teachers play in participants' perspectives of the types of teachers they aspire to or avoid to become. They brought to their own teaching numerous pre-conceptions based on the images of their previous teachers with whom they were aligned or disaligned, and those cognitive conceptions formed a basis for the construction of their own teacher identities. For instance, Daisy valued encouraging and cultivating independent thinking in relating to students, which significantly departed from the cruel and manipulative teachers that she previously had at elementary school. As for Caleb, his former teacher's approach in guiding students to learn independently later influenced his teaching philosophy. Aligning with one former influential teacher, George viewed good teachers as approachable and engaging in students' learning, not only inside but also outside class. All these positions are reflected in their observed teaching as discussed previously in the findings sections.

8.2.1.2 Crossing previous professional and disciplinary communities

Another dominant theme that emerges from the four cases is that participants' pre-existing identities developed in their previous educational and professional

experiences form part of the bases upon which their teacher identities are constructed. Interestingly, none of the participants in this study majored in language teaching for their tertiary education, which differed from those participants, most of whom were non-native English speaking teachers with bachelor's degrees in language teaching or related fields, in most of the previous studies on English language teacher identities. Even for the few studies on native English speaking teacher identities as reviewed in the literature section, their participants' previous educational and professional experience was either not mentioned (e.g. in Breckenridge, 2010; Johnston, 1999), or left unexplored even though it was pointed out that their participants' majors were not language related and the participants' had worked in fields others than English teaching (e.g. in Ahn, 2013; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Kiernan, 2008; Stanley, 2013). What is highlighted in this study's findings is that all the participants drew on their previous experience in diverse professional and disciplinary communities to interpret themselves as an English teacher and to engage with students.

For instance, the second career teachers in this study, Daisy and Caleb, both managed to utilize competence in relating to others, such as interpersonal communication and management skills, developed in various previous professional communities as an advantage after they joined the community of English teachers. But the specific skills that they transferred were shown to be quite different. Establishing rapport and being liked by students were important for Daisy, based on her previous work as an approachable salesperson and friendly manager in the business field. Interview data revealed that she also attended to social and emotional dimensions of her students' development in addition to teaching language content through personal communication and social gatherings outside regular working hours, which developed into friendship and long term contacts after students graduated. This dimension of her interaction with students ran opposite to the claim made by previous researchers on expatriate English teacher identities about their lack of deep bonds with long-lasting relationships with students (Falout, 2013). For Caleb, however, an authoritative position that featured discipline and boundary was of significant value to him in relating to students. This was because of the knowledge about teenage behaviour and competence in managing he developed previously as a psychological counsellor. Caleb's interaction with students outside classrooms when he taught at the first university, according to his interview data, was related mainly to assisting students'

overseas studying, which seemed to not reflect much deep personal concern as compared to Daisy's case. These contrasts between Daisy's and Caleb's self positions were also reflected in the observed lessons, such as the different ways they started each lesson with or without casual chats and the varied approaches with which they managed students' seating in their respective classrooms.

As for Samuel and George, who had no former working experience prior to English teaching in China, their previous learning in disciplinary communities either facilitated or impeded their development as English teachers. George had gained disciplinary knowledge from his learning of Chinese history during undergraduate studies and he utilized related knowledge to his advantage as pedagogical resources in relating to students during English teaching. However, Samuel did not see as much connection from his past learning to give meaning to his teacher identities, and had been struggling to reconcile between his imagined self as a business marketing person and being an English teacher until after he quit his teaching job.

The findings discussed in this section support Wenger's (1998) argument that identity construction is ongoing and a process of reconciliation. This temporal dimension, captured in the term 'trajectory' as a form of continuous motion, highlights the connection between past and present in identity formation. For Daisy, Caleb and George, they brought what they had learned from previous communities into teaching, thereby successfully "brokering across boundaries between practices" to "make new connections across communities of practice" (Wenger, p.109). However, Samuel's brokering across boundaries involved ongoing tension that was never really resolved. In short, it appears that the construction of participating teachers' identities partly locates at the nexus of establishing coherence between their former trajectories and their latter trajectory as English teachers.

8.2.1.3 Influence of cross cultural experience

The findings also provide evidence for the salient connection between teachers' previous cross cultural contacts and their perceptions of selves in relating to students when approaching cultural issues during English teaching. For Daisy, Caleb and George, shaped by their previous cross-racial and cross-cultural experiences, they had constructed various degrees of sensitivity to cultural differences. Both Daisy and Caleb had engaged with minority groups in a relationship of equality, and vicariously

witnessed those groups' being othered before they went to China. For George, he had personally experienced being alienated as part of a racial minority in the neighbourhood community during his childhood. However, Samuel lacked both types of experience. These various intercultural contacts appeared to have cultivated participants' different degrees of "interculturality" (Kramsch, 2005, p.553) in their awareness of difference and socio-affective capacity to see oneself through the eyes of others. For instance, George explicitly referred in interviews to his sensitivity to his own as well as some of his students' positions of being an outsider in local sociocultural contexts, but a similar kind of sensitivity was absent in Samuel's data set.

Their different degrees of intercultural sensitivity have had significant influence on their varied positions in approaching cultural issues during lessons. Previous studies (e.g. Ahn, 2013; Farrell, 2011) on English teacher identities have highlighted a conception of language teachers as cultural workers, in that "each selection of videos, newspaper clippings, activities and so on has social, cultural and educational significance" (Duff & Uchida 1997, p.476). For participants in the present study, their various approaches to teaching target language culture and utilizing local culture revealed in both interview and observation data clearly reflected this aspect of their varied conceptions of self as an English teacher, as discussed in following sections.

For all four participants, they have been heavily involved in the transmission of target language culture during instructions, but by means of drawing on their unquestioned authority in target culture to various degrees, which has been reflected in the different ways they presented related culture knowledge. For instance, Samuel often explicitly identified with target culture and values, and acted solely as the embodiment of American culture. Similarly, Daisy and Caleb were both observed during classroom instructions to claim their respective cultural roots in presenting cultural practices in Australia and America. George, in contrast, was never observed to actively highlight his in-group membership in his target cultural community. Rather than orientating toward only one specific country, he perceived raising students' multicultural awareness and developing their interculturality as an important aspect of his being an English teacher, and was observed to have embraced an international perspective in presenting target language culture, which has been discussed in details in Chapter Six of his case.

In fact, even though transnational native English speaking teachers have often been privileged as experts of target culture (He & Miller, 2011; Kasai & Lee, 2011; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Rao, 2010; Rudolph, 2012), some negative perception of them also exists, and one major critique was that they represent a majority which champions Western ideology and are insensitive to local culture (Breckenridge, 2010; Holliday, 2006). However, findings in the present study reveal more than one such position. Instead of being solely a cultural ambassador who represented his or her native culture in English speaking countries, all four participants had incorporated local cultural elements in their class at varying degrees of depth.

To illustrate, Daisy, Caleb and George highlighted the need for drawing on students' cultural experience in relating to them. This was reflected in interview data about their agentive rejection or adaptation of culturally unresponsive set textbooks, and was corroborated by the observed pedagogical contents they used in classes which were culturally relevant to students' real lives in China. In discussing the impetus behind their intentional incorporation of local cultural practices and perspectives, they all explicitly referred to their previous cross cultural experience, which reflected its impact on their professional subjectivity in relating to students. However, for Samuel who appeared to have a relatively lesser degree of intercultural sensitivity, similar discussion was absent from his interview data. In addition, he was observed during lessons to focus mainly on delivering American cultures. Local Chinese cultural elements only emerged occasionally out of communicative needs during class interaction, and they were often introduced by students rather than initiated by him.

One point worth further discussion is some participants' proactive utilization of their personal cross culture experiences in China to contribute to the ways they related to students during observed classroom interactions. This differed significantly from Ahn's (2013, p.131) research of native English speaking teachers' identity in South Korea in which the two participants mainly aligned with and deliberately presented their own culture, and cultural information was mostly delivered in a "monologic"

and “one-directional” way from the teacher to the students during observed lessons¹⁵. What was unique to this present study’s findings was Daisy’s and Caleb’s taking advantage of their non-nativeness to local language and culture and capitalizing on their cross cultural experience as an important pedagogical resource, as well as their students’ active involvement, or at least attempt to participate, in observed classroom interactions. As discussed previously in their findings chapters, some interactional episodes transformed traditional teacher presentation of target cultural information that students could not easily question or object to in classroom conversation where students became informants as natives of their local culture. Even though in some occasions, these teachers’ low expertise in local culture and students’ limited proficiency in English language curtailed successful negotiation of meaning during discussion, those episodes reversed, to an extent, the situated student-teacher relations. It is true that orientating as an outsider and even learner of students’ local culture in classrooms might be rejected by some teachers who prefer to maintain professional authority, but such an orientation could possibly be adopted by transnational English teachers in similar settings.

8.2.1.4 Relation with social self

In addition to participants’ transcultural experience that impacts their approaching cultural issues in relating to students, multiple aspects of their personal social selves simultaneously interact with and influence their identities as professional English teachers. This aspect of the findings adds to previous research on the inextricable link between English language teachers’ social identities, including race, gender, class and sexuality, and their teacher identities (Ajayi, 2011; Amin, 1997; Appleby, 2013; Cho, 2012; Kusaka, 2014; Motha, 2006; Nagatomo, 2012; Park, 2015; Simon-Maeda, 2004). What has emerged in this study’s findings is mainly related to participants’ gendered self, and also included in this personal domain is their interests and hobbies.

¹⁵ One possible reason for this difference in findings between Ahn’s (2013) study and the present one may be because of lack of previous cross cultural experience and intercultural sensitivity for participants in Ahn’s study, as she mentioned very briefly their lack of EFL teaching experience before they started to teach English in South Korea in their background information table. However, there is no way to confirm this since she did not explore participants’ biographical trajectories, which has been problematized in previous section 2.2.4. Part of the reason might also be related to curriculum requirement differences, as all the participants interviewed in Ahn’s study explained that they were advised by the program to teach the culture to which they belonged (p.110), while teachers in this study were not given this type of curriculum pre-specification.

On one hand, participants' gendered selves in society and families have been revealed to influence their professional relationships and career development. As Moskowitz (2008, p.330) points out the "hedonistic identity", which revolves around excessive drinking and partying, has been thrust upon young Western men in his study about foreign culture clubs in Taiwan. This hedonistic discourse has emerged in several previous researches about expatriate English teacher identities (Appleby, 2013; Cho, 2012; Stanley, 2013), and also in the present study's male participants' narration about their social life with colleagues in China. However, unlike most participants in those previous studies, participants in this study successfully negotiated the competing pressures they encountered from some of their peer colleagues, as was reflected in Caleb's firm declining of co-workers' invitations to go to bars and Samuel's gradual distancing from his drinking colleagues' social circle. It is true that one possible reason for this varied finding from previous studies might be because of the difference of participants' ages. More specifically, eighty percent of the participants in Stanley's (2013) study were in their twenties; however, most participants in the present study are older and comparatively more mature. More saliently, part of the reason for the difference may be due to my participants' being in stable relationships or marriage, which differs significantly from participants in those previous studies. For instance, Cho's (2012) study revealed that for the participating single Korean-American male English language teachers in South Korea, Seoul was a place where they could enjoy the last vestiges of their youth before settling down to a life of marriage and responsibility.

In fact, participants in this study have been found to negotiate and navigate their multiple identities as teachers alongside those of boyfriend, wife or husband, and it seems that those roles as spouses or partners have significantly shaped their career paths and ways of relating to students. For instance, Daisy's initial decision to go to China was to travel together with her partner. When searching for a new employing institution, Samuel chose to work at UC instead of another university because his girlfriend was also offered an English teaching position at UC but not at the other university. Due to his marital status, George aspired for more professional stability and avoidance of potential visa problems, and this aspiration resulted in his changing to teach at UC instead of at private English training schools. In addition, he valued maintaining personal distance and detachment from students, most of whom were

young females, in order to avoid any potential negative impact on his personal identity as a husband.

It is interesting to note in the findings that participants have also brought a range of personal interests and hobbies into constructing their identities as teachers (Menard-Warwick, 2014; Nagatomo, 2012). Of many resources available, teachers in this study tended to incorporate those that were of interest to themselves as topics for class discussion or assignment tasks. Samuel's personal interest in future technological design was just one example, as he incorporated related topics into class discussion tasks judging from his interview data. For Caleb, a lover of food and cooking, it was observed that he transferred related enthusiasms into his pedagogical writing assignments. Daisy's open sharing of personal interests in dancing and learning during observed lessons appeared to have put a personal touch into class discussion and assisted more interaction between her and students with equal power relations. These various positionings demonstrate the coexistence and interaction between participants' personal and professional realms, lending support to the claim that teachers are people with diverse private lives that are utilized during teaching (Nagatomo, 2012). Furthermore, comparisons across cases also collectively reveal that each participant is a unique individual even though they are all NES teachers, and highlight the need for an anti-essentialist understanding about native English speaking teachers rather than treating them as a homogeneous group. Future studies about English teachers' identities would probably benefit from taking this kind of diversity into consideration.

8.2.2 Teacher identities and learning to teach

In addition to arising from their personal biography, the development of participating teachers' identities is also found to be inseparably influenced by their learning to teach. Literature has argued that one aspect of becoming a member of a professional community involves learning from the more experienced members of that community (Wenger, 1998). For the participants in this study, their learning to teach English has been a combination of different paths with formal and informal learning before and during their teaching work in China. How these various aspects of learning shape participants' teacher identities is further discussed below with cross case comparisons.

This study's findings reveal that for Daisy, Caleb and George, participating in formal English language teacher education courses or certification programs does shape their teacher identities development, which concurs with previous studies' findings (Bang, 2011; Clarke, 2008; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Gu & Benson, 2015; He & Lin, 2013; Ilieva, 2010; Park, 2014; Pavlenko, 2003; Reis, 2010; Trent, 2011a, 2011b, 2013; Yazan, 2014; Zacharias, 2010). On one hand, it was the very opportunity of taking the training programs that allowed them to interact with teacher educators and other teacher learners, and enabled them to position themselves as credible English teachers in relation to a wider professional community of scholars and practitioners in the EFL field in a way that they might not easily achieve through engaging only with their colleagues in local institutions. This was clearly reflected in Daisy's and Caleb's case, as has been discussed in previous findings sections. Both established their professional legitimacy partially on their professional certification rather than on their personal identity as being native speakers of the target language, differing from Samuel who had no certification training experience and mainly drew on his native speaker status to legitimize himself as an English language teacher.

More importantly, formal learning in those courses or programs provides participants with discourses in the TESOL field with which they can align to establish new or alternative understandings of self as being an English teacher. Most of those previous studies (e.g. Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Ilieva, 2010; Pavlenko, 2003; Reis, 2010; Zacharias, 2010) about the impact of teacher education programs on English teachers' identities focused narrowly on investigating critical pedagogy's influence on non-native English speaking teachers' growing self-perceptions with regard to their non-native status. What the present study's findings have highlighted, however, is the connection between participating native English speaking teacher identities development and learning of theoretical as well as experiential components in language teacher education courses or programs. Without taking the courses, these participants might not have had a formal opportunity to learn about the discourses in the TESOL field that assisted them to rethink and rearticulate their relationship with others, and then in turn, to enact certain conceptions of selves as English teachers during teaching activities. In addition, several previous studies (Clarke, 2008; Gu & Benson, 2015; He & Lin, 2013; Trent, 2011a, 2011b, 2013) on pre-service student teachers' identities found that those participants perceived strong disparities in the

type of teachers they wanted to align with following their preparation programs and the identities they perceived to be available to them within local educational contexts. However, participants in the present study differed from those teachers in that Daisy, Caleb and George all utilized related discourses that they were previously exposed to problematize their lived teaching experience in local institutional settings and to understand their own situations more clearly and agentively. These discourses empowered them to legitimize their self-positioning as a certain kind of English teacher, despite contextual constraints throughout their professional journey. For instance, Caleb aligned with and drew on the discourse about autonomous teaching that he acquired through practical teaching in CELTA program to negotiate and agentively create his own teaching self against his department's pedagogical demands.

Furthermore, findings highlight the complex interplay between learning in education programs and teaching in local institutional contexts for the transformation of participating teachers' identities. Rather than simply acquiring possible identity options from educational programs, internalizing related discourses and enacting certain positions involved complex processes of engaging in situated teaching practices. It was not until participating teachers had multiple opportunities during their actual work to situate and interpret being a certain kind of English teacher as was proposed by program discourses that they started to make full sense of and enact their being a particular kind of teacher in their classrooms. This was clearly reflected in George's case. His construction of being a facilitator in relating to students was revealed to undergo a long and evolving process from learning in undergraduate linguistic courses in the United States to teaching at various institutions in China.

In addition to being influenced by aligning with TESOL discourses that were acquired during formal program learning, participants' teacher identities development has also been impacted by discourses that they informally learned from collegial models of practice during teaching. This aspect of learning included, as revealed in the findings chapters, mentoring by experienced colleagues (Samuel, George), engaging in wider English teacher community through reading teaching materials online (Samuel), and attending academic conferences (Caleb). Through these learnings, they had appropriated discourses in various communities of practice. Their conceptions of selves as English teachers were then negotiated and developed through identifying

which aspects of those discourse were important to themselves during their own engagement in teaching practices (Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Yazan, 2014).

8.2.3 Teacher identities and teaching in local contexts

Participants' construction of themselves as English teachers is not only cognitively derived from their personal biography and learning to teach, but also experientially negotiated and transformed as they participate in concrete teaching and related activities in China. All four participating teacher identities development is revealed to be a process of great complexity. The findings yield support to the poststructuralist understanding of identity as constantly evolving and in conflict, constructed within different and intersecting discourses and practices (Gergen, 1991; Hall, 1996; Norton Peirce, 1995; Sarup, 1996; Thesen, 1997), and echoes the definition of teacher identities in this present study as "teachers' continuing emerging understandings of themselves as teachers", which was discussed in Chapter 2. Local contextual influences, including instructional, institutional and social settings, as well as interpersonal influences have emerged as two significant factors in shaping and reshaping participants' teacher identities, as will be discussed in the rest of this section.

8.2.3.1 Individual in response to contexts

The cross-case comparison highlights that participants have constructed multidimensional and shifting understandings of selves as English teachers across time and space in accordance with the various micro and macro contexts in which they teach while working in China. This finding echoes the context dependent and shifting nature of English teachers' identities development that has been revealed in previous research (e.g. Clark, 2008; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Huang, 2014; Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Lu, 2005; Pavlenko, 2003; Tsui, 2007; Varghese et al., 2005). More importantly, this study's findings suggest that participating teachers' identities construction is a site of struggle (Norton Peirce 1995; Norton, 2000). They must navigate complex contextual tensions and challenges that they either adapt to or resist in constructing who they are as English teachers in China.

On one hand, one shared theme that emerges from all cases is participants' making continual adjustments during teaching in China in their various dimensions of

positions as English teachers according to their increased understanding of students' population, such as students' English proficiency levels and attitudes to English learning. A difference that needs to be highlighted here is that between participating teachers' multiple identities and multi dimensions of teacher identities. The phrase multiple identities has been used in many previous studies on English language teachers identities (e.g. Chang, 2004; Chen, 2009; Choi, 2007; Nones-Austria, 2011; Varghese et al., 2005; Zacharias, 2010), such as "keenly aware of her overlapping and multiple identities as a TESOL graduate student/ESL teacher/English language learner,..." in Varghese et al. (2005, p.26). "Multiple identities" in those studies referred primarily to various social group memberships that participants held in addition to being English teachers. In other words, those studies focused more on participants' different social roles and on the influence of those roles on the role of being English teachers. However, for "multi dimensions of teacher identities" used in this section, what is highlighted is participants' multiple aspects of understandings of themselves as English teachers in relating to students, such as being a lecturer, motivator, friend, entertainer and so on. Their various aspects of understandings have been explored in detail in previous findings chapters. Examination of participants' interview and classroom data has provided strong evidence in support of and enhanced better understanding toward this heterogeneous and multidimensional nature of identities development. Participants' multidimensional understanding of selves as English teachers was clearly demonstrated in all participants' interviews about evolving relations with various students at different settings across time and space, as well as in observed classroom practices, as in the form of moment-to-moment interaction and constantly changing positions enacted by participants during lessons. It seems difficult to make broad generalization about specific dimensions of relations with students that have been narrated and enacted by participants, since each of them has a unique vast array of understandings of selves that differ from those of others. However, their multidimensional relations to students nonetheless reflect the dynamic and shifting nature of identity negotiation, and three overriding arguments can be made as follows.

First, the different student groups participating teachers have interacted with significantly influence the negotiation of their identities as English teachers. The four participants have taught at different schools in China and to different social and age

groups of students. Take one of the participants, George, for instance. It was difficult for George to establish his authority as a lecturer in front of his students who were older than him during his teaching at the first institution in China. But later he did not need to negotiate this aspect of tension when he worked at other schools teaching younger students. Even during their teaching at one institution, it was revealed that participants synchronically take on slightly varied positions in relating to different groups of students regarding one dimension of their teacher identities. This was demonstrated in Daisy's different orientation to freshmen and sophomores in terms of being an entertainer, and in Samuel's difficulty in motivating senior year students as compared to sophomores and juniors, as well as in George's varied positions in facilitating English and non-English majors' students to communicate during lessons. All these multifarious dimensions of positions did not emanate from a vacuum, rather they were in responses to tensions and adaptations teachers made during teaching various groups of students.

Secondly, despite the uniqueness of each teacher's dimensions of relationships with their students, those relations are not totally idiosyncratic. For all four participants, one shared dimension of their teacher identities is that the areas of language skill course they have been assigned to teach appear to have influenced their self-positioning as English teaching professionals. To further illustrate, Daisy, Samuel and George taught mostly oral English courses, and they all prioritized cultivating speaking skills in relating to students, despite their other instructional emphases varying slightly. Caleb, however, understood his job mainly as an English writing teacher, which differed significantly from the other three participants. He focused a lot on English writing in terms of both inside class instruction and outside class support. Another shared dimension of participants' teacher identities development concerns their going beyond being just a teacher of the English language inside classrooms, but also relating to students in wider institutional and even societal contexts. All four participants cared about students' sociocultural well-being besides developing their linguistic skills during lessons, as reflected in their dimensions of being a mentor (Daisy), a social worker (Caleb), a thought provoker (Samuel) and a consultant (George) according to students' needs. Similar positions can be found in Simon-Maeda's (2004, p.424) study that points out the importance for her EFL teacher participants in Japan taking "an overarching moralistic stance toward EFL

education vis-à-vis the students' personal, holistic needs". As such, these dimensions of participating teachers' identities connect their engagement with students to students' personal and future life, which transcends mere language teaching into an educational endeavour in a broader sense.

Thirdly, it should be noted that although each dimension of participants' relations with students has been discussed separately in previous findings chapters, it should not be taken to suggest those dimensions are mutually exclusive of each another. In fact, a distinct point emerging from findings is that within each case, several dimensions of their teacher identities seem to inexorably intersect with one another and in complex tension and harmony. For instance, Samuel attempted to balance the dimension of being a friend who socialized with students outside school and being a teacher with appropriate professional distance out of pedagogical need. One might argue that such a tension arises from different contexts of inside and outside classrooms, but even within classrooms hybrid dimensions of participants' teacher identities have not developed in natural harmony. Findings from George's case clearly reveal that it took him a long time to shift from being solely a lecturer to a facilitator and to integrate these two dimensions into a balanced teacher self with accumulated teaching experience.

More importantly, the cross case comparison highlighted the different ways that participants negotiate the complexity and contradictory nestled at the nexus of various dimensions of their teacher identities. One particular instance is related to juxtaposition of being an entertainer/performer with other dimensions of participating teachers' developing identities, such as being an instructor, a lecturer and a discipliner. Several previous studies on English teacher identities pointed out that English language teachers, especially within conversation classes, often take on the position of entertainer within their classes (Cho, 2012; Falout, 2013; Stanley, 2013). However, this is not always the case with participants in the present study. For example, George appeared to avoid such a position during his work at the observed university and explicitly excluded making students happy in his perceptions of self. His resistance to this dimension of being an entertainer in relating to students might be because this position was previously imposed on him by institutional context during his work at private English training schools and he had to entertain students at the expense of educating.

In contrast to George, the other three participants, Daisy, Caleb and Samuel, have incorporated, to various degrees, the dimension of entertaining into relating to students during teaching, which sets them apart from participants in Stanley's (2013) study on foreign English teachers' identities negotiation in China. Stanley's findings revealed that to her participants who were passively bent to students' pressure to be fun, an entertainer role negatively affected their teaching morale. However, such a negative impact has not emerged in Daisy, Caleb and Samuel's findings. In fact, instead of being thrust upon him by his students' needs, the position of being an entertainer appeared to be actively assumed by Caleb, as he explicitly elaborated in interviews the positive impact it had for keeping his morale and maintaining his teacher identities after having been teaching the same courses for seven years. This striking difference between Stanley's and this study's findings might be explained by the fact that being an entertainer is not necessarily a negative dimension to English teachers' sense of self. What matters might be how they entertain yet at the same time maintain academic rigor and cultivate students' language and communication skills. Instead of resorting to entertaining activities only for the sake of being fun or even at the expense of sound underlying pedagogical purposes as emerged in Stanley's findings (2013, p.126), participants who identified with the entertaining position in this current study were able to provide structured English classes with aims-driven pedagogical content and tasks that were fun and engaging at the same time. In short, cross case findings discussed here reflect the multidimensional and situated nature of participants' teacher identities construction, and highlight the need for participants to negotiate and balance conflicting dimensions of their relations with students in order to form a coherent and strengthening unity of teaching self in their own conceptions and teaching practices.

On the other hand, the development of this study's participating teachers' identities also intertwines with resisting tensions in broader institutional and societal settings, in addition to adapting to contextual factors such as students' population as discussed earlier. Teaching, indeed, is situated within a larger sociopolitical context that extends outside the classroom and challenges an individual's capacity to navigate a professional trajectory (Huang, 2014). The four cases revealed that besides their classroom communities, all four participants held multiple memberships and occupied different trajectories within different groups at their institutions as discussed in the

previous four chapters. Their relationships with colleagues and administrators either strengthened or marginalized their sense of self as English teachers, and facilitated or impeded their growth and devotion to teaching (Chen, 2009; Lu, 2005; Nones-Austria, 2011; Tsui, 2007). Several impediments from institutional practices and societal discourses to participants' exercising agency and developing their teacher identities are highlighted below.

One dominant theme emerged from the findings is the varying degrees of marginalization as a part of their professional existence which hindered the participants' gaining full access to communities of practice at department and institutional levels. As has been reviewed in the literature chapter, identity development is marked by power and status (Norton, 1997). Although in most contemporary education discourse, power sits with white native English speaking teachers who come from Western and imperialist backgrounds (Kubota & McKay, 2009; Rostron, 2014) and who are granted legitimate and privileged positions in English language teaching jobs (Breckenridge, 2010; Holliday, 2006; Medgyes, 1992; Phillipson, 1992), participants in the present study felt themselves to be quite powerless vis-à-vis local institutions. Institutional management and employment policy that excluded them from departmental curriculum design and pedagogical decisions have been found to be the two main factors that led to participants' marginalization and disempowered their views of selves as legitimate members of the English teaching professional community.

Firstly, it is revealed that employment policy influenced participants' interpretation of themselves as professional English teachers. Previous studies on expatriate English teachers have pointed out that even though they aspire for potential long-term employment with benefits such as pension plans, they are often prevented from taking permanent jobs, which makes it very hard for them to achieve the same working status and professional stability granted to local teachers (Geluso, 2013; Llurda, 2014; Simon-Maeda, 2004). Similar challenges emerged for most participants in the present study. They all worked in vulnerable employment contexts, being employed on short-term contracts with no tenure. For instance, although Daisy had survived institutional evaluation of her performance and worked at the same university for seven years, she was still on one-year employment contracts, and this negatively impacted her professional security. Hired directly by his American university, Caleb's

situation was better in that he was on a promotional track, and findings revealed that the possibility of professional upward mobility had positively shaped his developing sense of professionalism.

As for institutional management, compared with their Chinese English teaching colleagues, most participants, except for Caleb, did not have equal access to inbound trajectories in English departments of the observed universities or in the private institutions that they previously worked at, even though they were legitimate members of the community of English teachers in China. Challenges to their participation in the professional community included, but were not limited to, being excluded from English department faculty meetings and curriculum planning (Daisy, Samuel, George), as well as lack of professional review and support (Samuel, George). Part of the reasons for these structural marginalizations experienced by Daisy, Samuel and George was related to their being located at an ill-defined management spot amidst an array of departments without being systematically integrated in their respective institutions, as has been discussed in George's findings chapter. However, Caleb's case was unique with regard to the institutional management structure under which he worked. At both universities he had taught at in China, he was employed directly by University F in America to teach for joint local programs with Chinese universities. As such, he was granted more support by the English department of UF to become a participating member within the joint programs. Furthermore, the fact that he was employed by the university in America enabled him to exercise more power and defend himself against authority at the local Chinese universities, as in the case that he resisted the pedagogical demand from the administrators at the first university he worked in China, which will be revisited below.

Another prominent source of tension that some of the participants in this study faced came from institutional pedagogical requirements, which was found to be intertwined with wider societal discourse. Kubanyiova and Feryok (2015) have pointed out that the micro-perspective of language teachers' inner worlds is embedded in the larger ecologies of workplaces and global issues. One discourse emerged in this study's findings was the marketization and commercialization of education (Block, 2002; Furedi, 2011; Holborow, 2006), which orients institutions as marketers and retailers, students as consumers and customers, and academics as service providers within a "community of consumption" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p.127). TESOL researchers

(e.g. Appleby, 2013; Kubota, 2011; Menard-Warwick, 2008; Solano-Campos, 2014) have also found the prevalence of commercial priority in the English education industry in many parts of the world alongside the global diffusion of market economic modes of operation. This has partially led to administrators' commodification and impersonalization of native speaking teachers negatively impacting on their perceptions of selves as professional teachers, as was revealed in George's experience in most private language schools. More importantly, findings from this study revealed that the neoliberal discourse has put some participating teachers' autonomy at stake. Unlike Daisy and Samuel who had worked at institutions that had minimal curriculum pre-specifications, Caleb's work at his first university in China and George's work at private language schools clearly demonstrated that making profits and meeting students' demands drove those institutions' pedagogical demands and curricular decisions. These requirements threatened and potentially undermined their management of their own classroom teaching and construction of ideal teacher identities.

Despite the above discussed marginalization and tension, participants explicitly or implicitly resisted institutional constraints and societal discourse to construct identities that they personally valued, rather than just subjecting themselves to the positions ascribed to them in the local context. A key factor in identity construction is individual agency that allows people to move from a structurally deterministic view of the fashioning of individuals to understanding individuals as intentional beings (Scotland, 2014; Varghese et al., 2005). For the teachers in this study, both Caleb and George actively problematized the neoliberal discourse and exercised individual agency in transforming institutionally assigned identities. Caleb explicitly negotiated with the local department at his first university in China to reserve the right to choose his own assignments despite administrative requirement of same assignments across writing classes and remained committed to his identity as an autonomous English teacher. As for George, he attempted to make some pedagogical difference in his class according to his own perception of self as a teacher to reject the position of a performer at the profit-making English training schools. Participants' attempts to agentively negotiate their identities were also reflected in their actively seeking professional engagement and collaboration with colleagues at a personal level despite their marginalization at departmental level. For instance, Daisy, Samuel and George

had initiated collegial networking and professional exchange with Chinese and/or expatriate English teachers at their institutions, thereby initiating new forms of engagement in practice, new relations with members of the community, and new ownership of meanings (Tsui, 2007). In addition, George rationalized being marginalized in a different way and exercised his agency to attempt to participate in departmental educational planning (only at UC, not at those private English training schools). Such a difference also reflected the context dependent nature of participating teachers' identities development.

8.2.3.2 Nexus of individual and social others in institutional contexts

The relation between individual participants and others in their institutional contexts for shaping their teacher identities development is another crucial theme that emerges from the findings. According to Wenger (1998), what others in the community think and say about them or their perceptions of others' thoughts are important for the social legitimation of their identities. The results of this study exhibited that besides their own conceptions and aspirations, the perception and recognition from participants' students, colleagues and administrators also influenced their sense of selves as English teachers and identification with the profession. This aspect of the findings echoes the relational nature of the definition of teacher identities as adopted by the present study in Chapter 2, and is also supported by several previous studies (Huang, 2014; Nagatomo, 2012; Park, 2012; Trent, 2013; Tsui, 2007; Yazan, 2014) on English teacher identities.

To illustrate, for Daisy and Caleb, one aspect of social validation of their identities as English teachers came from their students. They both highlighted in interviews the feedback they received from students. Their teaching efforts were affirmed and valued by positive comments and evaluations from students, and these validations seemed to be conducive to their self-identity as professional teachers and contributing members of the English teaching community.

As for George, even though he commented that what students thought about him was not important to his self-perception as a teacher, it was clear that how he perceived he was seen by administrators at most private English training schools negatively shaped his self-image in those contexts. By contrast, at the last English training school where George worked, his fellow foreign English teachers' perception and oversight towards

each other as professional English teachers who highly valued commitment to their jobs appeared to create a sense of group agency and positively influenced George's affinity and allegiance toward the professional community. However, in Samuel's case, his own sense of professionalism suffered from not being recognized and validated by others in his working contexts. Lacking constructive evaluation and feedback from students and school administration had an evident negative impact on his teacher identities development, which, to an extent, decreased his commitment to teaching and demotivated him to continue to improve his pedagogical competence as previously discussed in the findings section. In short, these cases have collectively illustrated the importance of others in shaping the participants' identities as professional English teachers.

8.2.4 Teacher identities and emotions

The role of emotions in the construction of this study's participating teachers' identities is another salient theme that merits deep discussion in this section. Findings identify emotions as an important factor influencing identities development of the participating English language teachers, which echoes findings about teachers' identities from general education field (Clark & Groves, 2012; Flores & Day, 2006; O'Connor 2008; Zembylas, 2005). The array of emotions participants had during teaching and related experiences will be collectively examined and how those emotions impacted participants' identities formation and transformation will be discussed in the rest of this section.

It should be acknowledged, however, that participating teachers' emotions were not considered as a factor interrelated with their identities construction in the original research design of this study. Also, the participants were not explicitly interviewed to elicit their emotions during the data gathering stage in the field. As I analyzed the collected data, especially interviews, intensively for the findings of each case, I gradually became aware that they incidentally provided me with opportunities to examine the participating teachers' emotions regarding themselves and toward their professional lives during their work in China. It became apparent that the diverse emotions they felt, both positive and negative, and their teacher identities were in constant interaction, and those emotions played a significant role in the development of their identities as English teachers. Before further discussion of prominent findings

emerged from the four cases, a review of related literature in general education and English language education fields is provided first.

Emotion has been revealed to be a key dimension in teachers' lives (Zembylas & Schutz, 2009). Nias (1996) points out that since teaching is largely composed of human interaction by nature, teachers' emotional states are inevitably at the epicenter of their work. The centrality of emotions in teachers' lives has been addressed by a substantial body of literature on general education field during the past two decades (Cowie, 2011; Day & Leitch, 2001; Hargreaves, 1998; Nias, 1996; Schutz & Pekrun, 2007; Schutz & Zembylas, 2009; Sutton & Wheatley, 2003; van Veen & Lasky, 2005). Hargreaves (1998, p.835) underscores the central importance of emotions in teaching by remarking that "good teachers are not just well-oiled machines. They are emotional, passionate beings who connect with their students and all their work and their classes with pleasure, creativity, challenge and joy". Studies in the general education field also suggest that affective factors play an important role in the development of teachers' identities (Zembylas & Schutz, 2009). During their engagement with students and colleagues, teachers experience various emotions and these emotional responses inform their identities construction. Several researchers (e.g. Bullough, 2009; Dang, 2013; Meyer, 2009; Zembylas, 2003a, 2003b, 2005) have argued for the inextricable interconnection between emotion and teachers' identities development.

In English language teacher and education research fields, teacher emotions is still a relatively unexplored area, except for the few empirical studies that examined English teachers' emotions (e.g. Cowie 2011; Golombek & Doran, 2014; Mousavi 2007; Verity, 2000). Most of these studies carry a negative tone, capturing the negative aspects of participants' emotions such as hopelessness (Verity, 2000), stress (Mousavi, 2007), and uncertainty (Golombek & Doran, 2014), which to an extent confirms the claim that teaching is "an emotionally demanding and frequently stressful activity" (Hart, 2000, p.61). However, the link between participating English teachers' emotions and their identities development has not been examined explicitly. Martel and Wang (2015) stressed in their review of literature over the past decade in the field of language teacher identity that the role of language teacher emotion is understudied and undertheorized in the direction of teacher-self research.

Results in the present study suggest that, emotions inform and orient participant's teacher identities in the process of becoming. All four participants have experienced diverse emotions of various degrees as they interacted with others and responded to numerous instructional and non-instructional situations they encountered and had to manage in their teaching contexts (Benesch, 2012; Golombek & Doran, 2014; Lasky, 2005; Nias, 1996; Hargreaves, 1998, 2001; Shapiro, 2010). These emotions influenced their attitudes and feelings toward themselves as well as toward others among the multitudes of relations in institutional contexts, and led these participants to mediate and reframe their self-understanding as teachers. The spectrum of emotional responses to teaching and related experiences that participants negotiated during their identities development is discussed below.

Firstly, findings reveal empathy, excitement and pleasure, satisfaction and joy and pride, are among the positive emotions participants have had, and which have positively shaped their developing sense of selves as English teachers. One particular affective aspect emerged in participants' interpersonal dealings with students is empathy. Literature suggested that native English speaking teachers' lack of experience learning English as a second or foreign language led to their lack of emotional support for students and was a source of disadvantage for them as English teachers (Ahmed, 2004; Cheung & Braine, 2007; Kelch & Santatn-Williamson, 2002; Mahboob, 2004). However, this study revealed that all four participants have learned second or foreign languages during previous secondary schools or their living in China. Drawing on the challenges and problems they personally experienced in learning other languages, they could empathize vicariously with students' feelings in learning a foreign language. In this way, they were able to relate to students' struggles and understand the challenges they faced, which affectively enhanced their relationships with students during teaching related interactions.

In addition, joy and satisfaction emerged as common emotions that made a positive impact on participants' conceptualization about themselves as English teachers, as reflected in Daisy and Caleb's cases. Positive interactions with and evaluations from students reflected their good teaching to themselves and made them feel good about their job well done. The satisfaction they received from the psychic rewards of the teaching job (Day, 2002, Hargreaves, 1998) enabled them to establish and maintain positive self-images as English teachers and further contributed to their increased

identification with English teaching as their profession and commitment to teaching. This could be best illustrated by Daisy's case. Unlike when she initially entered English teaching in China, Daisy worked no longer solely for the financial reward but for the emotional satisfaction which was derived from teaching and in turn gave purpose to her life at the time of this study's field data gathering stage.

The findings also provide insights into negative emotions that participants experienced throughout the complex process of making sense of themselves professionally. Negative emotions apparent in the findings included professional uncertainty, anxiety, insecurity, depression and frustration. It seemed that most emotional disturbances were caused by gaps between their ideal and the real world of institutions and students, and created tensions in their teacher identities construction. For instance, Samuel entered the English teaching community in China with excitement, exuberance and passion to give his best to the learning of his students, but his increased negative emotions significantly contributed to his quitting his job. Part of his negative emotions was recurring frustration because of a juxtaposition of students' negative attitudes towards learning English and low participation in class, his department's assigned co-teacher's lack of support and administrators' limited professional feedback and guidance. He also expressed general feelings of unhappiness, especially during the observed semester, in teaching related work. These persistent negative emotions led to his reduced commitment to teaching as reflected in his last minute lesson preparation and his decision to quit his job in the English teaching field.

On the other hand, participants' evolving understandings of themselves as English teachers and the profession also guided and shaped their emotions (O'Connor 2008; Zembylas 2003). Specifically, for example, in George's case, in addition to the emotional demands that most participants experienced on a regular basis, administrators' commodification and depersonalization towards expatriate English teachers challenged his professional legitimacy and elicited his feeling of depression at his second and third private English training schools. However, his developed awareness of the imposed position as a performer during working at the second school had later moderated the effects of administrators' similar negative attitudes towards expatriate English teachers at the third schools. As a result, he was less depressed compared to when he worked at the previous private institutions. This seems to

support Lasky's (2005) view of teachers' emotions as a heightened state of being that changes as result of their reflections on past interactions with their teaching context. As for Daisy and Caleb, whose dominant emotions were more positive than Samuel's, although they did experience aspects of unpleasant emotions, their developing teacher identities to an extent enabled them to make sense of and handle negative emotional fluctuations through exercising personal agency to resolve the tensions from which those emotions arose.

8.3 Summary

This chapter has discussed the results of a comparative analysis of the four cases that have been presented in the previous four chapters in detail. To sum up, this study discovers participants' multiple and shifting ways of thinking, acting and feeling one's self as English teachers in various teaching and related institutional contexts essentially contributes to the construction of their identities as EFL teachers in China. Their teacher identities are in and of themselves abstractions for a multitude of cognitive and affective experiences negotiated in teaching and related activities within institutional and sociocultural settings.

More specifically, the development of participating teachers' identities is firstly impacted by their cognitions, which have been derived from not only their personal biography but also their learning to teach. Biographical factors that have emerged in this study's findings include former education and model teachers, previous working and professional experience, together with personal interests and racial, gender and marital backgrounds. Their understandings of themselves have been also shaped by their learning in professional education courses and programs as well as in local institutional and wider academic communities. Furthermore, participating teachers' identities have also been experientially transformed as they participate in concrete teaching activities and in related interpersonal interactions. During their teaching experience in China, they have negotiated a myriad of challenges and dilemmas from student population, set curriculum, institutional employment policies and management structure, which have continuously transformed their teacher identities. In addition,

the vast array of both positive and negative emotions that participants have in response to teaching related situations have informed and influenced participant's emerging and evolving identities as English teachers. The next chapter will conclude this study by outlining the major contributions it has made to the understanding of EFL teachers' identities and by discussing implications and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Adopting a qualitative paradigm and multiple case study approach, the present study has investigated the complex and dynamic identities development of four native English speaking EFL teachers in China. Through in-depth examination of participants' interview narration and classroom teaching practices, this study highlights that teacher identities development is a dynamic, ongoing process shaped by a vast array of cognitive, affective, experiential and contextual factors.

This final chapter will first delineate the major contributions this study makes to the current body of research on English language teacher identities from empirical, theoretical as well as methodological perspectives. Then I will explore implications the findings have for English language teacher education programs, school-based recruitment and retention of native English speaking teachers as well as EFL curriculum development. The chapter will end with a discussion of the limitations of this study and suggestions for future research that may build on the present study and lead to further advances in the field of research on language teachers' identities.

9.1 Contributions of the study

This study departs from previous studies and contributes to the research field of English language teacher identities in the following three aspects: (1) empirically, it provides valuable insights into under-explored development of native English speaking and in-service English language teachers' identities; (2) theoretically, it offers a holistic perspective with theorizing language teacher identities construction, and (3) methodologically, it combines multiple analytic frameworks for researching language teachers' identities.

9.1.1 Empirical contribution to exploring English language teachers' identities

Empirically, one great value of the present study is that it focuses on and offers valuable insights to native English speaking English language teachers' identities development. As has been discussed in Chapter Two, a significant proportion of the existing literature focused either on examining NNES English teachers' linguistic identity in relation to their teacher identity construction, or on pre-service English teachers' identities development in teacher education programs. This study, however,

has gone beyond the NES/NNES dichotomy to explore participating English teachers' complex understanding of themselves from a holistic perspective, and added to the limited research on identities development of in-service English language teachers. In this way, it contributes to the area of language teacher identities research by focussing on an important yet under-researched category of English teachers.

Findings make visible the negotiation and evolution of participating English teachers' identities over lengthy time periods and diverse institutional contexts of their teaching career trajectory, affording the investigation temporal and spatial depth and richness. More specifically, findings underscore the interplay between the individual and the social, past and present, local and global, and offer a rich and deep understanding of various struggles and challenges that the participants experience in exercising their individual agency to negotiate and construct their multidimensional teacher identities amid contextual constraints. As such, the present study highlights the complex, ongoing process of becoming, being and developing as an English teacher situated in the ELT contexts in China.

In addition, this study furthers previous researchers' investigations into the impact of language teacher education programs on teachers' identities construction. That is, different from most prior work in the literature which examined the impact while teacher trainees are still in the program or immediately after they leave the program, this study's interview and class observation data gathering was conducted long after they finished program learning. It reflected, to an extent, how teachers appropriated what they learned in those programs to establish new or alternative understandings of self as English teachers during teaching in real life contexts. Therefore, it widens the scope of previous studies on the long term influences of teacher education on English language teachers' identities development.

9.1.2 Theoretical contribution to understanding the construct of teacher identities

Theoretically, this study is the first one to date that, to the best of my knowledge, explores the construction of in-service English language teacher identities in a holistic fashion. The comprehensive perspective makes visible the cognitive, affective, contextual and experiential factors that shape the ongoing development of participants'

understandings of themselves as English language teachers, and brings these four factors together in a unified way. It should be noted that instead of being fully determined in advance, this theoretical model has emerged through the research process and been data driven. As such, it contributes to future research on language teacher identity development by providing a theoretical model that can be utilized and further tested through more empirical data from other studies in the future.

Specifically, one important contribution lies in taking the factor of teacher emotions into account, which yields a rich understanding of the diverse factors that influence the construction of English language teachers' identities. Based on a review of existing studies on English language teacher identity, I originally did not take this factor into consideration. However, as the grounded analysis of gathered data proceeds, the impact of participants' feelings, both positive and negative ones, about their teaching and related practices on the transformation of their teacher identities have become salient. Therefore, in addition to making visible how participants' biographical, learning to teach, and contextual factors dynamically impact on their teacher identity formation and transformation, the findings also highlight their emotions as an important aspect of factors influencing their evolving understandings of selves as English language teachers. In this regard, the present study's results resonate strongly with Martel and Wang's (2015) proposal of factoring emotions into theories of language teachers' identity construction for future research based on their review of literature over the past decade in the field of language teacher identity.

This study also makes a theoretical contribution to our understanding of language teacher identity by highlighting and exemplifying the complex and multidimensional nature of its construct. Shaped by vast array of cognitive, affective, contextual and experiential factors, each participating teacher has developed dimensions of nuanced self understandings in relating to their students, colleagues and administrations. Those various dimensions of their teacher identities have been revealed to be inexorably intersected with one another and in complex tension and harmony, and each participant has negotiated and transformed those dimensions in different ways during their continuous becoming and being as English language teachers in China.

9.1.3 Methodological contribution to research in teacher identities field

Methodologically, this study exemplifies the value of a multiplying analytic framework in processing triangulated data. This eclectic framework of combining Wenger (1998), Bucholtz and Hall (2005, 2010) and Richards (2006) proves to be a useful tool in exploring the intricacies involved in participating teachers' identities construction. The significance of this combination lies in their complimentary analytical focuses.

Specifically, juxtaposition of Wenger's (1998) identity formation and Bucholtz and Hall's (2010) identity in linguistic interaction for analysing participants' narrated identities in interviews offers examination of how identities are constructed in language and through ongoing negotiation of practice in the process of becoming across time and space. In addition, analysis of observational data from participants' lessons through Richards' (2006) discourse analytic approach provides a different snapshot of the participants' being English teachers, the moment-by-moment ways in which their multidimensional teacher identities get enacted in classrooms. As such, this combination has great potential for investigating language teacher identities in a broader and in-depth interpretive framework. This enables grounding their identities construction not only in researcher elicited interviews but also in their classroom practices in naturally occurring instructional contexts, a feature which differs from most previous studies in the field as reviewed in the literature section. This aspect of its contribution facilitates future studies on teacher identities by providing an analytic framework that can be utilized in other similar inquiries.

9.2 Implications

Although the present study is located in a specific set of EFL contexts in China and participants in this study might not be regarded as typical English language teachers (who major in language teaching and related fields and take up English teaching as an initial vocation), their cases should probably not be dismissed as too idiosyncratic to have implications for English teaching and teacher development. The findings speak to the transnational nature of ELT and pose larger questions about dominant paradigms and discourses in the field. Specifically, the following three aspects of implications for English teachers' career development and English education in EFL

contexts might be drawn from this study: (1) to build a professional community in support of NES teachers' professional growth by institutional administrators in China; (2) to incorporate reflection and investigation of English teachers' identities formation and transformation into curricula in language teacher education programs, and (3) to develop and select indigenous and contextually appropriate teaching materials which take into consideration EFL learner population's cultural identities and their learning needs for ELT material developers.

9.2.1 Institutional support

To begin with, findings from this study suggest that there appears to be an urgent need for increased engagement and participation of NES teachers at departmental and institutional levels in the Chinese tertiary educational context. As this study demonstrates, marginalization and limited participation often result in NSE teachers' negative sense of belonging and professional disempowerment. Institutional administrators therefore might need to become more mindful of how the development of a teacher's identities is intertwined with workplace contexts. At the same time, it might be worth exploring how they could provide marginalized expatriate English teachers with structural and emotional support to ameliorate those teachers' working experiences and empower them to become agents of change during their ongoing development as language teachers.

Firstly, it seems incumbent upon administration to make continuous efforts to establish an inclusive professional community that facilitates NES teachers' increased engagement with Chinese English teachers in a joint effort to develop students' language proficiency at a personal level, and their involvement in decision making at department level. For instance, regular pedagogical faculty meetings would probably create professional development opportunities for open exchange and suggestion making, instead of just administrative meetings as in Caleb's case or no meetings at all in the other three participants' cases. In this way, NES teachers' professional legitimacy might be claimed and asserted, and they could perceive themselves as an integral part of the English educational arena and improve their sense of belonging.

Secondly, findings draw attention to the importance of strengthening institutional support and retention systems for NES teachers. Rather than just assigning set

textbooks, departmental administrators may provide teachers with clear pedagogical aims yet at the same time allow teachers' freedom and creativity in designing their own syllabus. Considering that some expatriate teachers might lack extensive prior English teaching experience, they would benefit from being paired up with more experienced, certified expatriate or local Chinese English teachers, thereby creating a mentor-mentee relationship and a professional in-service learning opportunity. At the same time, NES teachers' emotions during work should not be ignored or downplayed. Administrators should probably offer teachers more space and opportunity to vocalize their complex emotional responses to various interactions they experience during work. In this way, NES teachers would benefit from these opportunities to acknowledge their emotions in a nurturing and respectful environment, to reflect and possibly attempt to reconcile their negative emotions and their developing teaching selves. Furthermore, explicit evaluation and feedback initiated by departments might also be conducive to assisting teachers' personal reflection of their teaching and professional growth. Roles of the evaluator should not be limited to that of an occasional visitor who sits in the back of the classroom and makes few or no comments, as in Samuel's case. Evaluator's constructive feedback would be the key for building a shared vision of teaching and a supportive environment that promotes problem solving and supports NES teachers' developing perceptions of self as professional English teachers. In addition, reasonably extended employment contracts might positively impact on NES teachers' professional sense of security. Given the complicated policy of employing NES teachers in Chinese universities and interdepartmental administration, as elaborated by this study's participants, these suggestions might be more ideal than practical. Nevertheless, these options would significantly reduce expatriate teachers' sense of marginalization, increase their positive self-identity as an English teacher, and assist their professional development in the long run.

9.2.2 English language teacher education

For English language teacher education programs, it seems that a teacher-centred curriculum which is sensitive to the preconception and aspiration that NES teachers bring to English language education is needed, and an explicit topic on investigating teachers' identities may be worth incorporated into a related syllabus. Language

teacher education programs have seen considerable improvements over past decades reflecting an overall expansion of applied linguistic research. However, recent studies have revealed that the transmissive model of education continues to predominate in many training programs (Velez-Rendon, 2010; Wright, 2010), and related courses remain overly preoccupied with linguistic descriptions of English language and methodological principles associated with the communicative approach of teaching (Stanley, 2013). It appears that those programs are still guided by, what Freeman (2016, p.163-169) described as, the first and second generations of ideas about language teaching knowledge with the focus on what and how to teach. In contrast, based on this research's findings, this study concurs with the driving premise in the seminal third generation of knowledge focus on who and where for educating language teachers – that knowledge is situated in the person of the teacher doing the work in the place of the classroom and school (Freeman, 2016, p.175). The rest of this section proposes how language teacher education programs can possibly be framed in terms of the development of teacher identities in addition to acquisition of skills and techniques through combining reflexive and imaginative perspectives as will be discussed in detail below.

On one hand, as this study and many previous researches (e.g. Duff & Uchida, 1997; Nagatomo, 2012; Park, 2012; Simon-Maeda, 2004; Solano-Campos, 2014) on English language teacher identities have revealed, teachers do not enter teacher preparation courses *tabula rasa*. Indeed, they often bring a tremendous amount of personal educational and professional backgrounds which influence their construction of teacher selves. Teacher educators would benefit from recognising the diversity, complexity and richness of experience that teachers bring and treating teachers as active-thinking participants. In other words, teachers should not only be provided with ready-made and universal identity options based on theories, but also be given safe spaces and ongoing opportunities to actively reflect on and exploit the experiences and perspectives that they have brought from their varied backgrounds into the English teaching profession as well as to examine and externalize their preconceptions and aspirations about English teaching and their visions of a good teacher that lie beneath their identities as English teachers. In this way, they would have the opportunity to validate their past experiences and enrich their integration

with research based theories to build their future selves as English teachers in positive ways.

One possible helpful reflective writing activity for English teachers to learn about oneself is the “Tree of Life” advocated by Farrell (2015, p.43). Through this practice, teachers can map out their personal history from family values, ethnicity, religion and socioeconomic backgrounds in early years to later educational experiences that lead to their developing individual’s perspectives on teachers and shape one’s teaching selves. This writing task can probably be complemented with narrative frames (Barkuizen & Wette, 2008) to provide guidance on the structure of what is to be written. Figure 9.1 below provides just one sample narrative frame template for trainee teachers’ writing about the impact of their former teachers on their identities construction as English teachers. Similar narrative frame templates can be designed to assist teachers to reflect on various aspects of their own lives. Through this writing activity, teacher educators can embrace what teachers bring to their programs and utilize those experiences as resources to cultivate viable identities in a way that will serve their professional development. This would also provide opportunity for trainee teachers to discuss and draw from each other’s experiences.

Figure 9.1 Sample narrative frames template for reflective writing task (adapted from Barkuizen & Wette, 2008)

Instructions:

- (1) Read the whole page BEFORE starting to write.
- (2) Write a coherent narrative; i.e. link each idea to the next like you would in a story.

Sentence starters:

1. When I think about my own schooling experience, I realise that the most memorable teacher I have ever had was ...
2. This is because ...
3. On the basis of this experience, the type of English teacher I’d like to be in relating to my students in the future would ...
4. The aim of establishing this kind of relation would be to ...
5. One possible way to achieve this relation would ...
6. It would also be good to ...
7. A major constraint, though, might be that ...
8. I’m not sure what to do about this. But one possibility might be for me to ...

On the other hand, this study argues for explicit inclusion of teacher-identities topics in the syllabus of English teacher education programs, which echoes similar calls

made in previous researches on English teachers' identities (e.g. Menard-Warwick, 2008; Zacharias, 2010). Teachers could probably benefit from being cognizant of the multiple and multidimensional nature of identities and cognitive and affective factors involved in identities construction as revealed in this study. Such awareness might empower teachers to think and act critically regarding their relationships with students, colleagues and administrators and provide them with an introduction to the professional complexity in ELT field. This could be achieved by teacher educators' strategic utilization of reading activity of a variety of teacher narratives in related research studies and of open discussion. At the same time, it seems important for programs to facilitate teachers' understanding of the evolving and situated nature of identities. As Beauchamp and Thomas (2009, p.186) point out in their review of teacher identity research in general education field, teacher education programs represent "the ideal starting point for instilling not only an awareness of the need to develop an identity, but also a strong sense of the ongoing shifts that will occur in that identity". Teacher educators could also work to engage trainee teachers in activities which allow for their imaging future work place scenarios and identifying potential challenging factors, such as the needs and cultural background of students, in realizing their ideal selves as English language teachers. In addition, it might be worth exploring how trainee teachers could be provided with possible ways to negotiate their teacher identities with pedagogies that are responsive to those potential challenges, such as how to create non-threatening classroom environments in which students feel safe and motivated to participate in learning. Even though there is no way to entirely predict precisely what specific transformation will take in the future, teachers could benefit from visualizing their future identities to minimize the gap between what the program authoritative discourse provides and what they will actually encounter in specific teaching contexts, and leave teacher education programs with confidence and vision.

9.2.3 ELT material development

Last but not least, the four participating teachers in this study have demonstrated a possibility of drawing, although to various degrees, on their students' linguistic and cultural identities in implementing their culturally responsive teaching in local settings, from which implications for English teaching material development could be

drawn. Researchers (Canagarajah, 1999; Luk & Lin, 2007) have pointed out that ELT publishers may find it convenient and economically advantageous or as the selling point in terms of material authenticity to produce textbooks which contain situations and cultural content unfamiliar to teachers and students in EFL settings. This problem has also emerged in this study's findings. It could be suggested, therefore, that instead of focussing primarily on linguistic and cultural familiarization of EFL students to English, material developers and selectors should be aware of target learners' cultural backgrounds and learning needs and support EFL teachers with wider variety of contextually appropriate and culturally accessible teaching resources. This is not to suggest that target language culture should not be introduced. Rather, they should also take the real lives of students into consideration and make materials relevant to the realities of international ELT enterprise and to local contexts and practices. With more culturally sensitive teaching materials, English teachers could probably be better equipped to teach from an acculturation perspective that enables learners to comprehend, appreciate and reflect upon target language culture while retaining and building upon their existing languages and cultures, instead of from an assimilation perspective that devalues the linguistic and cultural resources that learners bring into language classrooms (Jain, 2014; Menard-Warwick, 2014).

9.3 Limitations of the study

This study has been conducted with the purpose of obtaining an in-depth and contextualized understanding of native English speaking teachers' identities construction. While efforts have been made to achieve this purpose, there are still limitations in terms of methodological design and implementation, as with most empirical investigations. The first limitation is related to common critiques on the lack of generalizability of case study approach. In order to get as full a picture as possible of participants' experience, this study involved only very few participants. Therefore, the findings cannot necessarily be generalized to other NES teachers' identities development, and even less possibly to English language teachers with various sociocultural backgrounds who teach in diverse educational contexts.

Another limitation may be found in the recruitment of participants. Only selected individuals who volunteered for the study and who met the criteria as discussed in Chapter Three were included in this study. These volunteers who wanted to have their

voices heard might present experiences different from those who were not willing to participate. In fact, I acknowledge the uniqueness of each English language teacher's professional journey, and I do not intend to make sweeping generalizations about NES teachers, nor to essentialize their diverse experiences. Previous researchers have pointed out that poststructural research's conclusions will inevitably be situated and partial (Norton & Toohey, 2011). In other words, the results of investigations should be viewed as a limited portrait of interpretative rather than representative nature. In line with the tradition of qualitative research, I instead aim for transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) – to allow the findings to resonate with other contexts with which readers may be familiar and to leave largely to them the task of determining to what extent, if any, the findings may also be illuminative elsewhere.

An additional shortcoming of this study lies in the relatively short duration of visit to each participant's workplace. Due to logistics limitation including time and access, I could only visit each participant's institution once per week during class time within one-semester's period after the semester had commenced for two weeks, which was discussed in Chapter Three. It is acknowledged that such limited visits inevitably narrowed the depth and breadth of the gathered data. Observing other settings rather than just classrooms, such as different courses taught by a same teacher (for Samuel and George who taught short term certificate English courses), and extracurricular activities where teachers interact with students in social spaces (such as English saloons in George's case and online chats in Daisy's case), as well as teachers' offices (for Caleb who shared office with other English teachers), could have made visible participants' enacted identities in relating to colleagues and administrators. While the classroom constitutes a major space of their identities enactment, engagements with students in outside curricular settings and with colleagues and other members in professional communities could probably provide valuable insight into the analyses and produce more comprehensive research findings and deepened understanding of participating teachers' identities development across their professional landscapes.

9.4 Suggestions for future research

Findings from this study contribute to the emerging research field of language teacher identities, and yield suggestions for future studies in this field. Four aspects for extending the current research agenda in TESOL field are discussed below, including

constructing rich portraits of language teachers' identities development in a wide range of educational and sociocultural contexts, generating broadened data sources, replicating the present research with longitudinal studies, and approaching teacher identities construction from a holistic perspective. It is hoped that these directions serve as a starting point and invitation for more researchers to conduct related studies in order to deepen our understanding of language teachers' identities construction and assist their professional development.

Firstly, future studies can possibly recruit a variety of research participants, in order to better understand the complexity and multiplicity of language teacher's identities construction. It may be worth including EFL teachers who work at different institutional levels such as primary and secondary schools and who mainly teach other curricular areas of English courses such as reading and listening. Even at tertiary level, teachers with various personal background and professional experience in diverse professional settings can be recruited. The four participants in the present study are all, though to various degrees, experienced native English speaking teachers working at universities in China. Another way that future research could expand is to conduct comparative studies on English teachers' identities. It would be interesting to compare native with non-native English speaking teachers as participants, or to compare teachers with similar personal and professional background yet working respectively in English as a foreign language and English speaking countries, to name just a few possibilities. Through these potential studies, the day-to-day realities of different English teachers' identities development in various educational and sociocultural contexts can be made visible and accessible, and deeper globalized understanding of TESOL teachers' professional growth can be achieved.

It may also be worthwhile to broaden future studies' data sources. The present study mainly relied on self-reported and observed data of participating teachers to investigate their identities development. Future research would consider the possibility of obtaining interview data from participants' colleagues and administrators, who, as the findings of this study reveals, are important social actors in shaping teachers' understandings of themselves. It would also be valuable to include students' perspectives and evaluations on participating teachers, which may shed light on the connection between language teachers' identities and their students' language learning outcomes (Martel & Wang, 2015). Rather than focusing exclusively

on the perspectives of participating teachers, these various sources of data can probably be triangulated with participants' own understanding of themselves so as to reveal more deeply the transformation of their teacher identities.

In addition, future research might replicate the present study with a prolonged and diversified stay in the research field, as pointed out in the previous section. The field of English language teacher identities could benefit from more longitudinal studies. A longer stay would allow the researcher to gain a better understanding of local contexts and also allow the participants to become accustomed to the presence of the researcher. Visits to various settings at one research site may be of particular value. Expanding the time frame of data collection would also be advisable. Longitudinal observations documenting possible changes of teachers' enacted identities in the beginning phase to more experienced phases of teaching are also extremely valuable in helping us understand more fully the development of English teacher identities.

One final suggestion for future studies is related to research focus. This study has taken one, but only a small step in shedding light on the interrelatedness between English teachers' developing sense of selves and their emotions. The results demonstrate that understanding their identities construction should go beyond the cognitive and tap into the affective realm, which provides a previously neglected yet important direction for further investigation on language teachers' identities development. More importantly, as the findings demonstrate, teacher identities development is a complex process shaped by a myriad of factors. Future researchers in the field would be best served by accepting this complexity in their work. This signals a need to move beyond making English teachers' nativeness or lack thereof as the main focal point in future investigations of English teacher identities. Even though non-native English speaking teachers' linguistic identity has been revealed by a significant amount of previous studies to be closely related to their developing teacher identities as legitimate TESOL professionals, future studies would benefit from being more open to other factors that profoundly influence teachers' understanding of who they are as English language teachers. As for the participants in this study, although they enjoyed native English speaker status and one of them explicitly drew on such a position in constructing his sense of self as an English teacher, they all struggled in many ways to develop their teacher identities in the contexts where they work. Therefore, I argue for approaching teacher identities in the TESOL field from a

holistic perspective, and this perspective will shift our attention away from the essentializing dichotomies between native and non-native English speaking teachers. The hope is that researching English teachers' identities can provide a framework for better understanding ESL/EFL teachers on a personal level, their teaching on a practical level, their development on a professional level, and ultimately contribute to English language learners' learning experience around the globe.

Appendices

Appendix B: Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Your name: _____

Your affiliation: _____

Your email address: _____

Please answer the following questions.

1. Pseudonym you prefer to be used in the study: _____
2. Gender: Male ____ Female ____
3. Age: under 20 ____ 20-30 ____ 30-40 ____ 40-50 ____ above 50 ____
4. Country of origin: _____
5. First language: _____

Do you consider yourself as a native speaker of English?

Yes __ No __

6. Have you learned any language other than English?

Yes__ No__

If YES, please list the name of the language(s) and your level of proficiency:

7. Do you hold any post-secondary degree(s) or diploma(s)?

Yes__ No__

If YES, please fill in the following table:

Name of degree/diploma	Specialization	Time it was conferred	Place it was conferred

8. Before you came to teach English in China, did you have any experience of teaching English as a second or as a foreign language?

Yes ___ No ___

If YES,

a) how many years of English teaching experience did you have? ___ years

b) in what context did you teach English?

Primary ___ Secondary ___ Post-secondary ___

c) in what type of institution did you teach?

Government institution ___ Non-Government institution ___

d) in which countries did you teach? Please list the names of the countries

9. Have you taught English in any other place in China, before you start to teach in this university?

Yes ___ No ___

If YES, please list the names of the place and the length of your teaching

10. For your current teaching post,

a) how long have you been teaching in this university? _____

b) what courses have you taught in this university?

Many thanks for your time and cooperation!

Appendix C: Interview Guide

Narrative interviews guide

First narrative interview guide

Personal backgrounds

Tell me a little bit about yourself (e.g. where were you born? Does your name mean anything significant? What do like as a hobby?)

Tell me about a memorable experience from your childhood

Who were your role models when you grew up

Tell me about some meaningful memories or experience with your family members

Learning experience in the home country

How is a teacher seen by others in your home country

Tell me about a course assignment that is very memorable to you

Can you think for a moment about the most influential teacher you ever had and tell me about him or her

Tell me about some memorable language learning experience of yours

Pre-service training experience

Tell me about an experience in your pre-service teacher education program that is very important or meaningful to you

Tell me about your practicum/student teaching experiences

Do you think you have changed as a result of attending teacher education program? In what ways

Teaching experiences prior to coming to China

Tell me about how you came to be an English language teacher

What sort of a teacher did you want to be before you started to teach for the first time

Tell me about some memorable language classes you have taught before your came to China

Second narrative interview guide

Tell me about when and how you first decided to move to China

Tell me about some of your memorable experiences since you arrived in China

General teaching experience in China

What were your first impressions of the Chinese classroom

Tell me about some memorable language classes you have taught in China so far
What kind of a teacher are you? How do you describe yourself as an English teacher in China

Tell me whether you see yourself differently as an English teacher now compared to when you were teaching in your home country or other foreign countries? If yes, in what ways

Teaching experience in the current institution

Tell me about your [the course which the participant is teaching during the observed semester]

How do you believe teaching assignments are determined in your department and why do you think you were assigned to teach this course

What are your perceptions about this university in which you are teaching now

Relationships within the institution

Tell me some stories about the relationship between you and your students

What do you think are your students' perception of you as their English teacher

How do you think other teachers and administrators in your school view you as an English teacher

How different are the expectations of the Chinese academic culture compared to your home country

Living experience and socialcultural status

How would you compare the life in China to the previous experiences of yours in your home country or other foreign countries

How do you make friends and socialize while living in China? Is it similar to what you would do back home

Other than being a teacher, what other roles do you have in your family, community, church? How do you manage these various roles

What does "being a native speaker of English" mean to you in China

Third narrative interview guide

Tell me about some of your memorable experiences in the classroom as well as within the wider society during this academic semester

How do you see your professional career progressing over the next three years

What kind of a teacher do you hope to be in the next five years

Other questions emerged during entire data gathering process which need elaboration and clarification

Post lesson interviews guide

How did your day go?

Tell me about the best thing that happened to you today

Tell me some stories happened between you and your colleagues or other administrative staffs today

What would you say the aim of this lesson was?

How did you see yourself today in the class?

Why did you choose to use [certain observed activity or interaction]?

What kind of a teacher did you try to be in this class, through what instructional practices?

Are you satisfied with how your students are learning in your class today? How so?

Is there something you would like to change in your class if you were teaching it again?

Appendix D: Observation Guide

Classroom observation guide

Observed teacher:

Classroom number:

Date:

Period of the Day:

Course name:

Level:

Number of students:

Length of class:

Classroom physical layout

- blackboard display
- layout of furniture and equipment such as podium and projector
- arrangement of student seating
- proximity to other classrooms

Log of class activities

I will use this form to record the flow of the lesson. The middle column describes the course content and teaching activities adopted, the left hand column indicates major shifts by recording the approximate time, and the right hand column records the impressions, hunches, and questions I have while observing the lesson.

Time	Description of activities	Observer's reflective notes

Besides noting the general flow of the lesson, I will pay attention to the teacher's behaviour including, but not limited to, the following aspects

- movement around classroom
- teaching practice
- interest in students
- interaction with students

Appendix E: Participant Information Sheet for Teachers

Department of Applied
Language Studies and Linguistics
Arts 1
Building 206
14a Symonds Street, Level 4
Telephone 64 9 3737599

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (For Teachers)

Project title: Exploring the lives of native English-speaking teachers in an English as a foreign language context

Name of Researcher: Beidi Li

My name is Beidi Li and I am a student in the Department of Applied Language Studies and Linguistics at the University of Auckland, studying for Doctor of Philosophy degree in Language Teaching and Learning.

I am now conducting a study on the professional development of native English speaking teachers who teach English as a foreign language to tertiary level Chinese students, and I will write my doctoral thesis on this topic. I know that you are a native speaker of English, and are currently teaching English as a foreign language to tertiary level Chinese students. So I would like to invite you to participate in this research project, to share your lived experiences in the state educational system in China, how you perceive yourself as an English teacher and how you enact your profession in this setting.

If you agree to take part in the project, you will be involved in a longitudinal study which will last for about six months and include filling a questionnaire, three interviews and weekly non-participating classroom observations and post-observation brief interviews. First, I would like you to fill in a written questionnaire which will take about 15 minutes. This aims at obtaining some basic background information, like education and teaching experience. You can choose a pseudonym to fill in the questionnaire and the pseudonym will be used in the final research report and any future publication. The second step will involve two in-depth narrative life history interviews between you and me. This will take place in a quiet comfortable setting subject to your availability and convenience. In the first interview, I will ask you some preliminary questions about participant's early personal and professional experience, and it will take about one hour. I will inform you that all the interviews will be audio recorded, and you may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time during the interview. About one week after the first interview, I will email you the interview

transcripts transcribed by me for you to review. Then I will invite you to a second interview which will take less than one hour. This session will start with the previous talks and proceed to freer and more detailed conversation about your experience while teaching in China. This will also enable me to clarify any possible misinterpretation of the previous interview, and also to share my understanding of your personal and professional experience. The third phase will involve non-participating classroom observations of your instructional practice and post-observation brief interviews. This observation will be conducted once a week throughout one academic semester by me in your language class. I will discuss with you before the observation about which sessions of your classes you are willing to give me access to and let me make an audio recording of your classroom instructions. Recordings will be made only with your agreement and, even if you agree to being recorded, you may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time during the class. If you don't wish to be recorded at all, I will make detailed written field notes on what you say and do in the class. I will also discuss with you whether you are willing to give me access to review your instructional materials, such as your syllabi and textbooks. Finally, at the end of the semester, I will invite you to a third interview similar to the first two ones. This interview aims at reviewing your lived experience during the past half a year and better understanding how your perceptions of yourself as an English teacher and your instructional practices might have changed. Furthermore, upon your request, I will be willing to share summary of my study's final results with you.

All data gathered from the questionnaire and interviews, including recordings, transcripts or written notes, will be entered into the computer and be accessible only to myself and supervisor. The data will initially be stored on my personal computer which is password protected, with written notes and backup files stored in flash disks being kept in a locked cabinet on University premises. The data will be stored for a period of six years for the writing of the thesis and for potential peer reviewed publication. All electronic files will be deleted and written materials shredded after six years.

Your agreement to participate in this research is entirely voluntary. The Head of Department gives assurance that your participation or non-participation will in no way affect your employment status, nor your relationship with the department. Your privacy will be highly respected by using pseudonyms throughout the research process as well as in the final research report and any future publication. You may withdraw from the research at any time or withdraw information provided by you at any time before August 20th, 2012, without giving any reason for your withdrawal.

Thank you very much for your time and consideration. I would greatly appreciate your kind help. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at:

Name: Beidi Li
Email: bli065@aucklanduni.ac.nz
Phone: 0064 21 105 3937

Supervisor
Dr. Tan Bee Tin
Department of Applied Language Studies and
Linguistics (DALSL)

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Phone number: 008613555804916

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone: 09 373-7599 extn. 87830/83761 Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 20/04/2012 FOR (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 8056.

Appendix F: Consent Form for Teachers

Department of Applied Language
Studies and Linguistics
Arts 1
Building 206
14a Symonds Street, Level 4
Telephone 64 9 3737599

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

CONSENT FORM

(For Teachers)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: Exploring the lives of native English-speaking teachers in an English as a foreign language context

Name of Researcher: Beidi Li

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, have understood an explanation of the research project and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that the Head of Department gives assurance that my participation or non-participation will not affect my employment status, nor my relationship with the department in any way.
- I understand that I will fill in a background information questionnaire which will take about 15 minutes; participate in three life history interviews, each taking about 1 hour; provide access to non-participating observation of my classroom to the researcher for a period of one academic semester; and participate in weekly post-observation interviews, each taking about 20 minutes.
- I understand that interviews will be audio recorded and I may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time.
- I understand that all interviews will be transcribed by the researcher and I will be offered opportunity to review the transcripts of the interviews.
- I understand that I can decide about which sessions of my classes I am willing to give access to non-participating observation to the researcher.

- I understand that I can decide whether or not my classroom instructions will be audio recorded and, even if I agree to being recorded, I may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time.
- I agree to provide access to my instructional materials, including my syllabi, textbooks, and the curriculum set by my department to the researcher for the purposes of the research project.
- I understand that the researcher will not use my real name in the final research report nor any future publication.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation and to withdraw any data traceable to me, without giving a reason, at any time until 20 August 2012.
- I wish / do not wish to receive the summary of research final findings.
- I understand that any recording, transcription or notes based on the interviews, questionnaires and classroom observations will be kept secure for six years, after which they will be destroyed.

Name _____

Signature _____ Date _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 20/04/2012 FOR (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 8056.

Appendix G: Participant Information Sheet for Head of Department

Department of Applied Language Studies and Linguistics
Arts 1
Building 206
14a Symonds Street, Level 4
Telephone 64 9 3737599

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

(For Head of Department)

Project title: Exploring the lives of native English-speaking teachers in an English as a foreign language context

Name of Researcher: Beidi Li

My name is Beidi Li and I am a student in the Department of Applied Language Studies and Linguistics at the University of Auckland, studying for Doctor of Philosophy degree in Language Teaching and Learning.

I am now conducting a study on the professional development of native English speaking (NES) teachers who teach English as a foreign language (EFL) to tertiary level Chinese students, and I will write my doctoral thesis on this topic. The study will, through initial approach to potential participants made by advertisements posted on notice boards, on a voluntary base invite eight teachers who are native speakers of English, and are currently working as EFL teachers in your department. The purpose of this project is to better understand lived experiences of NES teachers in the state educational system in China and their construction and negotiation of identities as English teachers.

The participants will be involved in a longitudinal study which will last for about six months and include filling a questionnaire, three interviews and weekly non-participating classroom observations and post-observation brief interviews. First, participants will be invited to fill in a written questionnaire which will take about 15 minutes. This aims at obtaining some basic background information, like education and teaching experience. Each participant can choose a pseudonym to fill in the questionnaire and the pseudonym will be used in the final research report and any future publication. The second step will involve two in-depth narrative life history interviews between each participant and me at the beginning of this study. This will take place in a quiet comfortable setting subject to participant's availability and convenience. In the first interview, I will ask some preliminary questions about participant's early personal and professional experience, and it will take about one hour. I will inform each participant that all the interviews will be audio recorded, and

he/she may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time during the interview. About one week after the first interview, I will email each participant his/her interview transcripts transcribed by me for them to review. Then I will invite each participant to a second interview which will take less than one hour. This session will start with the previous talks and proceed to freer and more detailed conversation about their experience while teaching in China. This will also enable me to clarify any possible misinterpretation of the previous interview, and also to share my understanding of their personal and professional experience. The third phase will involve non-participating classroom observations of each participating teacher's instructional practice and post-observation brief interviews. The observations and post-observation interviews will be conducted once a week throughout one academic semester by me for each participating teacher's class. I will discuss with each participant before the observation about which sessions of his/her classes he/she is willing to give me access to and let me make an audio recording of his/her classroom instructions. Recordings will be made only with his/her agreement and, even if the participant agrees to being recorded, he/she may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time during the class. If the participant doesn't wish to be recorded at all, I will make detailed written field notes on what he/she says and does in the class. I will also discuss with each participant whether he/she is willing to give me access to review his/her instructional materials, such as their syllabi and textbooks. Finally, at the end of the semester, I will invite each participant to a third interview similar to the first two ones. This interview aims at reviewing their lived experience during the past half a year and better understanding how their perceptions of themselves as English teachers and their instructional practices might have changed. Furthermore, upon participant's request, I will be willing to share summary of my study's final results with them.

All data gathered from the questionnaires, interviews and classroom observations, including recordings, transcripts or written notes, will be entered into the computer and be accessible only to myself and supervisor. The data will initially be stored on my personal computer which is password protected, with written notes and backup files stored in flash disks being kept in a locked cabinet on University premises. The data will be stored for a period of six years for the writing of the thesis and for potential peer reviewed publication. All electronic files will be deleted and written materials shredded after six years.

Your agreement to this research being carried out at your department is entirely voluntary. Similarly, the teachers' participation or non-participation is entirely voluntary, and I would like to ask for your assurance that the decisions of the teachers to participate or not will in no way affect their employment status, nor their relationship with the department. The participants' privacy will be highly respected by using pseudonyms throughout the research process as well as in the final research report and any future publication. You may withdraw your agreement for the study at any time before August 15th, 2012, without giving any reason for your withdrawal.

Thank you very much for your time and consideration. I would greatly appreciate your kind help. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at:

Name: Beidi Li
Email: bli065@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Phone: 0064 21 105 3937

Supervisor

Dr. Tan Bee Tin

Department of Applied Language Studies and
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Head of Department

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Name: Beidi Li

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Phone number: 008613555804916

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone: 09 3737599 extn. 87830/83761 Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 20/04/2012 FOR (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 8056.

Appendix H: Consent Form for Head of Department

Department of Applied Language Studies and
Linguistics
Arts 1
Building 206
14a Symonds Street, Level 4
Telephone 64 9 3737599

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

CONSENT FORM

(For Head of Department)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: Exploring the lives of native English-speaking teachers in an English as a foreign language context

Name of Researcher: Beidi Li

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, have understood an explanation of the research project and why teachers in my department have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to provide access to teachers, language classrooms, and instructional materials, including teachers' syllabi, textbooks, and the curriculum set by my department for the purposes of the research project.
- I agree that the researcher can invite current native English speaking teachers working at my department to participate in the study, and their participation is voluntary.
- I give assurance that the decisions of the teachers to participate or not will not affect their employment status, nor their relationship with the department in any way.
- I understand that each participant will fill in a background information questionnaire which will take 15 minutes; participate in three interviews, each taking about 1 hour, as well as weekly post-observation interviews; and give access to weekly non-participating observations of his/her classroom to the researcher for a period of one academic semester.
- I understand that interviews will be audio recorded and during interviews teachers can ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time.

- I understand that all interviews will be transcribed by the researcher and each participant will be offered opportunity to review the transcripts of his/her interviews.
- I understand that teachers can decide about which sessions of his/her classes he/she is willing to give access to non-participating observation to the researcher; whether or not the classroom instructions will be audio recorded and, if they are, can ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time.
- I understand that the researcher will not use any real name in the final research report nor any future publication.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw my agreement for the study, without giving a reason, at any time until 15 August 2012.
- I understand that any recording, transcription or notes based on the interviews, questionnaires and classroom observations will be kept secure for six years, after which they will be destroyed.

Name _____

Signature _____ Date _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 20/04/2012 FOR (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 8056.

Appendix I: Transcription Conventions -- adapted from Richards (2003)

Transcription Conventions

Transcription Symbols	Meaning/Description
,	Continuing contour
.	Falling intonation contour
!	Exclamatory utterance
?	Questioning intonation
(0.0)	Approximate length of pause in seconds
[]	Overlapping utterance
[[Speakers start at same time
:	Sound stretching
bold	Speaker's emphasis
(xxx)	Speech hard to discern
(...)	Omitted talk
<i>(italics)</i>	Researcher's notes, such as nonverbal actions
((word))	Translation
T	Teacher
S	Student
Ss	Multiple students

Appendix J: Sample extract of an annotated narrative interview transcript

(From the second interview with Caleb on 2012-11-13, I stands for interviewee, B stands for Beidi)

Turn	Narrative data	Open coding
1	*B: okay, how about we move on to talk about your teaching here at this University? So you moved to (city S) in this, July?	
2	*I: uh, August.	
3	*B: ah, August.	
4	*I: August 23 or 24, I flew in from America with a group of other of the Americans here. We just got, the school sent a bus to the airport, took us to the dorm, gave us a key, and here we go so, and a lot of learning, you know, how things work around here, I get from my colleagues who have been here, she has been here two years, she has been here for five years, four years, one year, six years (<i>pointing at different working stations in his office</i>), eight years, something like that, so they are all very helpful, coworkers. As for uh like how do I get classroom change or how, you know, who would I talk to about whatever, so that worked out pretty well, and moving here was okay, (city S) is quite different from (city Z).	School administration's assist in settling down Colleagues' support in orientation Receiving useful work information from coworkers Smooth transition in work
5	*B: in what ways?	
6	*I: just the transportation here is different, the weather is colder, I can't find the same food here, kind of depressed about the food, there was really good food outside that school, and I've found a couple of places here but, actually I knew more people down there too, I don't really know anybody here, I know the coworkers, but after they are finished they phew, they go, so (2.0) I can do things, and I found a grocery store, I buy, I cook, I think I told you about that, you know, so it is different, you know academically the students are pretty much the same, I think they have either, some students have much stronger backgrounds, their English is much, much better than some of the other students at (city Z) you know, but overall it's kind of the same, and the only thing different is the classrooms have desks that move, that's the thing I don't like, in (city Z) they had those long desks that are in the floor, so they, when they move, here it makes so much noise, that's hassle, just makes my ears hurt, touteng ((headache)), so, yeah, and the computer facilities at (city	Problem with living in city S Weather Food Limited personal interaction with coworkers Similarity and difference between students at UA and UZ Difference in teaching facility between UA and UZ Problematic desks

	Z) were better than here, they need to update the software at this school, it's really, they're using Internet Explorer five or something like that, it just doesn't work, but other than that you know, overall, I think the students down there in (city Z) were nicer, more uh, friendly. Here, they just kind of come to class, then they go, a little bit cold.	and outdated computers at UA Colder students in UA than UZ
7	*B: what about the situation in (city Z)?	
8	*I: they would come to class, and then after class they would want to talk, many would just want to stop and stay after class and still talk.	Interaction with students at UZ-after class talk
9	*B: about?	
10	*I: anything, you know. So they would just like, oh, so did you try zongzi, I'm like no, what's that, then they would, some would go and get me a zongzi, stuff like that, here they just kind of, okay go, which is fine to me, actually I prefer it, yeah.	Preferred type of interaction with students
11	*B: Why?	
12	*I: because I don't wanna, you know, if it's not a question about the class, it's not something they need to know from me, you know, it's just, if it's a question about the homework or the assignment, I'm happy to answer it, I don't, I don't really need to eat zongzi, it's an interesting thing but I don't need, if I want to find out about it, I can go find it myself, yeah, but, and then here, I like how this, this facility has the office and the same building has the classes. We didn't have offices in (city Z), so that's, and that's I think another reason why the students wanted to stay after class and talk, because there is no office to come, visit, and I would always talk with students about, what they want, answer their questions after class, there was just no office, so the class would be over and then, you know, out of 25, 20 would go, five would stay and have a question about something, and I just stayed there in the classroom because I couldn't like oh, meet me in the office, I couldn't do that.	Differentiating between teaching related and casual interaction with students Strengths of UA's facility Interpreting possible reason for students' after class talk at UZ
13	*B: did you meet any students at your office here?	
14	*I: ya, sometimes, yeah, one student who's getting a really low score in the beginning made several appointments and took that score from like a low, low C, almost a D to a high B, well	Assisting students individually with course work during office time
15	*B: how [[did	
16	*I: [[well, they would take the questions here, sometimes I think students are a little shy, they don't want to ask questions in class because they don't want their classmates	Understanding of possible reason why students do

	to think they are, they didn't understand something, so when they come here and, I don't know how to do this, and this, you know, much more clear, I'll just okay, this is what you need to do, this is good, this needs to work and so that more focused attention helps some students, but, the majority of the students here don't really have those questions, and their grades shows that, have like six students failed the class, five or six.	not want to ask questions in class Benefit of individualized attention to students' problems
17	*B: you mean of all the four classes together?	
18	*I: (<i>nodding</i>) of 96, I think, 91 passed, of 97, or 92, will be in my class next semester, uh, I think, there are some students whose English skills before college were not anywhere acceptable, they couldn't understand anything, so, yeah, and so I just, you know, when I give the homework or whatever the just didn't, they couldn't do it because they didn't know what I was saying, they just couldn't have that understanding I guess, coz the work they submitted was not what I asked them to do. But overall I think, you know, 92 or so passed, and then the ones who, the few who do make appointments and visited, I think benefited from that advice, so, yeah, I think the difference here is, I think, I mean they are both fine, schools. If I can take the food from (city Z), put it here, then I'd be quite happy, the great restaurants outside, that's cool, and the weather is better, uh.	Possible reason for some students' failing his course-low English proficiency level Benefit of his individualized advice to students Negative aspects of living at city A lack of good restaurant
19	*B: so, what kind of an English teacher did you want to be before you moved here in August at that time?	
20	*I: uh, so, as my understanding, it's gonna be the same job, and it's, turned out to be the same job.	Expecting to do the same job at UA as at UZ
21	*B: the same job as?	
22	*I: (city Z), so everything I do is pretty much the same, I wanted to continue that same job because I liked it in (city Z) and, I like that I'm working for a US university, so overall quite happy with the position, although I wish I would have higher salary, but who doesn't? So I just, I guess, that answers the question as I wanted to be the same English teacher I was for the last five years.	Preference of employment structure Positive emotion towards work Desire in maintaining his previous self as
23	*B: in what ways?	
24	*I: just doing, you know, working hard, paying attention to the students' levels and what they need to review more, and what they don't need to review and, being helpful	Student orientated Ready to help

	<p>when they have questions, and covering the materials that my school wants us to cover, so, basically just doing my job and, continuing to encourage students to, study a little bit more, so I make my class a little harder, so they have to, for example, you know, read pages 20 to 35, and they all, oh, 15 pages! I said there will be a quiz, not maybe, there will be a quiz Monday and they groaned, whatever, but, over the week they read it, and then when they had the quiz, if the students have read those pages, the quiz will be easy because it's not, you know, it's not written so in a way that will confused them, it just covers the material, and the students who don't read it will get a low score, just have no idea. So when they begin to realize this rewards system, read the material, you don't have to know everything about it but read it, think about it and then when you have the quiz, if you have read it, the quiz, the questions will connect very well with the reading, and, the students who are lazy or whatever don't do it, they have no ability to make the connections and in the end they get a lower score, and the students who have read it get a higher score. So the next time I say read these pages, there might be a quiz, and so they don't know if there's a quiz or not, I said maybe, and the students who are fearful because they didn't read it the first time and got a low score, hopefully they'll read it, and the students who got a high score because they read it the first time will read it again because they know they'll get a high score, and it's just, that's how it goes. My bachelor's degree is in psychology, so I take it kind of a psychological, kind of approach to teaching too, kind of the reward, reinforcement, do this, here's the quiz and then you get reward, and then reinforced that, you know. If you do what you're supposed to do, it will have a good benefit, if you don't do, then you're gonna have a bad result, and in the end, you know, the students who catch on will see what I'm going for and then, uh, will finish the skill set, at the end of the semester they come out pretty well, and the students who don't, they don't and there were the five or six, yeah, that's the kind of, the method that I did, yah. (2.0) By the way, we didn't cover that in CELTA, you know.</p>	<p>Accounting for set syllabus</p> <p>Pushing students to work harder to learn more</p> <p>Being stern in managing class activity</p> <p>Mechanism for the quiz</p> <p>Drawing on a reward system to promote students' learning by themselves</p> <p>Benefit of establishing the reward system for students' following learning</p> <p>Drawing on understandings derived from previous leaning in psychology field to relate to students</p> <p>Pedagogical aim</p> <p>Stress the source of his cognition</p>
25	*B: uh, could you walk me through the first two weeks of your teaching here at this university?	
26	*I: well, because I live on campus, it wasn't difficult to	Convenient

	come to the building, it's like a five minute walk, so that wasn't difficult, I just did pretty much what I have done for the last five years before I even see the students, I have all the list of names, and I have a paper, and I put them in seats, I don't even meet them yet, I put their seats.	accommodation Continuation in class management practice Setting seats
27	*B: why? Why did you do that?	
28	*I: because so I know where they seat, they can seat together with their friend, and I can remember their names, it has an atmosphere of, kind of, you know, kind of stiff atmosphere at first, but then they get used to it, so that I know who's coming in, I take attendance, I looked at someone, answer the question, I can see who it is, so I always do that. That wasn't difficult, once they realize that I wasn't kidding, I'm serious, you have to seat here, okay they accept it, now it's very natural, they come in the door, they go directly to their seats, they are not distracted by anything, and did the class, uh. The first two weeks, the weather was fine, it was hard to get decent food, I eat at the students' cafeteria too much. The food there was rubbish and, uh (3.0) I knew some of these people from before, that guy, the guy over there, I've known for three years, so it wasn't difficult to, if I had a question like I said earlier, they are very helpful in here, hey, where do I find whatever, and they would tell me, so it wasn't difficult. There were some issues with students. One student, uh, came on the first day of class and, you know, had all seated, and then she said well, at the end of class she talked to me and said, I'm gonna go take a class in Beijing to learn IELTS or TOEFL, I'll be gone for six weeks. Then I said you can't do that, you can't leave my class for six weeks and expect to pass. Oh, but I have a class in Beijing. You can't miss six weeks of my class, you are gonna fail, then she said but why, I said it's just, it's in the syllabus, I just told you, six classes' absent is an F automatically, that's the University's policy, you can't miss six classes, it's over one third of the course, you can't do it, and she said but I have, I paid the money for the, not my problem, so things like that, and then in week six, one morning I go into class in week six and then there's a new guy just sitting there, I'm like who are you, oh, I'm in your class, no, you are not, you are not in my class, who are you, my name is John. I don't know, you are not in here. Oh, there is a problem. I said well, go in to the office and talk to them about it, things like that. But that wasn't	Aim for setting seat: remembering students' names creating serious class ambience enabling students not to be distracted Complaining about food Getting information from helpful colleagues Issues with students One student's asking for long leave Sticking to course syllabus in justifying his reason One student's showing up in his class in the middle of the semester

	even too difficult.	
29	*B: What about teaching?	
30	*I: Same as always. Ah, how many years? I started teaching at university in 2004, eight years, after eight years you kind of get used to it, you know, so it comes out automatically, so it wasn't difficult. The students were surprised at how I can be very funny, as you've been to my class, very nice, gentle but then when I'm grading or something I can be also very strict, so, the students said uh, I think, some of them weren't sure how to, accept my teaching, and some, when they saw everything is in English, were surprised I think, but overall it wasn't a difficult transition. The only thing that's been difficult so far is the weather, other than that, you know my school, my university back in the states wants to open a program in Cambodia and in Philippines and Turkey, so they might move outward and have more positions available, so, if I stay with my school I can go to Manila to teach or Cambodia, same class, different room, I guess that's the, that's a shorter answer to your question, it's the same class I've been teaching for eight years, but I've been in different rooms in different countries, yeah (3.0) Eight years, yeah, the first two weeks weren't, I merely remember the first two weeks, nothing remarkable.	Ease in teaching due to 8 years of teaching experience Being funny and also strict Using English Complaining about weather in city S Possible future job opportunities with his current employing American university Continuation of teaching in difference rooms
31	*B: what about throughout this semester, any memorable experiences in the classrooms?	
32	*I: yeah, you know the class you used to come and see? The class, at the beginning	
33	*B: the first couple [[of	
34	*I: [[yeah, yeah, the first class you would come on Tuesday or Thursday?	
35	*B: Tuesday.	
36	*I: Tuesday afternoon, that group, good group but, one student who has great English and, uh, always very helpful, everything, it wasn't really a quiz but they were all doing something that they couldn't ask each other for help, and she kept talking to a student who would ask her a question. I like no, if you have a question you ask me, and she kept talking and talking, and I said, three times I said, don't help them, I can help them, you know, and then, the fourth time, I was over back, you know, talking with, helping with a student, she did it again, I went over, I took her paper and torn it half, I said you get a zero for this. That's what I remember, and she was in shock, and	Commenting on one student's English proficiency Problem with the student's helping another one Reiterating class rule Giving individual attention to student

	some of the other class, students were just looking and she wouldn't stop talking so I tore up her paper. She got a zero. What else memorable, not much just students who, uh, or are really smart, there are a few who are really, really smart, asking questions like how do I get there [[are	Disciplinary treatment Smart students' questions example
37	*B: [[sorry what?	
38	*I: how do I get, how do I get these words there are out of my sentences? There are eight apples on the desk, that was the question, that's a pretty high level, it's called expletive, and some earlier writers would put, there are eight apples on the desk, there are 10 cokes, 10 bottles of tea in the kitchen, and I was really happy to hear this question because it's an easy fix, and two, it means that she was paying attention to her own writing, and I just said, instead of writing there are eight apples on the desk, just write eight apples sit on the desk, just take it out, she said oh, just to rethink the sentence and take it out, and I was happy to see that because there's more of focus, this is a student who I think will continue to study after here, and probably in the states. Other than that, not really anything memorable, I mean again, it's just work, just a job.	Level of the student's question Positive feeling towards the easy-to-fix question which demonstrates student's paying attention to writing Extra focus in teaching Perception of teaching
39	*B: what about any interesting exciting experience during this past semester?	
40	*I: nothing I can really think of, uh, a lot of times when I tell the students, okay, this is what you need to do and it's in the book, you know, these pages, they'll ask me how to do it, and I said it's in the book, and they don't want to look at the book, they want me to do it for them, and there is a, I remember one guy he, he just, for some reason he didn't want to open the book. I said, I even told you the page number, you didn't want to do it, and he looked so scared, I said it's in the book, look at the book, it tells you how to do it, just, you know, how to do a citation or something. I don't know why he wouldn't open the book, it's in there. I remember that because I remember thinking to myself when he just couldn't or wouldn't do it, I just thought this, he's too young to be in college, he can't do anything by himself, even the simple things, so something like this, like, we were using articles from online periodical, this is what we were doing, I say on page 375, it's in the book, and he wanted to know how to write this, he had the article, he had the book and he had paper, a	Asking students to learn by themselves Incident with one student who would not open the book Criticizing student's inability or unwillingness to learn independently Expecting students to invest

	pen, I don't know what else to do except to take his pen and do it for him so, that's when I thought, you know, sometimes students need focus.	in the learning process
41	*B: focus?	
42	*I: focus. They themselves need to focus more instead of relying on each other or a teacher. As they say in China, the teacher will open the door; it's up to the students to walk in, right? There's another one from America about teachers will show you what to read not what to think, something like that, anyway, you know what I mean. Other than that, nothing really memorable. (3.0) It's all, class, grade, go home, cook, sleep, wake up class, grade, go home and cook, sleep.	Holding students accountable for their own learning and justifying his expectation with Chinese and American sayings
43	*B: what about any other lesson that you can remember?	
44	*I: uh, I really, again, it's eight years, I mean, nothing actually super bad or super good has happened in this time, nothing really remarkable, uh.	

Appendix K: Sample observation note

Observed teacher: Caleb

Classroom number: CIB204

Date: 2012-10-09

Period of the Day: 2:50pm – 4:30pm

Course name: English 101

Level: sophomore students

Number of students: 26

Length of class: 90 minutes

Classroom physical layout: See Appendix M

Log of class activities:

Time	Description of activities	Extra notes
14:50	Check attendance and review an article summary assignment that students wrote before the National Day break, then briefly preview what this lesson will cover.	How did each student choose the article he/she read? Was it set by Caleb?
14:57	Teach textbook Chapter 22 section A Read the chapter section paragraph by paragraph by himself or voluntary student. Then he explains each paragraph and asks students some questions to check their understanding. When students read, he corrects their pronunciation mistakes occasionally. During this activity, he holds his book by left hand and a pen by right hand, walks around the room a bit and at times stand besides the lectern.	Why does he attribute so much class time to reading? Is teaching pronunciation an important aspect of his relation with students?
15:13	Teach textbook Chapter 22 section B Similar activity to the above section	
15:24	Teach textbook Chapter 22 section C Similar activity to section A	
15:30	Introduce an oral presentation task, which requires each student to give a 2-4 minutes oral presentation to summarize the article he or she read for this lesson two weeks ago. This presentation will be performed during this Thursday's and next Tuesday's lessons. Hand out a grading rubric for the presentation task to each student and explain about it. Caleb makes body gestures to illustrate certain bad mannerisms during presenting, such as making little eye contact or staring at only one student, and standing in a corner of the classroom.	How does this task fit into the teaching syllabus? Is it required by his department or is it something he chose to do?

15:35	<p>Give students a ten-minute break.</p> <p>He walks outside the classroom and returns 3 minutes later with one bottle of tea. He cleans part of the blackboard then hands out a speech card to each student.</p>	
15:45	<p>Show the class about the speech card he just handed out and give suggestions on how to use the card to prepare an outline for their presentation.</p>	<p>How does he see the purpose of providing students this speech card?</p>
15:51	<p>Gives students back the article summary they wrote before the break and ask them to start prepare the card. Caleb walks around the room to answer individual student's questions. For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - one student asks Caleb to clarify some points in the feedback she got on her assignment sheet. - one student asks him to explain about the speech card again, and Caleb stresses not to write everything in her summary on the card. <p>Some students talk with each other to discuss about the feedback they've got on their assignment sheets</p>	<p>The summary assignment sheets were already sorted out in order in advance for students to pass down from the front to the back of the room. Do the students often sit in set seats?</p>
16:05	<p>Caleb walks back to the lectern, the whole class quite down and students start to work individually on preparing their speech card.</p>	
16:18	<p>Walks around the classroom to check students' progress.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Caleb goes to a girl who's reading her article, he tells her not to read when presenting. He glances over her article, and helps her to prepare by asking her some questions to organise her presentation and give her some extra suggestion on controlling her speech speed because she was speaking too fast. - One girl tells Caleb she has finished her speech card, Caleb scans her card and gives some comments on how to improve it. 	<p>During these individual Q&As, Caleb seems to be quite patient and caring, he writes down notes on students' assignment sheet and speech card at times.</p>
16:26	<p>Wrap up the lesson.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - briefly review this lesson's content, reiterate some key points about how to deliver a presentation successfully - assign homework: to finish preparing the speech card and practice their presentation at home. 	

Appendix L: Finalized coding scheme

Personal biography

- Former teachers
- Previous professional experiences
- Cross cultural and racial contacts
- Gendered self
- Personal hobbies

Learning to teach

- In teacher education programs
- In local institutions
- In wider academic communities

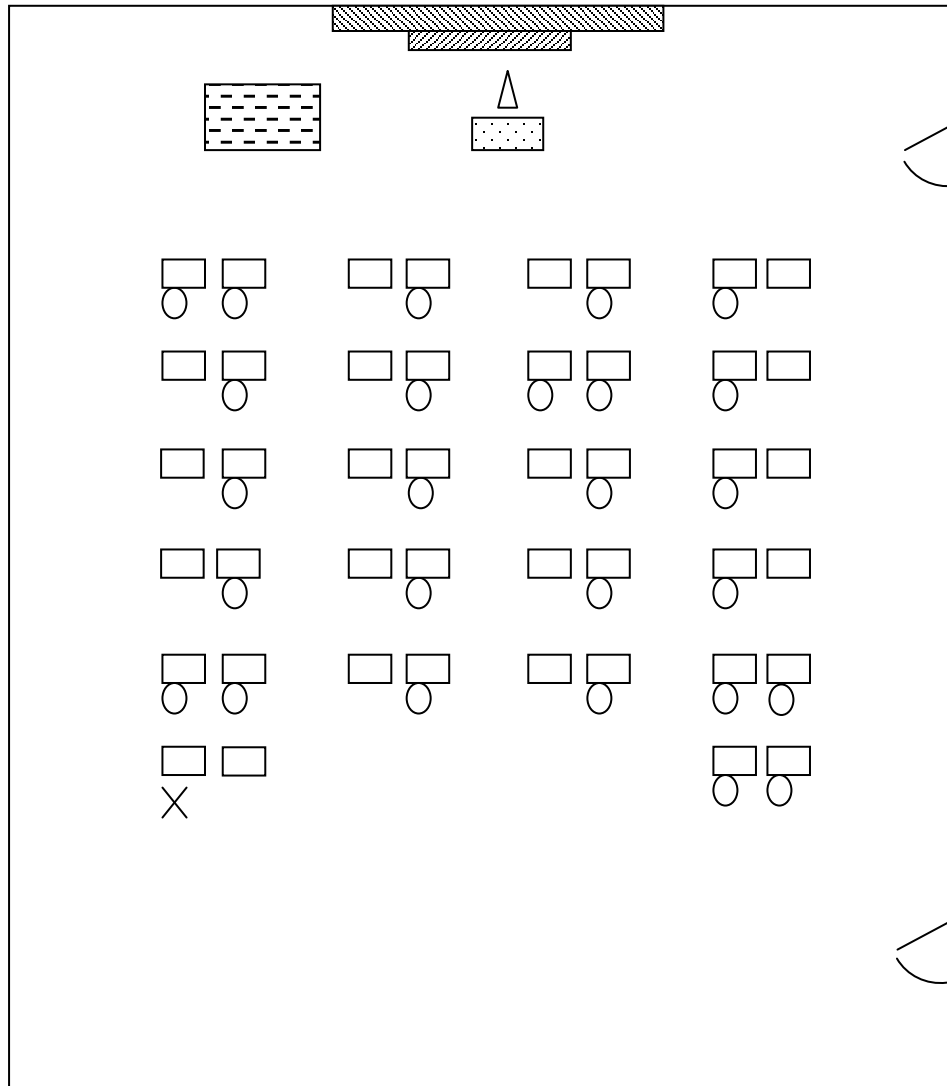
Institutional and sociocultural context







- Student population
- Set curriculum and pedagogical requirements
- Employment policies
- Management structure
- Wider societal ideology

Emotional experience

- Positive emotions
- Negative emotions

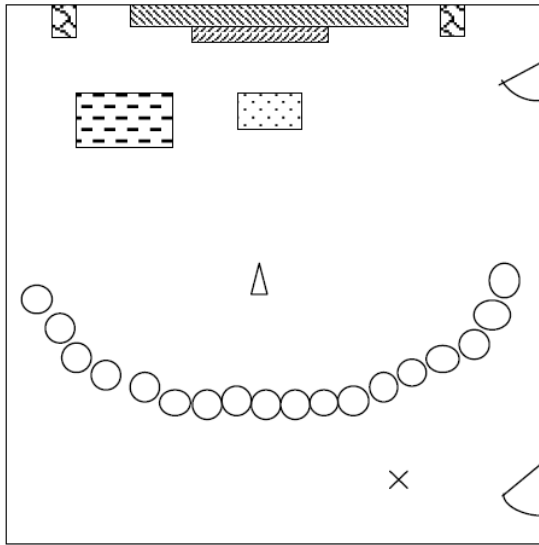
Appendix M: Caleb's classroom layout (observed on 09/10/2012)



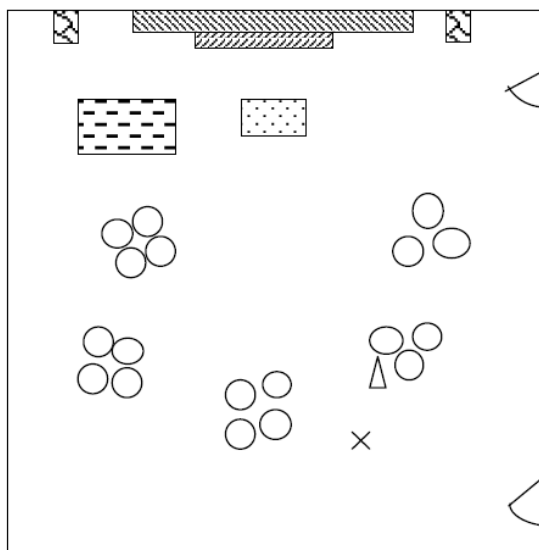
-  : Computer table
-  : Teacher's lectern
-  : Blackboard
-  : Retractable ceiling mounted projector screen
-  : Teacher
-  : Student
- X** : **O**bserver









Appendix N: Daisy's classroom layout (observed on 12/10/2012)

During the first period:

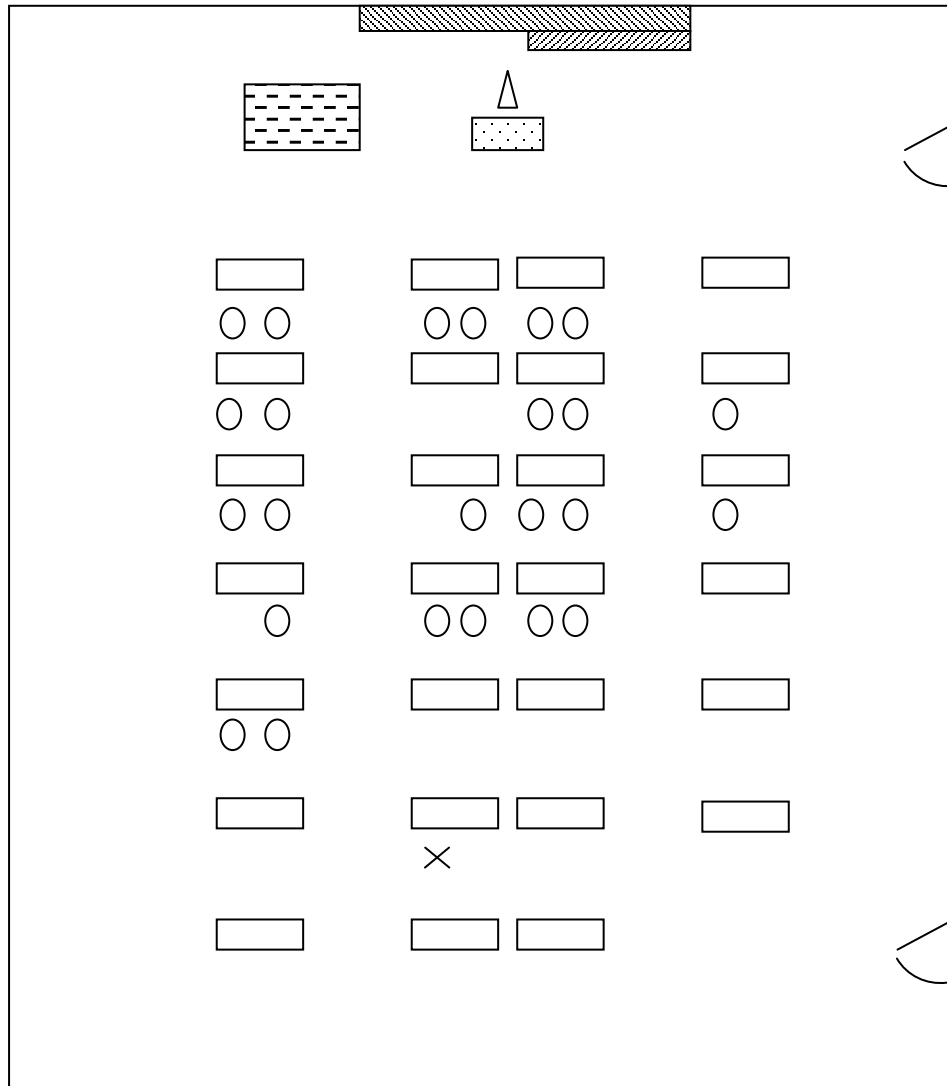








During the second period:



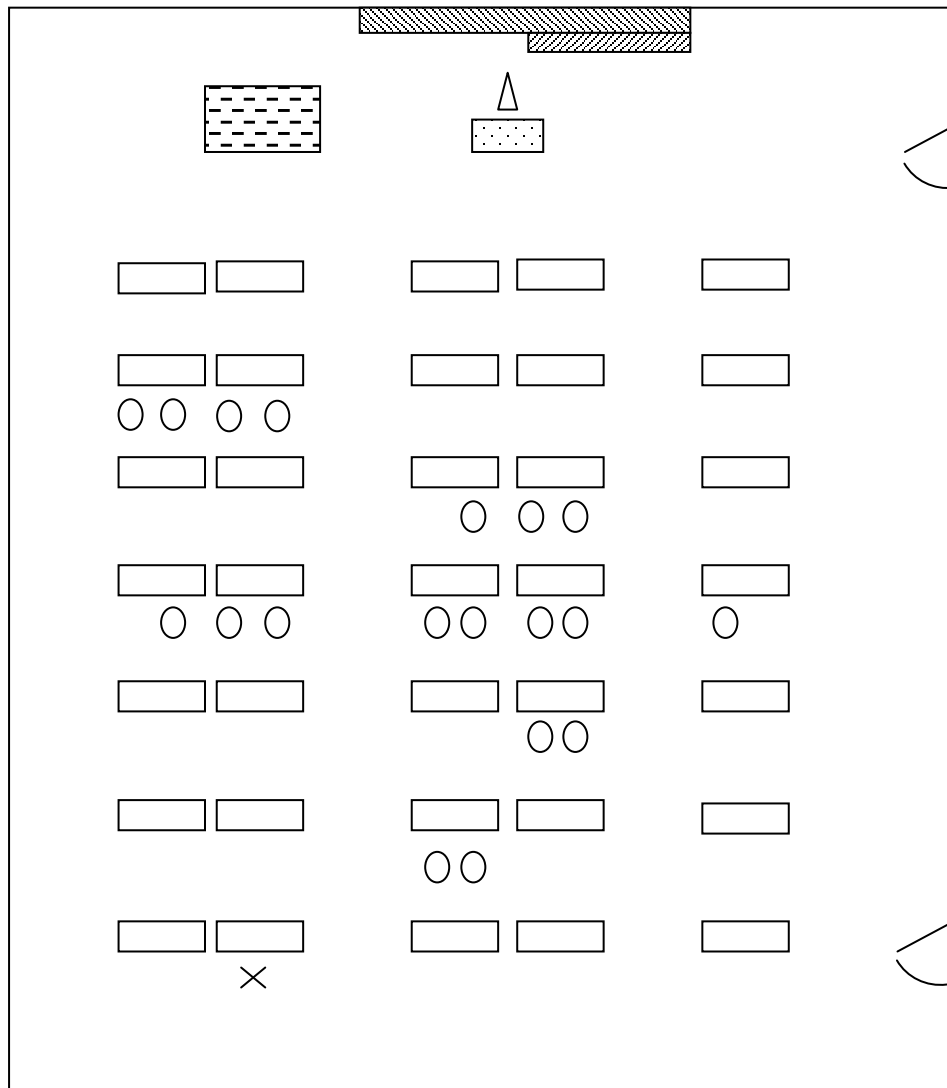
-  : Computer table
-  : Teacher's desk
-  : Blackboard
-  : Retractable ceiling mounted projector screen
-  : Television
-  : Teacher
-  : Student
-  : Observer








Appendix O: George's classroom layout (observed on 17/10/2012)



-  : Computer table
-  : Teacher's lectern
-  : Blackboard
-  : Retractable ceiling mounted projector screen
-  : Teacher
-  : Student
- X** : Observer

Appendix P: Samuel's classroom layout (observed on 15/10/2012)



-  : Computer table
-  : Teacher's lectern
-  : Blackboard
-  : Retractable ceiling mounted projector screen
-  : Teacher
-  : Student
-  : Observer

Appendix Q: Profiles of the non focal participants

Non focal participant	Charlie	Toby
Gender	M	M
Age	50-60	30-40
Country of origin	Australia	Ireland
Marital status	Married	Married
Educational background	BS in Chemistry	Diploma in Physical therapy; Diploma in Management; MBA in Business
English teaching certificate	TESOL	N/A
Professional experience besides teaching before coming to China	Salesperson for chemical companies	Credit control and financial manager in insurance business
ESL/EFL teaching experience before coming to China	N/A	N/A
EFL teaching experience in China before coming to the current university	N/A	Three private English training schools for 2 years
Current affiliation - length of stay by 09/2012	University B-8 years	University A- 4 weeks
Courses taught in 2012 fall semester	Oral English to English major students	Oral English to English major students

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