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ESOL teachers' identities in flux: identity transformations throughout a career

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Abstract

This study investigates how experiences of ESOL (English for Speakers of other Languages) teachers informed and transformed their professional identities over the course of their careers. This is important because to improve education we need to understand how teachers experience their work. The study uses narrative inquiry to enable an understanding of participants' perspectives on their lived experience and construction of identities. Research participants were four ESOL teachers who have worked in various cultural and institutional contexts. In interviews teachers were asked simply to talk about their TESOL career, revealing what the important issues were for them. Short narrative excerpts were identified from individual interviews for analysis.

Findings revealed that the teachers drew on various sources, from both individual and social realms, to construct their professional identities. Professional learning was found to emerge from everyday practice on the job and from dealing with the challenges of being involved in diverse contexts. The need for autonomy was another important factor shaping how teachers felt about their work. Teachers also held particular beliefs about good practice, which could lead to positive or negative outcomes depending on whether they were able to operationalize these beliefs. Social sources identified in the data were teachers' connections with their students and with other teachers, cross-cultural dimensions in TESOL settings, and issues to do with the low status of TESOL. The teachers' professional identities were found to change according to varying influences over the course of their career trajectories.

The study concludes with implications and recommendations for teachers and institutions to increase the level of professionalism and to raise the status of the field of TESOL.

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I am extremely grateful to my four participants, Ged, Maggie, Dan and Stella, for so openly sharing their stories of their career trajectories and allowing me to collect their narratives of personal experience. The information they provided has a richness and texture, which enabled me to explore in depth the inner landscapes of the ESOL teachers' world.

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Chapter One: Introduction

I. Aim of the study

This study explores how ESOL (English for speakers of other languages) teachers' professional identities are informed and transformed over the course of their careers. The aim was to gain insights into how the various experiences of ESOL teachers influenced the ways they viewed themselves as professionals by examining narratives from interview data. "If we need teachers who effectively educate, then we need to know how the best teachers have become themselves" (Danielewicz, 2001, p. 3). The teachers in this study are all experienced and highly qualified ESOL teachers, who have taught in a variety of institutional settings and in different countries.

II. Context for the study

TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) is an emergent profession, driven by forces of globalization which place importance on cross-cultural understanding (Pakir, 1999). Morgan (2004) said about TESOL: "In many ways, we underestimate the relative uniqueness of our field of expertise" (p. 175). TESOL is situated at many borders that intersect both culture and education. It generally occupies a cross-cultural space as it often involves teachers and learners from different cultures, and learning language implies learning about culture because of the inextricable link between the two (Kramsch, 1995). Therefore, it is important in fostering cross-cultural understanding, as well as opening up academic and career opportunities. Language teaching also has a unique nature in that language is both the subject and medium of teaching (Hammadou & Bernhardt, 1987), placing it within the related areas of education and communication. The field of TESOL encompasses diverse contexts across different educational sectors, including early childhood education, schools, as well as tertiary and private institutes. It also spans various international settings. An ESOL teacher therefore needs many skills, including being able to negotiate operating within a global context (Borg, 2006). The context of the current study is the career trajectories of ESOL teachers in New Zealand, who have experience across a variety of institutional and international contexts.

III. Rationale for the study

The focus on teachers' professional identity transformations throughout their career trajectories has allowed the researcher to explore how these teachers felt about themselves as professionals. This fits with the current move to expand understanding of second language acquisition beyond linguistics and cognitive psychology, with research looking at second language learning stories with the aim of expanding the conception of learners as having just one identity as a language learner (Block, 2007b). However, research on language teachers' identity has only recently started to receive attention (e.g. Barkhuizen, 2016b; Clarke, 2009; Tsui, 2007). Teachers' professional identity is fundamental in sustaining their interest and commitment to the profession. Watson (2006a) pointed out "the importance of the concept of professional identity lies in the assumption that who we think we are influences what we do" (p. 510), and therefore it can lead to enhancing the quality of education. Teachers are at the heart of teaching, comprising part of an inseparable duality of learning and teaching, so they have an important part to play in inspiring and guiding learners. It has been said 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, Morgan, Johnston & Johnson, 2005, p. 22).

Identity is therefore conceptualized in this study as both multiple and changing, arising from a complex interplay between individual and social factors (Bruner, 1990). The concept of career trajectories referred to in this study also has links with identity in that it implies a journey involving constant change. Teachers' professional identity is embedded in a teacher's personal biography and the whole career is therefore a rich source for examining identity (Bukor, 2015).

My interest in this study came from my experience teaching ESOL in varied cultural and institutional contexts, and a growing curiosity about how different work experiences contribute to ESOL teachers' professional identities. Through reflecting on my own 30-year involvement in the world of TESOL, I became interested in the concept of career trajectories. My teaching journey began in Spain, and has taken me through various international contexts with three years in Italy, two summer schools in

England, five years in Egypt and now eighteen years in New Zealand. A large part of my professional identity was formed by my international teaching experience, which is the reason I have included Arabic script on the cover page, which means 'teachers' professional identity'. For the last ten years I have worked closely with teachers as a programme coordinator at a university language school in New Zealand, and in this role I have become interested in finding out what teachers see as sources of satisfaction and challenges. I have also come to question my own assumptions and beliefs about what constitutes good ESOL teaching, and wanted to explore this further by investigating teachers' stories of their experiences in a variety of cultures and contexts.

IV. Structure of the thesis

In this thesis, chapter one has presented the aims, context and rationale of the study. Chapter two presents a review of relevant literature examining teacher identity from both the general education field and from the field of TESOL, leading to identifying the research gap which informs the current study. In chapter three, the reason narrative inquiry was chosen for this study is explained, and the research design and tools are described in detail. Chapter four presents the findings from the study. This includes intact narratives, in the teachers' own words, followed by analysis of the various professional identities that emerge from their narratives. These findings are presented separately for each of the four participants, and are in chronological order according to each teacher's progression through his/her career trajectory. The findings are discussed in chapter five, by looking across the four participants' narratives and identifying prominent themes that emerged as sources of professional identity construction. Finally, in the concluding chapter, the research question is revisited, the strengths and weaknesses of the study are considered, and some implications and recommendations for ESOL teachers and for institutions are proposed.

The study reported on in this thesis provides insights into ESOL teachers' careers at a time when it is important to care for and sustain good teachers. It is hoped that the knowledge contributed by this research will be of interest to those involved in the world of TESOL and lead to a greater understanding of the issues that are important to ESOL teachers. In this way their professionalism can be nurtured and the future status of the field raised.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

I. Introduction

In examining the development and ongoing transformations of ESOL teachers' professional identities throughout their careers, it is important to consider that "good teaching is not simply a matter of using a particular methodology, it requires the teacher to engage with their sense of who they are as a teacher so that teaching is a state of being, not merely a way of acting" (Danielewicz, 2001, p. 3). Teacher identity has been conceptualized as being informed through the complex interplay of self-image and social processes, all of which are intertwined with language (Varghese et al., 2005). Elements of work and life such as teachers' professional knowledge, personal experiences, beliefs and values, the educational setting and the wider sociocultural context, including cultural and political factors, contribute to the ongoing process of identity construction (Day & Kington, 2008; Duff & Uchida, 1997).

In this chapter I begin by defining the concept of teachers' professional identity and clarifying the definition I will be adopting. I then consider the concept of teachers' careers, and discuss how this provides a useful lens for examining how professional identity develops and continually transforms. In the next part of the chapter, I go on to look in more detail at the individual and social aspects of teachers' professional identity, noting that these factors are all inextricably linked and have overlapping boundaries. Throughout I will draw on literature from both general education and from within the field of TESOL, showing how this area of teaching holds particular potential to shed light on identity construction, as it encompasses spatial, temporal and cross-cultural dimensions.

II. Teachers' professional identity

Identity is a common concept for investigation in the social sciences, with particular interest being shown in the experience of the self in cultural, historical, and political contexts (Block, 2007b). The education literature variously talks about teacher identity, teacher role identity and teachers' professional identity. In this thesis I use the term 'professional identity' to refer to those aspects of

the teachers' identities which are related to their careers. Defining professional identity is not straightforward because it is a complex construction made up of a myriad of intertwining aspects. Professional identity involves the interplay between knowledge, beliefs, motivations, values, emotions, thoughts, professionalism, practice and prior experiences (Farrell, 2011; Lim, 2011), all set against the backdrop of the social, cultural and historical context. Research into this area has tended to highlight different aspects, such as teachers' concepts or images of self, the emphasis on teachers' roles, or the importance of reflection and professional growth (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004). In addition, teachers' professional identity has been conceptualized as having two interconnected dimensions: what teachers know, including their sense of who they are or their self-image; and what they do (Castañeda, 2014; Farrell, 2011). However, these dimensions are mutually influential so it is difficult to examine one without referring to the other.

Teacher identity is characterized by its multifaceted nature. This description refers not only to the duality of personal and professional identities, but also to particular aspects of identity or sub-identities. Some researchers have attempted to categorise components of professional identity. For instance, Beijaard, Verloop and Vermont (2000) distinguished three expertise dimensions of teacher identity: subject matter expertise; didactic expertise; and pedagogic expertise. Teachers' sub-identities may emerge when they are faced with changes in their contexts. For example, when investigating teachers from a range of fields who were teaching international students in Australia, Tran and Nguyen (2015) found the teachers developed sub-identities as intercultural learners and adaptive agents, in addition to the other professional identities they had as subject teachers.

The definition of a teachers' professional identity I use in this study is that of the individual self-identity, image or perception a person has of himself/herself as a teacher. This image is a representation of a teacher's theories, attitudes, beliefs and actions (Beijaard et al, 2004). A key idea underpinning this research is that a person's identity emerges from the stories he/she tells. These are what Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. xxvi) refer to as 'stories people live by', where the professional landscape is constituted by individual stories. Teachers' stories are socially formed and informed, and are shaped by knowledge, values, feelings and purposes which represent their identity (Beijaard et al, 2004). An important aspect of professional identity which is particularly relevant to this study is the fluid nature of identity.

III. The fluid nature of identity and teachers' career trajectories

Rather than being a fixed entity, identity is described as fluid and constantly changing, as "the emphasis is on becoming rather than being" (Clarke, 2008, p. 28). Identity is not seen as something one has, but something that develops during one's whole life (Beijaard et al, 2004). Teaching in new contexts requires a teacher to make adjustments, which lead to developing professional identity (Pennington & Richards, 2016). Therefore, identity is an evolving process, as teachers negotiate their participation in a teacher community and consolidate their professional and experiential knowledge (Castañeda, 2014; Norton Peirce, 1995). Because identity is a continual process of emerging and becoming, examining professional identity can be likened to "trying to track down a dynamic, often elusive, moving target" (Duff & Uchida, 1997, p. 478). The fluid nature of this process is important to the notion of career trajectories, in which professional identities are constantly changing as teachers move through dimensions of time, space and culture.

The notion of teacher identity as a career-long process implies taking a temporal perspective by plotting lifelong experiences and events on a timeline stretching from the past, through the present and into the future. This is consistent with the view of identity as being continually reconstructed as individual aspects interact within changing social contexts. The concept of a teacher's career links to the work of Huberman (1989), who identified specific stages in the 'life cycle' of secondary teachers in Switzerland. These stages were divided into three chronological categories which represented a generalized model rather than portraying an individual career. The early career stages, from 1-6 years' experience, were characterized by survival and discovery, as teachers engaged in professional learning and developed expertise. Mid-career stages, from 7-18 years' experience, were marked by stabilization, experimentation, and taking stock or self-doubt. The later career stages, defined as over 19 years teaching, were distinguished by serenity, conservatism or disengagement. It was recognized that progression through these stages was not linear or fixed but was determined by the interaction of a complex array of personal and professional influences. In the current study, it will be useful to see if there are any features of particular stages that teachers pass through, keeping in mind that other factors, such as global mobility, may also exert an influence on individual professional identity.

Although life cycle research has led to insights into teachers' career trajectories, aspects other than the chronological stage in one's career may have importance on teachers' identity constructions. For example, an investigation of secondary teachers at different points throughout their teaching careers, highlighted identity profiles which did not differ according to the years of experience, but rather were influenced by other factors, notably initial motivations for entering the profession (Canrinus, Helms-Lorenz, Beijaard, Buitink, & Hoffman, 2011). The identity profiles that emerged were: teachers who were unsatisfied; those who were both motivated and committed; and those who doubted their competence. Such feelings may exert an influence and lead to changes in a career trajectory.

The studies noted above show how there may be various ebbs and flows throughout a career. For example, Farrell (2014) examined the professional identity of three experienced Canadian ESOL teachers, noting the phenomenon of plateauing or going stale in the profession (Huberman, 1993), in which the routine and repetitive nature of work and dealing with unpleasant work conditions led to feelings of career stagnation. Most negative aspects raised by participants in this study were to do with administrative tasks such as testing, pressure to move students and coping with frustrations. Positive aspects, on the other hand, were found to be collaborating with colleagues and seeking out professional development opportunities (Farrell, 2014).

Within the field of TESOL, until recently few studies had examined long-term teacher identity development, although career trajectories have been highlighted as an important focus for the investigation of teacher identity (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). Factors influencing career trajectories have been explored by comparing novice and more experienced teachers, representing teachers at different stages of their careers. For example, Lim (2011) investigated how Korean student ESOL teachers enrolled in Bachelor and Master degree programmes organized their prior experiences and beliefs, and found that graduate students had more ability to reflect on assumptions and reframe their experiences, suggesting a higher developmental status of professional identity. Although Tsui (2007) followed an ESOL teacher in China over the first six years of his teaching career, this could be seen as comprising only the early stages of a teaching career.

There is some more recent research into ESOL career trajectories which examines transformations in teachers' professional identities in various international contexts over time (e.g. Haworth & Craig,

2016). In a longitudinal study providing insights into career development, Barkhuizen (2016b) also explored the changing professional identity of an ESOL teacher over nine years by examining narrative data. The present study extends on earlier work in this field by taking a broader look at one particular group of ESOL teachers, those who were currently teaching in New Zealand but who had previously taught in varied international contexts.

IV. Individual sources of teachers' professional identity

Influences on teachers' professional identity that arise from individual sources include: particular experiences; motivations; knowledge and beliefs about teaching; and emotions.

Experiences

Lifelong experiences, both personal and professional, have an influence on teachers' professional identity. Therefore, a biographical perspective is useful in examining professional identity transformations throughout teachers' careers (Beijaard, 1995). People define themselves temporally according to how they experience their current life situation, and also by looking back to who they have been in the past and by looking forward to who they could be in the future (Kelchtermans, 1993). The past is an accumulation of critical incidents, critical phases and encounters with critical persons, and the meanings these have for teachers can be seen as shaping who one is (Kelchtermans, 1993). Although self-identity is multifaceted, it is not generally fragmented, but is usually perceived holistically by the individual.

Studies in the wider field of education have examined teachers' experiences throughout their careers (e.g. Beijaard et al, 2000; Kelchtermans, 1993). These studies show that teachers' professional identity includes both the way teachers experience their careers, and the subjective meanings they bring to interpreting their experiences. For example, by asking experienced secondary teachers to identify critical moments in their careers, Beijaard (1995) found that teachers' stories were mostly related to three areas: working conditions; professional qualifications; and personal factors. These areas will also be considered as sources of professional identity in the current study.

The idealized image novice teachers hold of what makes a good teacher can be both positively and negatively affected by their actual teaching experience, as practice and identity are mutually influential (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). A common theme in research on teacher identity is to examine the transformations of imagined identities to practice identities (e.g. Clarke, 2008; Xu, 2012). This has been conceptualized as tensions that arise between teachers' expectations and their individual actions. For example, in research examining Chinese ESOL teachers, Xu (2012) found that their imagined identities as teachers were changed through institutional pressures and expectations that required them to conform to the dominant discourses of educational practice. In the current study it will be interesting to see whether teachers' experiences in different contexts lead to similar transformations in their professional identity.

Motivations

A wide range of motivations has been found for becoming an ESOL teacher due to varied routes of access and different contexts. For example, a fascination with the English language was found to be an important motivation in studies investigating ESOL teachers' identity in Indonesia (Yuwono & Harbon, 2010) and in China (Gao, 2010). Although initial motivations may have been extrinsic in some cases, for instance to secure a stable job, as in the case of the Chinese teachers in Gao's study, their motivations can be both intrinsic and altruistic. It will be interesting to see how motivations contribute to teachers' professional identity in the present study.

A distinctive feature of the TESOL profession is that teachers are likely to be more globally mobile than mainstream teachers (Haworth & Craig, 2016). For instance, in a study of ESOL teachers in Japanese universities, Tsutsumi (2013) found that a desire to travel and work overseas and an interest in different cultures and people were linked to good teaching. Johnston (1999) also found a key quality of expatriate teachers in Poland was a sense of restlessness and desire to be constantly travelling. Other reasons found for these teachers becoming ESOL teachers included an orientation towards embracing diversity by seeking out new voices and cultural values, with teachers defining themselves in relation to context (Johnston, 1999). However, this orientation, at times, resulted in a lack of depth in the way teachers conceived of their professionalism, which may in turn reinforce a low professional status for TESOL (Thornbury, 2001).

Furthermore, motivations, like identity, may change over time as teachers' situations change. Initial motivations for entering the profession, and later motivations for staying in the profession, can be linked to the notion of career trajectories with changes that occur over various stages, such as commitment to the profession (Huberman, 1989). This broader perspective is particularly relevant to the current study with its focus on change throughout a career journey.

Teacher Knowledge and Beliefs

Because of the difficulty of pinning down a definition of teacher identity and describing it in concrete terms, identity is often described in terms of a teacher's knowledge and beliefs about teaching. Teacher identity is seen by Kelchtermans (1993) as comprising two aspects: not only a teacher's personal conception of himself/herself as teacher; but also the personal system of knowledge and beliefs he/she holds about teaching. In TESOL, some studies on teachers focus on their personal practical knowledge (PPK) (Clandinin & Connelly, 1986). For example, Golombek (1998) demonstrated the ways teachers built their PPK from experiences and practices, examining various categories of knowledge: knowledge of self; knowledge of subject matter; knowledge of instruction; and knowledge of context.

Practical experience is considered essential for teachers to construct their identities and links closely with beliefs and assumptions (Bukor, 2015). For example, in a study of ESOL teachers, developing competence and expertise were both found to contribute to identity formation (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). However, it has been suggested that knowledge learned in teacher education programmes cannot be fully integrated into teachers' identity until it is operationalized through practice (Lim, 2011). This may explain why experienced teachers have been shown to derive their knowledge more from experience rather than from initial training programmes (Beijaard, 1995).

Another example of the transformative power of experience is a study by Beijaard et al. (2000), which explored secondary school teachers' perceptions of their most important learning experiences over their careers. These researchers found that teachers' perceptions of their expertise changed from initially seeing themselves as subject matter experts, to a more balanced view of themselves as both subject and pedagogic experts as they gained experience, and they also began focusing more

on students' well-being. These transformations highlight some aspects that will be important to consider in the current study as teachers describe their career development over time.

Emotions

Defining teachers' professional identity by focusing only on teachers' professional knowledge and beliefs may overlook the emotional and personal aspects that are considered essential for a more holistic definition (Bukor, 2015). It has been said that identities are constructed from the interaction between an individual's personal experiences and their social and cultural environments, with emotions acting as the link between social structures and ways teachers act (Day & Kington, 2008). Emotions can therefore play a key role in the construction of identity (Zembylas, 2003a). Teachers' emotions can influence their actions, including their reactions when faced with change, and engagement in professional learning and development (Reio, 2005).

Emotions are also affected by personal biographies and social context (Bukor, 2015). This is particularly prominent in TESOL contexts where there are other influences at play such as cross-cultural dimensions. ESOL teachers often work at the border between cultures. Furthermore, when living in other countries, they are immersed within a foreign culture. In the current study teachers' emotions are considered as mediating factors between various sources of identity construction.

V. Social sources of teachers' professional identity

Teachers' professional identities can be seen as arising through interactions in various social situations, and even within the research context through the stories they tell in interviews. In this section I review studies which have considered professional identity as emerging from various social contexts: within the classroom; within communities of practice; from the wider environment; and from cross-cultural influences.

Classroom context

Teachers' professional identity cannot be understood without referring to students and colleagues who make up the workplace landscape of the teacher (Beijaard et al, 2000). The social realm of the classroom is a key site for teachers' professional identity construction (Morgan, 2004), and classroom interaction both shapes and is shaped by a teacher's identity. In the classroom context, teachers interact with students in particular ways, which give insights into how they see themselves as teachers. For instance, a teacher may see themselves as a formal teacher or a more learner-centred teacher (Pennington & Richards, 2016), self-perceptions which impact on their classroom practice.

In the TESOL context, the language classroom has a unique potential to shed light on a teacher's professional identity, because language is both the content and the medium of instruction, and therefore the focus is on communication (Borg, 2006). In a study exemplifying this insight, Morgan (2004) explored his own teacher identity as it was constructed discursively through an 'image text' he presented to students. He found he revealed certain aspects of his identity in relation to his particular aims, for instance to challenge cultural stereotypes. This study illustrates how teachers perform and negotiate their identity in the classroom through language. Classroom practice therefore links various aspects of professional identity: personal characteristics; individual beliefs about teaching; and wider discourses reflecting educational expectations. Because of the centrality of students, in the current study it will be interesting to explore teachers' narratives in relation to their classroom practice.

Communities of Practice

The literature also suggests that identity emerges from an individual's engagement in relationships and is co-constructed through participation in communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This perspective has been a popular focus of research into ESOL teaching (e.g. Giovanelli, 2015; Tsui, 2007), where participation refers to "being active participants in practices of social communities and constructing identities in relation to these communities" (Wenger, 1998, p. 4). However, professional identity is not dictated solely by membership in a social group, but co-constructed,

negotiated and transformed on an ongoing basis through interaction (Danielewicz, 2001; Duff & Uchida, 1997). This fits with the fluid and multifaceted nature of identity mentioned earlier.

An example of the influence of communities of practice on identity is shown in a study by Tsui (2007), which explored transformations in a Chinese ESOL teacher's developing identity. The lived experiences of the teacher being included and excluded from various communities, and the way in which participation and non-participation led to legitimate access to practice, were shown to be central to the teacher identification process. In another study examining the role of a teacher community in forming, sustaining or transforming teacher identities, Casteñeda (2014) found that participation in a community of practice may result in tensions between power and dependence in beginning teachers. Therefore, the community of practice may be seen as a source of professional learning in two different ways: either through adopting and adapting to certain practices, or through resistance. In the current study, socialization into communities of practice is highlighted as an important source of professional identity throughout teachers' career trajectories.

Wider environmental influences

Influences from institutional and wider educational discourses can be a further influence on teachers' professional identity. Identities ascribed by others can also be taken up by teachers as they conform to expectations. An example of this wider influence is found in a study located against the background of an education reform in China. In this study, Liu and Xu (2011) examined how a new ESOL teacher struggled with reconciling the institutionally mandated learner-centred approach with his personal belief in the traditional transmission method. This highlights the interplay between the social and the individual, and describes the tensions that may arise when rules and regulations are seen as imposed. However, changes in policy can also be seen as positive reinforcement of teaching practice. For example, in another context, in Holland, Beijaard (1995) found that the same changing educational discourse from teacher-centredness to learner-centredness was perceived by teachers as consistent with their personal beliefs, and thus positively affirmed their professional identity. In the current study such wider discourses around education and TESOL may also exert an influence on teachers' professional identities.

Within the broader educational landscape, TESOL has often been viewed as a marginalized profession. For example, Thornbury (2001) refers to the 'unbearable lightness' of TESOL as a profession. In some contexts, the practice of hiring ESOL teachers whose only qualification is being 'native speakers' of English, contributes to the low status of TESOL. The concept of professionalism has important implications for ESOL teachers' professional identity. Multiple routes of access, including the impression that if you can speak a language you can teach it, and the fact that in some contexts there is a reliance on volunteers has led to a perceived lack of professionalism in the field (Crandall, 1993).

There is also a link between the professional landscape and career development. For example, Valeo and Faez (2013) found a high attrition rate of new ESOL teachers in Canada was due to the lack of recognition given to teachers and the absence of stable work opportunities. Such factors may lead to de-professionalizing TESOL and to marginalizing ESOL teachers (Valeo & Faez, 2013). In the current study perceptions around status and recognition will be factors worth exploring in relation to teachers' professional identity and the decisions they make about their career trajectories.

Cross-cultural influences

TESOL as a profession has been said to owe its very existence to multiculturalism and therefore occupies a privileged third place between cultures (Lo Bianco, Liddicot, & Crozet, 1999), which exerts an influence on teachers' professional identity. This 'third place' at the border of cultures may encompass concepts related to identity, such as self and other, inclusion and exclusion. Language teachers are involved in the transmission of culture and therefore decisions on aspects of practice, including choice of materials, seating plans and classroom activities can have social, cultural and educational significance (Duff & Uchida, 1997, p. 476).

Biographical factors related to cross-cultural contexts have also been identified as having an influence on identity development (Bukor, 2015). For instance, some studies have investigated the identity construction of expatriate ESOL teachers in which the socio-cultural environment plays a prominent role (e.g. Duff & Uchida, 1997; Simon-Maeda, 2004). Duff and Uchida (1997) investigated American ESOL teachers living in Japan with a focus on exploring teachers' changing understandings

of how they viewed themselves in terms of their social and cultural roles. They found that although these teachers' identities had their foundation in personal histories, they were co-constructed and negotiated constantly according to context, and in this process cross-cultural aspects were notable.

In another study examining female ESOL teachers of varied ethnic backgrounds in Japan, Simon-Maeda (2004) found that teachers' professional identities were discursively constructed by gendered and sociocultural inequalities. In this study, identity was seen as continually being reconstructed through an evolving network of personal, social and cultural aspects largely characterized by cross-cultural conflicts (Simon-Maeda, 2004). In the studies noted above, however, professional identities were not presented as evolving or marked by transitions. In the current study, the teachers have all worked in various international contexts, so their transitions through these settings will shed light on the shifting nature of teachers' professional identities.

In relation to cross-cultural influences, ESOL teacher identities have also been discussed in terms of the native speaker/non-native speaker (NS/NNS) dichotomy (e.g. Jenkins, 2005; Manara, 2013; Pavlenko, 2003). For example, Lim (2011) found that NNS teachers experienced unique challenges dealing with tensions in their dual identities as English teachers and English learners. Defining teachers by their linguistic competence, however, only presents a one-dimensional view of teachers, and is perhaps bound up with issues of hegemony of Western discourses and prevailing perceptions of the ideal ESOL teacher being a native speaker. This view often involves teachers being included or excluded from communities of practice and emphasizes identities of privilege and marginalization (Park, 2013).

However, it has been shown that NNS teachers' perceptions of their identities can be expanded through productive and positive processes. An example of this process is shown in a study of ESOL teachers in the USA by Pavlenko (2003), in which it was found that participants who identified themselves as non-native speakers were able to re-conceptualise their identities as bilinguals. In another study investigating experienced Indonesian teacher educators, Manara (2013) found that, although initially their identities as non-native speakers rather than as English language teachers were foregrounded, these teachers were able to re-construct new identities as multilinguals. As one participant in the current study is a non-native speaker, this facet of an ESOL teacher's professional identity will be considered.

VI. Summary

Teachers' professional identity is seen as a complex construction arising from the interplay between individual and social sources. Although the literature acknowledges that identity is a continuous process of transformation, descriptions of teachers' professional identities often give the impression that it is a fixed entity. Focusing on the identity development of novice teachers over the first years of teaching could imply that once it is developed, it remains stable. Likewise describing the random processes involved in negotiating teacher identity at a fixed point in time does not necessarily show the dynamic nature of identity or how it can transform over the course of a career.

VII. Research question

There are still relatively few studies on language teachers' professional identity, which highlights the need for a deeper understanding of how it develops (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). It has also been suggested that there may be a wider variety of sources of teacher identity than has been recognized to date (Bukor, 2015). Furthermore, there is a lack of studies examining how the professional identities of ESOL teachers have transformed over their careers. Therefore there is a need to investigate ESOL teacher's professional identity and how this changes throughout the career trajectory. Hence the research question for this study is:

How are ESOL teachers' identities informed and transformed over their careers?

Chapter Three: Methodology and Research Design

I. Introduction

The research study reported in this thesis utilises narrative inquiry, which is part of the qualitative research paradigm. A qualitative approach is suitable to investigate the issue of teachers' identity transformations throughout their careers because it can capture the diversity and richness of individual experience. By capturing personal experiences in teachers' own voices, narrative inquiry allows researchers to understand and present experience holistically (Bell, 2002). Narrative has also been described as a resource that individuals draw upon in the construction of their identities (Barkhuizen, 2016a).

In this chapter I begin by describing the narrative approach used in this study. In this section I will clarify how I define 'narrative', distinguish between the terms 'narrative' and 'story', and outline some characteristics of narrative which are particularly relevant to the current study. In the second section I will outline the research design, including: the recruitment of participants; narrative interviewing, which was the tool used for data collection; transcription steps; and ethical considerations. In the third section I describe the identification and analysis of the narratives. I then describe how the criteria to judge narrative trustworthiness have been applied in this study. The chapter ends by considering reflexivity, that is, how I locate myself as a researcher within the narrative inquiry space.

II. The narrative approach in this study

Narrative is a term used pervasively in everyday contexts and in a wide variety of academic disciplines (Squire et al., 2014). There are many approaches to narrative inquiry, and narrative can range from referring to short stories to an entire life story (Chase, 2005). The definition of 'narrative' used in this study is that of a "bounded, temporally ordered segment from a research interview" (Riessman, 2008, p. 138). The narratives I found and examined were excerpts from interviews related to specific incidents or experiences. In the literature, the terms story and

narrative are often used interchangeably, although it is useful to make a distinction between them. In this thesis, 'story' refers to the sequence of events that are depicted, whereas 'narrative' refers to the telling of these events and includes features of how the story is told (Holloway & Freshwater, 2007). Narrators may exclude some events of the story, while adding personal comments about the events. Three important characteristics of narrative, which make this approach particularly suitable for investigating identity transformations over career trajectories, are: the purpose for which narratives are told; the temporal aspect; and the way that meaning is constructed and co-constructed by the narrator and the audience.

Purpose of narratives

Telling stories is a universal human activity (Watson, 2006a, p. 511) and has various functions. Narrative can be viewed as a way of recounting events and experiences, and also as constituting personal identity. A function of narratives is that they support our sense-making processes and help us understand ourselves and others (Bold, 2012). Narrative allows people to impose order on otherwise disconnected events and to create continuity between past, present and imagined worlds (Ochs & Capps, 1996) by organizing experience and providing meaning to life events (Mankowski & Rappaport, 2000). The performative function of narrative also shows how people construct selves. Through selecting and presenting particular aspects of personal experience, people use narratives to reconstruct their identity, so that identity is created rather than revealed by narrative performance (Convery, 1999). Furthermore, narratives can be seen as having a persuasive function, to convince the audience that the narrator is a particular type of person (Riessman, 1997). In this study, teachers' professional identities are seen as being created through the narratives they tell in the interviews.

Temporality

Narrative illuminates the concept of temporality (Bell, 2002), both within a short narrative excerpt and through a life history. Labov and Waletzky (1997) identified the temporal sequence of events as a defining feature of narrative. However, narratives are not always presented chronologically and other types of narratives have been included in this study, such as those describing situations or habitual activities. In addition to chronological sequence, narrators can constantly move backward

and forward through time, exploring connections, creating a sense of continuity or exposing discontinuities.

Construction and Co-construction of meaning

Throughout the process of narrative inquiry, meaning is constructed, co-constructed and re-constructed, with new meanings and possibilities opening up as stories are told. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) refer to this multi-stage meaning-making as the 'restorying' quality of narrative inquiry. Restorying is an ongoing process as the meanings and understandings that are brought to experiences and events are continuously being updated according to our changing perspectives (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

Furthermore, although stories are personalized accounts of experience, all narratives are shared constructions of narrators, audiences and the medium through which they are communicated (Squire et al, 2014). Context plays an important role in influencing stories that emerge, both in the local context of the interview situation, and the wider context of dominant social, cultural, historical and political discourses and storytelling conventions (Bell, 2002; Johnson & Golombek, 2011; Pavlenko, 2007). In this study, the interactional element of the interview and the influence this has on the narratives that emerge is considered. The interviewer's voice is not silenced but is included in the narrative extracts, and is also present in interpreting the meaning of the narratives. Relevant dominant narratives within the education field also influence the stories teachers tell, and depict the narrator as a particular type of teacher.

III. Research Design

Participants

The criteria for selecting participants for this study were that they were currently practising ESOL teachers, who had considerable experience teaching ESOL in a variety of contexts. Furthermore, in order to examine cultural dimensions, participants were sought who had taught in more than one country. I chose four teachers who I did not work with, but who I came in contact with through my

wider professional network. These teachers were emailed with information about the study and invited to participate. Two of the participants had taught ESOL for thirty years, one for almost twenty, and one for less than ten years. Although the latter participant had a shorter career trajectory, this teacher was considered to be suitable for the study as she had taught in a variety of contexts and could provide insightful contrasts to those with longer careers. All four teachers had experience teaching ESOL in two countries, and in various contexts including private language schools, high schools and tertiary institutes.

Narrative Interviewing

Data was collected in this study through a series of two unstructured narrative interviews conducted with each participant. The only planned question in the first interview was the general request to "tell me the story of your career". The second interview did not have a separate focus, but participants were asked to continue with their story from whichever point they wanted. In this way, participants were able to choose their own timeframes rather than trying to fit their stories into pre-conceived frameworks of chronological time (Czarniawska, 2004). Participants were allowed to control the introduction and flow of topics and encouraged to extend their responses (Mishler, 1986). Interview questions were not pre-planned and standardized, as the intention was not to lead the participant to talk about certain aspects. Questions needed to be flexible in order to accommodate pathways and directions the participants wished to pursue. Follow-up and prompting questions emerged naturally, and often asked for more detail on areas already raised, or for examples. This prompting process was a natural feature of the interactional context of the interview, although it is acknowledged it may have exerted an influence on the narratives that participants chose to tell and how they told them.

I interviewed each participant twice, with each interview lasting around an hour. All interviews except one were carried out in private face-to-face settings, either in my office, the teacher's office or the teacher's home, and interviews were audio recorded on a digital recorder. One participant's second interview was via Skype. After the two interviews I also checked a few minor details for clarification with participants by email.

Transcribing Interviews

Transcribing is part of the restorying process, another level of representation in which the researcher engages in meaning-making. Decisions on how to record the interview in writing reveal assumptions the researcher makes about the relationship between speech and meaning (Mishler, 1986). If the participant's responses are selectively transcribed, reliability of the data may be questionable as the researcher is making decisions about what to include and exclude. In this study transcriptions captured the interviewer's and participant's interaction. By including the interviewer's presence the co-constructed nature of meaning is acknowledged (Riessman, 2008). Although the focus was mainly on the content of the individual's stories, features of the interaction also revealed how the interviewer's presence may have influenced the content and manner in which the narratives were told.

I chose to transcribe the interviews myself, which led me to become very familiar with the narratives. Interviews were fully transcribed word for word, including false starts, hesitations, pauses, repetitions, asides, discourse markers such as 'you know', and non-lexical expressions such as 'ah'. Other features captured were the emphasis placed on particular words, which was indicated by underlining, and some nonverbal features such as laughter and pauses, which were added in brackets. Such "ambiguity and messiness" (Riessman, 1993, p. 40) carries meaning, which would be lost by cleaning up the transcription and removing these features. The richness of language and the interactional context were thus preserved as closely as possible, although naturally the written transcription is but a representation of the spoken interview, as certain nonverbal aspects of communication are not included.

I wrote the interview data in lines organized into clauses and sense units, which reflect the way spoken language is organized with a seemingly poetic quality. This is reminiscent of Labov and Waletzky's (1997) approach to transcribing, where each line represents a clause. I have not used punctuation, which is a feature of written language, however in order to facilitate reading, I have used commas to indicate repetition, and hyphens to indicate false starts and unfinished sentences.

Ethical Considerations

The approach to participants and the interview data they provided needed to be both ethical and professional, not only to comply with the Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct, but to treat participants with dignity and respect. Ethical decisions are relevant and need to be considered at each stage of the research process, from the initial conception of the project through to final reporting (Kvale, 1996). The key ethical principles pertinent to this study are: respect for persons; informed and voluntary consent; privacy and confidentiality; and avoidance of conflict of interest.

The key ethical principle of informed and voluntary consent means that participants must be given all information relevant to their decision to participate in writing, and that they need to be aware of what involvement entails. The invitation to participate stated that the purpose of the study was to investigate teachers' evolving identities throughout their career trajectories and that there would be a maximum of three one-hour interviews. Participants were informed that they had the right to decide whether to participate or not, and the right to withdraw up until two weeks after the interviews. They were also told that they would be given a chance to edit their transcripts.

Confidentiality is an important consideration in this research project due to the personal nature of the information sought from participants (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Confidentiality means that information that could identify participants is not reported (Kvale, 1996). Names and identifying features of participants, locations and institutions have been changed or removed from transcripts, and care was taken in describing context in a non-identifying manner in the final report. Participants were given pseudonyms, which were used throughout the study. While all efforts have been made to protect the identity of participants, the uniqueness of individual career trajectories and the relatively small context of TESOL in New Zealand may mean that others could work out which teachers participated. When whole lives or careers are summarized and presented with the richness of contextual detail, anonymity cannot be guaranteed (Squire, 2013). However, all care was taken throughout the research process to ensure participant confidentiality.

Relational responsibilities were also an ethical issue (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 176). To avoid any conflict of interest and any potential power issues I sought participants from outside my

workplace. Information used in the study arose purely from the interview data, and personal knowledge from any other source was not included.

IV. Analysis of Narratives

Identifying the Narratives

The entire interview, the series of two interviews, or even the career trajectory can be seen as a large narrative in itself, made up of multiple glimpses represented by shorter narratives. From the full interview transcripts I identified separate narratives which appeared to stand alone as episodes in particular ongoing career journeys. Many of the narratives I found in the interview transcripts and used for analysis were what may be termed "fully formed" Labovian narratives. Fully formed narratives contain the structural features of orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda (Labov and Waletzky, 1997). The orientation serves to provide an overview of person, place, and time to orient the listener to the story. The complicating action presents the series of events and usually ends in a result, which is termed the resolution. The evaluation is the "part of the narrative that reveals the attitude of the narrator toward the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others" (Labov & Waletzky, 1997, p. 32). This can be achieved in various ways, such as being embedded in the action or through the narrator stepping outside the action and commenting on events. Finally, there is a coda, an additional element of the narrative, which serves to return the perspective to the present time, making temporal links from the incident being recounted to the current time.

I also considered other types of narratives, segments of talk which "felt like narratives because they were accounts that functioned to construct and interpret the past and were efforts to persuade an audience" (Riessman, 1997, p. 156). These segments included habitual narratives and hypothetical narratives (Riessman, 1997). Habitual narratives are those which describe durative events and are generally characterized by the use of 'would'. Hypothetical narratives are those in which narrators imagine events that have not occurred or may occur, blurring time by referring to past, present or future situations. I also identified descriptive narratives and narrative fragments, which served to provide a description of context with little action. The reason I chose to do this is because both

descriptive narratives and narrative fragments are common in the interview data about career histories, and provide meaningful insights into teachers' experiences and professional identities.

The narratives were extracted from the interviews and placed in chronological order according to the stages of the career. To determine the boundaries of each separate narrative, where they began and ended, I identified sections of the interview which were on the same theme or topic, for example stories of cultural adaptation. From each one hour interview there were around 40 narratives, resulting in a total of 60 to 80 narratives from each participant. This large number of narratives provided a great quantity of rich data for analysis of the participants' professional identities.

Analysing the Narratives

Narrative can be analysed at different levels in terms of content, structure, or function (Mankowski & Rappaport, 2000) which relate to the what, how and why a particular narrative is told. These levels are interdependent and the approach used in this study was to consider all of these aspects because of the holistic nature of narrative. The analysis process was inductive in that it arose from the data and processes of engaging with the data rather than by fitting it into pre-conceived categories. I did not use traditional deductive, frequency-based coding, but instead used a form of coding that is inductive and qualitative. Various aspects of professional identity may be revealed within a single narrative, and relationships between these aspects can be explored by preserving the complete narrative. I was interested not only in content and plot, but also how the story was told through structural and linguistic features, which all provided useful information for interpretation. In the following section I describe the various features of the participants' narratives that were analysed.

Identifying professional identities

An important focus of analysis was to identify the various professional identities the participants revealed by examining how they presented themselves in their narratives, keeping in mind that multiple aspects of professional identity can emerge from one narrative. I determined the identities that arose from each narrative by considering how the teacher acted as a character, or commented on the action as narrator, through the particular linguistic and interactional features they used.

These interpretations were influenced by my knowledge of language from my background as an experienced language teacher. For each participant I then charted their professional identities across the stages of their career trajectories, looking for constant and changing identities. In this way I was able to determine the contextual factors that may have exerted particular influences.

Identifying themes

Identifying important themes, that is the content or 'what' is said, is the most common approach in narrative analysis (Riessman, 2008). The stories people choose to tell show which themes are important to them. I did not choose themes in advance, but began by identifying the individual narratives, keeping them intact, and then inductively coded them by determining the themes as they arose from each narrative (See Appendix 5). Themes were not determined by looking at key word frequencies, but by the emotional significance of the narrative and its importance to identity (Mankowski & Rappaport, 2000). Themes were closely related to how the participant was presented within the narratives or, in other words, their professional identities.

Identifying structural elements

Although I did not adopt a structural approach, I drew on the Labovian model by identifying features such as complicating action, evaluation and coda. However, this was not the only method used as many narratives were not fully developed. Although almost all of the identified narratives contained a temporal sequence of events, there were also narratives which were primarily habitual (Riessman, 1997) or descriptive. These descriptive narratives were characterized by linguistic devices, for example the use of 'would', 'used to', past or even present tense, to express continued states or repetitive action, and some contained only one or two action clauses. Descriptive narratives relayed information about how things were, or explained a teacher's approach with a persuasive function intending to convince the listener about the validity of the teacher's beliefs.

In several narratives, I noted the presence of the Labovian structural element, the coda, a temporal device which brings the past event into the present (Labov & Waletzky, 1997). This showed how the narrator made links throughout time, connecting the various episodes of their career trajectory into a whole and recognizing reciprocal influences of past and present.

The importance of the 'evaluation'

The evaluation section of the narrative is an essential element as it shows the narrator's attitude toward the narrative (Labov and Waletzky, 1997), and may point to the underlying meaning. The evaluation is not always a separate structural element, but may be achieved by embedding it into the narrative. Some of the linguistic devices I found and examined, that participants used to realize the evaluation, were the use of emotive language, lexical intensifiers, repetition and direct statements. The moral of the story, or the lesson that is implicit in the narrative, is closely linked to the evaluation and the persuasive function of narratives (Riessman, 1997).

V. Evaluating this study

Narrative truth

Narrative inquiry does not claim to describe or replicate reality, but rather to represent different perspectives or points-of-view (Riessman, 1993). Through telling narratives people interpret the past, and these representations of their experiences are versions of reality (Chase, 2005; Ochs & Capps, 1996). The process of narrating involves retrospective meaning-making (Chase, 2005) and therefore certain events may be changed or omitted, and alternative interpretations of events can always exist. Asking people to retrieve information from long-term memory leads to selective information, influenced over time by new experiences, events and other people (Beijaard et al., 2000). There can be a sense of tentativeness, a blurring of knowledge marked by ambiguity and uncertainty. This uncertainty is embraced in narrative inquiry as it resembles real life and opens it up to alternative possibilities: "Ambiguity is the warp of life, not something to be eliminated" (Bateson, 1994, cited in Clandinin & Connolly, 2000).

The value of narrative truth lies in its ability to provide a deep understanding of lived experience, while acknowledging that the research creates a representation that is an interpretation of personal experience. The narratives people tell provide insights into how they create meaning and how they

construct their identities. A person's interpretations are important, because they represent how he/she experiences events.

Criteria for judging this study

Underlying any research project is the question of how the research can demonstrate that the findings are valid, reliable and useful. Because narrative inquiry is a different way of conducting research from positivist research and examines phenomena through a different lens, it cannot be judged by the measures of validity and reliability developed for experimental research, which aim to ensure generalizability. This study is not seeking to generalize but to contribute to conversations in the field of TESOL. Rather than being judged by a fixed criteria, the validity of narrative research should be assessed from within the situated perspective and traditions that frame it (Riessman, 2008). For narrative inquiry, a more appropriate aim to establish validity is to demonstrate that the findings are trustworthy and coherent.

The research must demonstrate trustworthiness on two levels: of the story told by the participant and at the level of analysis (Riessman, 2008). This study is interpretive, acknowledging that narratives are interpretations of participants' experiences, and that the findings consist of the researcher's interpretations of participants' narrative performances. Displaying participants' narratives exactly as they were told in interviews allows participants' voices to be heard, and thereby contributes to establishing the trustworthiness of data. The interpretive nature of autobiographical data has drawn criticisms that narrative studies consist of summaries of participants' observations, often containing many quotes but little analysis (Pavlenko, 2007). However, quotes add to the trustworthiness of the data, although a balance still needs to be found between direct quotes and thorough and meaningful interpretative analysis.

The researcher also needs to show that they followed a methodical path guided by ethical considerations and theory (Riessman, 2008). By giving a detailed account of the research procedure, the context and the theoretical framework used in interpreting data, the trustworthiness of the findings is strengthened. The validity of interpretations is demonstrated by explaining clearly how narratives were identified and analyzed, as shown in this chapter.

Another appropriate aim to achieve trustworthiness in this study is to strive for coherence, both of participants' narratives and the researcher's interpretation. Coherence is a property of texts where parts link to the whole, both within and across texts (Riessman, 2008). Coherence can be evaluated by asking if the episodes of the life story fit together in a logical way, reflecting the continuity of the life and career trajectory. At the level of analysis, we can ask if the arguments are linked, consistent and persuasive. In this study, coherence is achieved by seeking connections across each individual participant's narratives throughout their career.

VI. Reflexivity

Reflexivity pertains to taking into account the effect of the researcher's subjectivity throughout the research process. The presence of the researcher within narrative inquiry is pervasive, and their voice is involved in making meaning at each stage of the research. The aim of narrative inquiry is to explore participants' lived experiences, however, the researcher also has his or her own lived experiences, which are inevitably brought to the inquiry. It is important to acknowledge the centrality of the researcher's own experience and biography in order to understand how the researcher's background influences the way the research has been carried out and their interpretation of the data (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The researcher's stories are open for inquiry and retelling because we are not objective inquirers, but are "complicit in the world we study" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 61).

As a teacher myself, my place in the study is not neutral. I have a personal and professional commitment to TESOL, and my beliefs about TESOL lead me to make assumptions about the participants' identities. My presence is evident throughout the research, and my own career trajectory has influenced every step of the study from the formulation of the research question, to the final conclusions. As researcher, I am privileged to be given in-depth insights into other teachers' career stories, and these insights will also help me to examine assumptions I make about ESOL teachers and professional practice.

At the interview stage, the interview context is inseparable from the narratives produced. Narrative is not a solo construction, but rather it is co-constructed in collaboration with a listener (Mishler, 1986). "Connections between teller and listener are the bedrock of all human interaction"

(Riessman, 1993, p. 40). The interviewer asks questions, listens and responds to what the participant says, and the participant clarifies and develops the narrative accordingly. Quite a different account may have arisen in a different interactional context. As a supportive listener, I endeavoured to show that I understood the teachers' contexts by offering agreement and encouragement. I attempted to listen quietly and unobtrusively, while recognizing that even short comments could influence the direction of the narrative told. I made comments in order to encourage participants to elaborate, and in this way they may have used repetition or emotive language, which was a way of showing their attitude toward the narrative.

Because of my experience in the TESOL field, there is the expectation of shared understandings, which undoubtedly influenced the narratives that were told. Although my positioning as a researcher in the interviews was as an insider, a fellow ESOL teacher with knowledge of the professional area, I have not had experience in the specific contexts participants had worked in, particularly in Asia. However, the perception that there was a degree of shared understandings may also have engendered a sense of trust and openness.

Throughout the analysis stage (including transcribing, identifying the narratives, and choices I made about which aspects to examine) I made assumptions about what I considered important to investigate teachers' professional identity. Interpreting meaning and writing up the research report is inevitably influenced by the researcher's position within the research. Nonetheless, an effort has been made to present the findings in such a way that they are open for the reader to bring their own meanings and interpretations in yet another stage of the restorying process.

VII. Summary

Teachers are at the heart of teaching, and the importance of investigating how teachers experience their careers is now widely recognized (Varghese et al., 2005). The narrative approach chosen for this study is suitable to investigate how ESOL teachers' professional identities are informed and transformed because the rich data about real life experiences holds the potential to reveal how these changes unfold across temporal, spatial and cultural dimensions. Therefore, the methodology chosen for this study was designed to provide a deep understanding of the issues facing particular

ESOL teachers in various contexts. It utilized unstructured narrative interviewing in which participants were invited to tell their career stories, with the identification of discrete narratives for analysis. Through examining various structural, linguistic and functional components of the narratives, professional identities were recognized as they emerged from the narratives, and the evolution of these identities was then tracked across the stages of the participants' career trajectories.

In the next chapter I introduce the findings by presenting intact narratives which are excerpts from interviews, along with my interpretations of these.

Chapter Four: Findings

I. Introduction

In this chapter I will explore the participants' professional identities as illustrated through the narratives they told. The narratives presented in this chapter provide glimpses into teachers' professional identities, which appear and reappear at different stages through their career journeys. Some aspects of professional identity remained consistent throughout an entire career trajectory, while others developed according to different contexts. The findings are introduced separately for each teacher, beginning with a short summary to sketch out the various stages in his/her career journey. Excerpts from the interviews are then presented in chronological order, as intact narratives, and features of these data excerpts are examined in order to illustrate emerging aspects of professional identity. Each section concludes with a review of the teacher's professional identity journey.

II. Ged

Ged's career journey

Ged is a New Zealander aged around 60 with a TESOL career spanning over 30 years. Before his TESOL career began he taught at different levels of primary school for ten years, and also went on a two-year European OE (Overseas Experience) when he did not teach at all. His primary teaching background, for which he had formal training, gave him the confidence to feel capable in the ESOL class. His first TESOL teaching job was when he followed his friend to teach at a company in Japan. Enjoying the lifestyle and work in Japan, he decided to move to Japan permanently and stayed there for around 14 years. Over this time he taught at three different places simultaneously: a company language school, a university, and a private boy's high school. He juggled his time between these three jobs, and also completed a BA in Education by distance.

Finally in 1998, Ged felt it was time to return home to New Zealand and on returning enrolled for a Masters in Applied Linguistics. While he was studying he taught part-time at a private high school,

and then his studies led to him being offered a teaching job at the language school attached to the university, as well as teaching in university classes. After six years there, in 2007, he got a job at a private tertiary institute, where he had been teaching for ten years at the time of the interview. Several years into this position he had also taken on a management role, although he still taught some classes.

Japan company 1984 -1998

Japan university 1985 - 1998

Japan boys' high school 1987 - 1998

NZ private high school 2000

NZ university 1985 - 1998

NZ private tertiary institute 2007 -
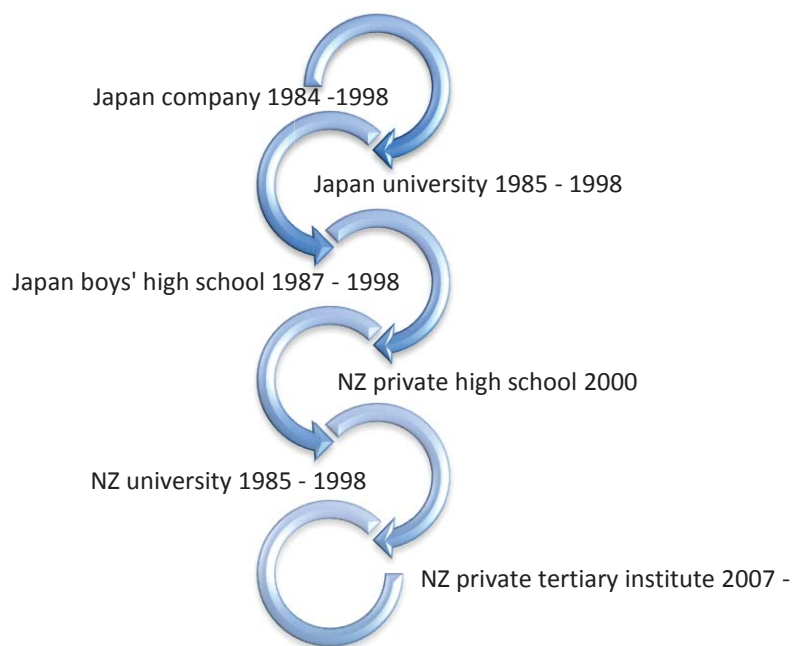
Figure 1: Ged's career journey

Ged's professional identities

Ged's career has two distinct stages: the first is teaching in Japan and the second teaching in New Zealand. A dominant identity that emerges from his narratives about teaching in Japan is that of being lucky, although dealing with difficult work situations.

Japanese company

In the excerpt below, Ged described getting a job teaching at a company in Japan as easy.

Ged, narrative 1:

Ged: yeah, [name] got me
because [name] had worked there as well
but they um, you –

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and it was funny, 'cos I got in and I didn't –

I was only a trained teacher and I didn't have a degree

you wouldn't get in now without a degree

This narrative fragment contains little sequential action, but still has something to say about how Ged sees himself. He attributes getting the company job to luck on two levels. Firstly, he had connections, and in addition he got the job even though he didn't have a degree, and so was lucky to be there at that time. Through the evaluative statement 'it was funny', the narrative reinforces Ged's interpretation that getting the job was due to the intervention of luck. By saying 'I was only a trained teacher', Ged is portrayed as feeling inadequate, believing that his teacher training was somehow inferior to a university degree. The coda, 'you wouldn't get in now without a degree' links the past with the present. This suggests he believes that particular time and place, the 1980s in Japan, was something of a golden age. Ged goes on to describe his perceptions of the teaching practice at the company.

Ged, narrative 2:

Donna: the first time you were in an ESOL classroom, did you have the feeling it was successful?

Ged: oh, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah

but it was very, the programme then in [company] was very

it was fairly formal 'cos you had the textbook and stuff which you had to follow

and they had an exam at the end of the term

so you know, you just had to make sure you covered everything

and, and they're kind of planned out

you know it was lesson one this day

and lesson two the next day

and lesson three the next day

and if you didn't finish you could give them a bit of homework

Donna: yeah

Ged: um, and we used to, I think it was just

some of the classes were twice a week, but most were just once a week

and so you'd go to different places

well, you weren't at the same place every night, might – might –

sometimes you were, but not all the time, so you went all –

so, yeah, no, it was quite hard at the beginning

but I think that being a trained primary teacher

I used some of those things that I had from new entrants like phonics and stuff like that

This descriptive narrative portrays Ged as non-agentive by using repetition of 'you had to', and by using a passive construction in 'they're kind of planned out'. There is a poetic repetition of 'lesson one', 'lesson two', 'lesson three', showing that teachers were provided with a curricular structure, and although this may reinforce learning for novice teachers, it also creates constraints. The narrative describes this in positive terms using 'just' and 'kind of' to indicate that the teaching was quite easy, and was simply a matter of complying with the procedures and following the book. However, in contrast with this, Ged says it was 'quite hard', referring to teaching at different locations. At the end of the narrative, he is also presented as competent, drawing on his experience from primary teaching to inform his ESOL teaching.

Japanese university

Ged also found it easy to get a job at the university, again attributing this to luck as another teacher was leaving. However, he recollects that teaching was not always so easy.

Ged, narrative 3:

> Ged: oh I can remember one bad experience at the university
> I had a class, a third year class, it was conversation, English conversation
> and I had, there were about 14 in the class
> and there were seven girls and seven boys
> and the boys didn't like the girls and the girls didn't like the boys
> and they wouldn't mix
> and the boys sat on one side of the room and the girls sat on the other
> wouldn't mix at all
> and it was, it was a struggle for the whole year
> trying to get them to have a conversation and giving them tasks
> and I struggled and struggled and struggled
> um, and one of the boys I got on with really well
> because I had actually taught him in high school as well
> so um, I don't know whether the girls were jealous of that, I don't know
> but I didn't give them any, I didn't give them preferential treatment
> but that was, that was one of the hardest years, it was just <u>so hard</u> going

This narrative is also descriptive, and presents Ged as a survivor, making the most of a difficult situation. It uses repetition of 'girls' and 'boys', and 'wouldn't mix' with a poetic effect to emphasize the opposition between them. There is also repetition of the word 'struggle' and 'hard' to stress the

difficulties he experienced with this class. Ged is portrayed as non-agentive, unable to improve the situation. His position as a teacher is simply to carry out the teaching role. The narrative contains a hypothetical section where he wonders about the reason the class was so difficult, repeating 'I don't know', and reflecting that he had done nothing to cause the situation. The importance of connections with students is also raised, as Ged relates that he got on really well with one particular boy.

Japanese private boys' high school

Just as getting the jobs at the company and the university were a matter of luck, getting the job at the high school was also described as serendipitous. Again, the teaching presented various challenges.

Ged, narrative 4:

Donna: how did you get the job at the private boys' school?
Ged: through [name], he had been teaching there and um,
he was leaving, so I, he introduced me
and I went and watched him a couple of times to see what he did
and then it was in
and you had a couple of –
um, at the high school for ESOL it's a bit different
the Japanese, they, the government prescribes textbooks that you have to use
but then as a foreigner, I, I wasn't on a –
I wasn't a JET teacher or anything like that
I was just a, a foreigner working at the high school
and so I used to choose my own textbook, and, just something very basic
and it was a lot of –
I mean, you imagine 50 fifteen-year-old boys all sitting in rows
the walls are –
there's nothing, I mean, there's nothing on the walls, it's very plain
at first there was no air conditioning, so in summer it's like 35 degrees
and you've got to, you've got to think that probably, maybe
not two thirds of them, not even a third
a percentage of them were not really interested in learning English
but they just have to
so it was a lot of um, drills, and repeat after me's
because you couldn't do anything else with them
and then you couldn't be too noisy because the maths teacher was in the room next door

and they would complain because you would be too noisy

Getting the job is presented as easy, as simply watching the class a few times was considered sufficient to be able to teach. This descriptive narrative depicts Ged as a survivor, dealing successfully with numerous difficulties, which he lists with a charming poetic structure: 50 boys sitting in rows; no decoration or air conditioning in the classroom; and unmotivated students. This structure gives the appearance of an often-told and well-rehearsed narrative.

The narrative invites the listener into Ged's world by using 'you imagine', and 'you've got to think'. Ged is seen as both agentive and non-agentive. As a foreign teacher he had a high status and could choose his own text-book, implying he had autonomy and freedom, unlike the Japanese teachers who had to use government mandated textbooks. However, at the same time the narrative describes Ged as being bound by constraints inherent in the context, which he could do nothing about. The narrative ends by describing basic teaching methods used such as drills, and at this point the narrative uses linguistic devices to indicate Ged's perceived lack of agency. The use of the pronoun 'you', and repetition of the phrase 'you couldn't', implies the problems were not specific to Ged alone, but more pervasive, and in addition were out of his control. However, although often being seen to be complying with institutional conventions, Ged's narratives also at times displayed a rebellious side.

Ged, narrative 5:

Ged: so they employed this Australian
now he could speak better Japanese than me
um, and he just taught the junior high school students
and I taught the high school, but only first years
we didn't teach anybody else
but he was very keen because he, he did –
he coached rugby after school and was, you know –
do all these other things and you know
English club and stuff like that
and I did nothing of that
[name] had wised me up
"you just go to work, you do your thing, the minute you've finished, walk out the door"
and that's what I did
you just sign in, sign in, you sign in, take your shoes off, put your slippers on

This descriptive narrative has two sections, both consisting of appealing narrative segments with a repetitive poetic structure. At first the narrative lists three points of contrast between Ged and the Australian teacher, by alternating between 'he' and 'I'. Whereas the Australian teacher conformed to cultural expectations by doing many extracurricular activities, Ged is presented as rebellious, resisting such expectations. The second section of the narrative has an instructional function imparting the inside information he had learned from his friend. This is reported as direct speech and uses the pronoun 'you', implying that it is a universal truth that it is not necessary to do extracurricular activities. In contrast, it is sufficient to do the minimum.

NZ university language school

Ged's return to New Zealand represented a new phase in his career, and a new identity revealed through his narratives is a feeling of loss of autonomy and status.

Ged, narrative 6:

Ged: and the reason I left that actually is because I couldn't get a full –
my boss wouldn't give me a permanent full-time job
and she wasn't –
she'd probably be one of the worst bosses I've ever had
she would've, she would've been at work no more than ten hours a week
Donna: was she fulltime?
Ged: fulltime, and just never there and not supportive
um, and had us doing all these ridiculous things
you know, seminars on how to, how to deal with a contents page
you know, we had to prepare and give a seminar
and I mean, some of the things –
I just said "I'm not doing that, that's ridiculous"

This narrative is a mixture of explanation, habitual action and a final dramatic resolution. Ged shows that although he felt he was treated unfairly, he was agentive and decisive in making the decision to leave. The use of emotive language such as 'one of the worst bosses', 'not supportive', and 'ridiculous', carries an evaluative function. By using the pronouns 'us' and 'we', the narrative establishes that it was not only Ged who felt he was treated unfairly, but there is strength in the fact that he perceived others were also subject to unreasonable demands. In this way the narrative shows that he believed his feelings were justified. Using a direct statement to resolve the action

sequence has emotional impact and emphasizes Ged's agency. It suggests he is principled and has strong convictions which he stands by and is not afraid to act on.

NZ private tertiary institute

Ged's narratives about his current position also show him as dealing with a perceived lack of agency by standing up for himself and refusing to do certain things that are against his beliefs. In contrast to having mixed feelings about institutional constraints, Ged has warm feelings towards his students. The following narrative provides a glimpse into Ged's connections with students.

Ged, narrative 7:

Ged: and I fail, I fail, I've told one kid, he's, he's –
'cos what I do is a research project over the two semesters
so at the moment the class I've got is the second semester
so they're in the second half
if they fail the first half, they have to get a completely new topic
but if they fail the second half they just have to redo it and fix it up
so I've told him he's failing, I'm still working with him
and then I've got another girl who dropped out of the first half
'cos she found it too difficult
so I'm help –
she comes to see <u>me</u> every week as well
so I've got two extras that are not really part of my –
should have to do
but I do it
Donna: yeah, so have they got another teacher who they're working with?
Ged: no, they just work with me at the moment
Donna: yeah, and so what, they're enrolled still in that paper?
Ged: no, not enrolled, no, they're not enrolled
but they just come to me, kind of like preparatory
they're getting ready for doing it next semester

This descriptive narrative presents Ged as a considerate teacher, caring for students and going beyond the call of duty to help students who are described as 'extras'. The co-constructed nature of narrative is displayed, as in response to my questions, Ged uses repetition of 'just' and 'not enrolled' to emphasize that helping these students is not actually part of his official teaching duties. This portrays him as being committed to ensuring student success.

Review of Ged's professional identity journey

Ged's narratives show that as a new ESOL teacher in Japan he was confident, relying on his training and experience as a primary teacher. He was lucky, being in the right place at the right time to get jobs in Japan, although he was not qualified. Ged was connected, part of an ex-patriate community of ESOL teachers, which provided a positive experience. Despite a lack of autonomy, Ged was easy-going and accepting of situations, although they were not always without difficulties. At times Ged is portrayed as rebellious in response to cultural and institutional expectations. Returning to New Zealand, Ged asserted his need for autonomy, rebelling against what he saw as unreasonable demands. Connections with students became an important source of identity construction, and as an experienced expert, Ged was depicted as a kind and caring teacher.

III. Maggie

Maggie's career journey

Maggie is in her early 50s and has taught ESOL for almost 30 years. Her TESOL career began in 1989 after completing her Bachelor's degree in history, when she responded to an advertisement she saw at her university in New Zealand for teaching assistants on a cultural exchange programme in Japan. She planned to have a year overseas before entering teachers' training college, but finding she enjoyed both the work and the lifestyle in Japan, she stayed there for 18 years. Over the three years on the cultural exchange programme, Maggie made contacts and was offered a job at a private girls' high school where for the first time she was in charge of her own class. This was a time of learning both on the job and through study, and she did two short courses in Japan and then a Masters in TESOL by distance. After 14 years at the school, in 2006, she moved to a teaching position at the university owned by the school, and was simultaneously offered work at a national university. She worked at both universities part time, teaching general conversational English at the private university and academic English at the National University.

In 2007 Maggie decided it was time to return home to New Zealand. Initially she had difficulty finding a job, but eventually found a position at a private language institute teaching ESOL part-time. A year later she moved on to a full time job at a private tertiary institute where she stayed for 18

months. In 2009 she was offered a job teaching on an academic English programme at a university language school in New Zealand, where she has been for six years.

Japan cultural exchange 1989 - 1992

Japan private girls' high school 1992 - 2006

Japan two universities 2006 - 2007

NZ private language school 2007

NZ tertiary institute 2008 - 2009

NZ university language school 2009
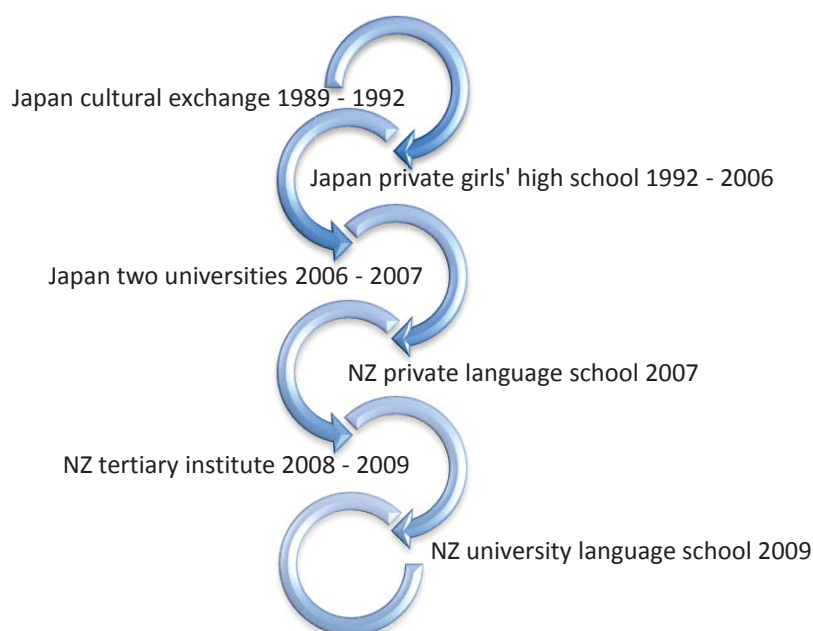
Figure 2: Maggie's career journey

Maggie's professional identities

There are two distinct stages to Maggie's career trajectory: teaching in Japan and teaching in New Zealand. In Japan, she had the professional identity as an autonomous leader, in charge of herself and others. She felt that being successful was validating and made her want to continue in the profession.

Japan cultural exchange

The narratives Maggie tells about working in the cultural exchange programme depict her as competent and confident, although not actually being a teacher yet or having any teaching qualifications. As a foreigner she was afforded a high status. She was open to new exotic experiences, and was skillful at adapting to the culture. A contradiction became apparent, however, between conforming to the culture and learning from it on one hand, while at times trying to shape it to a more 'western' way.

Maggie, narrative 1:

Maggie: but we also had one for Japanese teachers (orientation programme)

and when I took over it was, it was quite dry

it was all sort of like theory, theory etc.

so one of the big changes I made, one of the first things that I made

we did a challenge thing where we put everybody in groups

[details of activities]

um, and they were also divided into male female

I don't know if you know but

Japanese kind of divide themselves into males and females

they don't really work that well together

well, we made them work in male, female groups

[details of activities]

and we tried to make it more light hearted

because Japanese tend to be very serious about everything

they don't tend to work male, female

so we tried to change that idea

In this excerpt there is an interesting variation of subject pronouns, between 'I', 'we' and 'they'. The use of 'I' at the beginning in 'when I took over' and 'one of the big changes I made' foreshadows the leadership role that Maggie took on in her next job at the girls' high school. In this way she is shown to be a competent and capable leader. As the pronoun then changes to 'we', Maggie is seen to align herself with a group of colleagues and part of a community of practice with a common goal. The Japanese cultural tendencies to separate the sexes and to be very serious about everything are explained through asides, showing Maggie to be very knowledgeable about cultural issues. The first is introduced with 'I don't know if you know but', which invites the interviewer into the Japanese worldview. 'They' refers to the Japanese, and is used to illustrate cultural differences between east and west. The narrative depicts Maggie aligning herself with western culture by making changes to the programme; making males and females work together and making it more light hearted. By doing this, Maggie is portrayed as influential and an agent for change.

Japan private girls' high school

Teaching at the girls' high school was the longest stage in Maggie's career trajectory, lasting for 14 years, and an identity dominating narratives about this stage is one of being a leader and being in charge. Being the head of the English department was an important experience in forming Maggie's professional identity, as evidenced by her reference to this in seven separate narratives found in the

full interview transcripts. The next two narratives in this section were selected to exemplify this leadership. Even when Maggie talks about later stages in her career, she refers back to having been the head teacher at the girls' school, when she had status and was influential. The narratives of this time show that she felt validated by the school promoting her to being the head teacher, and by her success and popularity as a teacher. These narratives point to the importance of making a contribution and receiving recognition. Maggie also had influence in decision-making, even when this involved a struggle against the status quo.

> Maggie, narrative 2:
>
> Maggie: and at one stage the teacher was a Romanian teacher
> um, which the school really resisted
> they wanted white, like American or British etc.
> and I had to fight for this guy
> and he turned out to be one of the best teachers we ever had
> um, grammar, his grammar was amazing

This narrative shows not only the influence Maggie had, but also introduces another facet of her professional identity which is woven through various stages of her career, one of fighting for justice and standing up for those who need help. She is not afraid to stand by her convictions. In the above excerpt the use of subject pronouns shows how Maggie is aligned. At first the school is referred to as 'they', whereas Maggie is separated from them by opposing their preference for hiring native speakers, and later the school is referred to as 'we', showing that Maggie is now aligned with the school, part of the institution, and therefore exerting authority. The resolution of this narrative is to describe the Romanian teacher as a success, proving that Maggie's instincts and advice were correct.

Being culturally adaptable and conforming to cultural expectations is important for a teacher to live and work successfully within a foreign culture. The following narrative explains this by referring to another teacher who was unsuccessful.

> Maggie, narrative 3:
>
> Maggie: like we got a teacher, a Canadian teacher on an exchange
> and she said
> "oh you don't do it like that, and that was wrong and that's wrong and you don't do it like that"
> and she was actually a really, really good teacher
> but, she came into Japan, with Japanese students, Japanese context

and things aren't wrong, they're actually just different

and she –

what happened was people resisted her

and she got really stressed and really upset

and the students wouldn't ask her questions

the students would come and ask <u>me</u> questions

and she got really upset, she got angry with me

and students would come and ask me questions in <u>Japanese</u>

and she said "they should be asking you questions in English"

and that's the question, you know

would you rather they didn't ask you questions, or be asking you questions

but also some of the questions they asked, ok

"I don't understand this, can you explain it to me"

they can't say that in English, but by telling me that in Japanese, and by me explaining it, it's actually –

so I, I went full circle as well

because I was saying "use your English, use your English"

but then I decided that actually asking me a question and developing a relationship with me was just as important

Donna: did that teacher leave and go back to Canada?

Maggie: she did, and she used to have screaming fits

she used to yell and scream at the Japanese teachers

The above narrative is particularly rich in revealing professional identities, and illustrates how multiple facets of identity can be revealed through one narrative. Describing the Canadian teacher in negative terms such as 'resisted', 'stressed', 'upset', 'angry', and 'screaming fits', displays the qualities Maggie believes are undesirable for a good teacher. In contrast to the Canadian teacher, Maggie is portrayed as highly moral, behaving correctly, and culturally adaptable. The moral of the story is stated explicitly: 'things aren't wrong, they're actually just different'. This shows the persuasive function of narrative, presenting a desired identity. A feature of this narrative is the use of direct statements, which create dramatic effect, emphasizing certain points as well as advancing the plot. Direct statements present the action as it occurred, leaving it open for the audience to interpret. The narrative also uses repetition for emphasis, for example 'the students would come and ask me questions', which presents Maggie as authoritative. She is also depicted as a considerate, connected and open-minded teacher who is learning professionally. She says 'I went full circle as well', reflecting that it was more important to develop a good relationship with students

and consider their feelings by allowing them to speak Japanese than to insist they spoke only English.

Maggie goes on to describe another teacher she worked with who behaved in a way she considers unethical.

> Maggie, narrative 4:
>
> Maggie: well, ah, the American teacher that I told you about in Japan was very, very popular
> but one of the things he did was he used to go <u>out</u> with the students
> he used to take them to coffee shops
> and he was actually reprimanded for being at a bar with a couple of the older students
> so he was a very popular teacher, nice looking, male, single male teacher

Through this narrative, Maggie is depicted as a teacher who behaves ethically and professionally, showing that she does not condone what she sees as unethical behaviour. Her view is backed up by the school, and is therefore presented as correct. Furthermore, the use of a passive structure in 'he was actually reprimanded' makes this action more formal and therefore adds more weight to the judgement. The use of linking words in this narrative reveals a contradiction, a linguistic feature leading to insights into Maggie's feelings towards this behaviour. At first the American teacher is described as popular 'but' he went out with students, showing Maggie to be disapproving. Later the causal linking word 'so' is used to attribute his popularity to the fact that he went out with students. Although it is clear from the pronoun 'he' that the American teacher is male, at the end of this excerpt Maggie repeats the word 'male', to emphasize the fact. This highlights the gender issues that are woven throughout her narratives of teaching in Japan.

Japanese universities
Maggie was very close to the principal at the school, and through her connections was recommended for a position at a university. Although the more academic teaching context suited Maggie's aspirations for professional growth, being unfairly treated as a result of the gender bias in favour of male teachers became dominant in informing her professional identity.

> Maggie, narrative 5:
>
> Maggie: yeah, and I would have been interested in working there fulltime
> and I did apply for fulltime jobs a couple of times but

Donna: at the National university?

Maggie: at the National one, but it wasn't the same type of process as we have here

you just express an interest to the head teacher

and both times they gave it to a male teacher

and the first time they gave it to a male teacher he only stayed about seven months

and then got offered a job somewhere else and moved on

um, but they definitely favoured the male teachers

although they told me that I was good

I had an increasing number of students wanting to attend in my class

the university preferred male teachers

so that was –

that impacted on my decision to leave

The incident described in this narrative was recounted in both interviews, which shows its importance in influencing Maggie's identity, to the point where she feels this contributed to her decision to leave Japan. The narrative uses repetition of 'favoured', 'preferred' and 'male' to emphasize the gender bias, portraying Maggie as disadvantaged as a female and lacking status. Maggie's competence was acknowledged by the university, in contrast to the male teacher who is described as not deserving of the role because he left soon after getting the job. She was told by the university that female teachers leave to have children and so are not as reliable as males. This aspect of Japanese culture also appeared in other narratives about her time in Japan.

NZ private language school

Returning to New Zealand represented a critical incident, and had an enormous impact on Maggie's perception of her professional identity. An identity arising from narratives Maggie tells about this period is one of loss of status, struggling with a system which does not provide her with the validation she received as a foreign teacher and leader in Japan. Maggie initially had difficulty finding a job and was surprised by the attitude she encountered.

Maggie, narrative 6:

Maggie: so anyway I um, started applying for jobs

and basically it was the same old story

everyone said to me that Japan was an unknown entity

and um, that they'd had mixed experiences with people who had worked in Japan

that Japan basically hires people off the street

they hire people with no training, no teaching, so um, you know

[university] said to me that they'd hired people who had turned out to be absolute disasters

so yeah, they just –

I found it very, very difficult to get a job

This narrative expresses the sudden loss of status that Maggie felt. Although by now she was experienced and had a Masters degree in TESOL, she found there was a sense of mistrust and lack of appreciation for those who had taught overseas. This contrasted sharply with the elevated status Maggie had enjoyed in Japan. The narrative depicts Maggie as unfairly treated, with 'everyone', 'they', and '[university]' discriminating against people who had taught in Japan. Maggie introduces the narrative with the phrase 'basically it was the same old story', which implies this is a common prejudice, and indicates her disappointment at this attitude. Repetition of 'basically' infers that this is a fact. The use of lexical intensifiers such as 'absolute disasters', emphasizes the strength of this perceived prejudice.

NZ private tertiary institute

Through the narratives Maggie tells about her time at the private tertiary institute, she is seen to reclaim her sense of status.

Maggie, narrative 7:

Maggie: so um, I got a job with [institute] um, in their [programme]

um, teaching um academic skills

which is exactly where I wanted to be

um, I didn't really see myself as an English teacher

um, I enjoy the (language) skills more than that

that's um, ah, my TESOL training is not so much English

as in teaching reading skills, writing skills, um, listening skills, etc.

so um, I really enjoyed developing that

curriculum development, and materials development

are two areas that I'm particularly interested in

so um, I had a lot of fun at [institute], developing that

and I was in charge of my own programme

Here, Maggie is portrayed as ambitious and satisfied, knowing what she wants. This narrative also revisits the professional identity of being autonomous, which is very important to Maggie. By using repetition of the word 'develop', and the statement 'I was in charge' in conjunction with positive statements such as 'enjoy', 'interested', and 'fun', the narrative asserts the importance of having the

freedom to create her own curriculum and materials in contributing to Maggie's job satisfaction. Through the statement 'I didn't really see myself as an English teacher' there is a subtle implication that teaching academic skills has a higher status than teaching just English, and in this way Maggie is seen to be regaining some status.

NZ university language school

Since 2009 Maggie has taught academic English at a university language school. Work life has become more complicated with conflicting themes of feeling fulfilled with the type of content she is teaching on one hand, but at the same time feeling frustrated at the low status of TESOL and her perceived loss of autonomy. The low status of TESOL is a pervasive issue, which is apparent in a narrative fragment where Maggie reports the attitude of another teacher within the English language school.

Maggie, narrative 8:

Maggie: I commented on another teacher and how they'd only had a couple of years training
and they said to me "oh, but they're a very intelligent person"
well, you wouldn't say that somebody in engineering could be an engineer
just because they are an intelligent person
so why can you say that with ESOL?

In the above excerpt, Maggie expresses feeling annoyed at the attitude that you don't need training to be a good teacher. The use of a direct statement shows that she has an emotional investment in this issue. Through telling the narrative, Maggie asserts her belief that experience is vital, and that teachers with many years of experience are deserving of more respect. In this way, Maggie reclaims some lost status, as she has been teaching for almost 30 years. Although Maggie perceives a loss of status at this stage of her career, she maintains high professional standards and convictions, which she acts on.

Maggie, narrative 9:

Maggie: we did propose that there were workbooks brought in for [programme]
and there was actually a course –
'cos what we were finding was that depending on which teacher you got teaching your course,
that was the programme you got
so there was no consistency across offerings and moderations were out
well no wonder

everyone's teaching different materials

so we proposed workbooks and we applied for project time

and we were denied project time

so we ended up making the workbooks

but making it in our own time, on top of our fulltime teaching load

and that was actually, by the end of that I was absolutely exhausted

but now those workbooks are used cross-campus by all teachers teaching on [programme]

and um, I'm really, really proud of them

Here, Maggie is presented as a hardworking teacher committed to excellence, and having convictions that she stands by. There is a long orientation section of the narrative, where Maggie rationalises the need for workbooks, showing her to be concerned for the integrity of the programme. Throughout most of the action sequence the subject pronoun used is 'we', indicating that someone else was involved, thereby adding strength to Maggie's beliefs. Maggie is portrayed as unfairly treated by being denied project time, and there is a sense of disappointment and resignation. However, the resolution 'we ended up making the workbooks in our own time' implies that Maggie is hardworking, willing to go beyond the call of duty to uphold her principles. The pronoun changes to 'I' at the end of the narrative, with statements connected to emotions, taking credit for the hard work and the results. Through the use of lexical intensifiers which indicate emotional investment, 'absolutely exhausted', 'really, really proud', Maggie portrays herself as hardworking and successful. Creating materials is a source of pride and job satisfaction, and the fact that the workbooks are used by all teachers validates Maggie's view of the value of her work.

Review of Maggie's professional identity journey

Maggie began her TESOL career in Japan as a confident teacher with autonomy. She had a high status, as both the head teacher at the high school and as a foreign teacher. She often adapted to the culture by conforming to cultural expectations, although at times in her teaching practice she was more aligned with 'western' approaches. Maggie presents herself as highly principled, and through her narratives she expressed her beliefs about how a good teacher should behave. An ongoing theme in Japan was the issue of being disadvantaged as a woman, which partially influenced her to return to New Zealand. On returning home, Maggie lost the high status and autonomy she enjoyed in Japan, however she was able to reclaim it by asserting the importance of having qualifications and experience and also by focusing on teaching academic skills, which is presented as more than just 'English'. The narratives depict her as highly principled and hard-

working, standing by her beliefs of what constitutes good teaching by ensuring that delivery is consistent.

IV. Dan

Dan's career journey

Dan is a Canadian aged around 40 and has been teaching ESOL for almost 20 years. After graduating with a degree in literature and not knowing what he wanted to do, his mother suggested he go to teach ESOL in Japan. His career began when he was recruited from Canada to teach at a private language school in Japan. Although his plan was to stay in Japan for only a couple of years, he ended up staying for around 14 years before moving to New Zealand.

In this first job, Dan had asked to go to a small town, but after a few years he decided he wanted to move to Tokyo, and continued to work at another branch of the same private language school. While there he did a TESOL course by distance through a university in Canada. Eventually he became disillusioned with the business focus of the private language school, and got a job teaching ESOL at a university. This gave him a lot of free time, which he made use of to do a Masters in Applied Linguistics by distance. A few years later he moved on to a job at a foreign languages university where, in addition to teaching, he trained and worked as a language advisor.

In 2012, Dan moved to New Zealand to pursue doctoral studies, which at the time of the interviews he was about to finish. Over the course of his studies, he also taught part-time on several different programmes at the university language school.

Japan private language school 1999 - 2003

Japan private language school 2003 - 2005

Japan university 2005 - 2008

Japan foreign languages university 2008 - 2012

NZ university language school 2013 - 2015
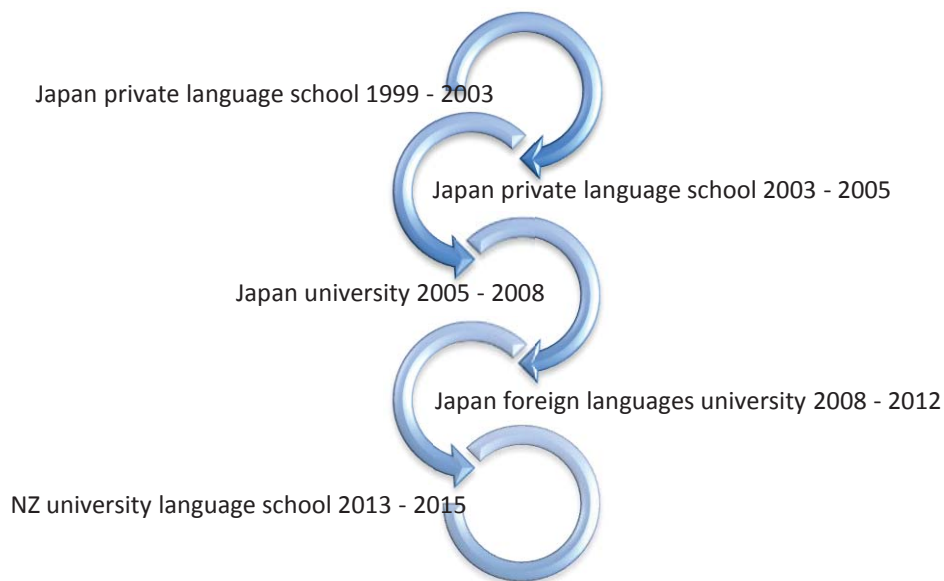
Figure 3: Dan's career journey

Dan's professional identities

Like Ged and Maggie, Dan's professional identity transformations also fall into two distinct stages, although in Dan's case these are both in Japan. They are marked by the change in context from teaching at private language schools to teaching at universities.

Japanese private language school

Dan's initial preparation for teaching at the private language school consisted of a two-week training course where novice teachers learned everything they needed to know about teaching. In the narrative below, Dan reflects on his first teaching experience.

Dan, narrative 1:

Dan: sometimes I think about when I first started
and how little I knew, you know, about anything
you're just going out there in front of a class and just kind of talking
entertaining
but later on, you know, you start wanting to make it effective as much as possible
I feel like that's one of the hardest things to do
is to make sure that you're being effective
not just –

a lot of teachers are happy when they get the students to talk or to write

and I think, you know, that's not necessarily, you know

just because they're talking or writing doesn't mean they're talking well or writing well

so, yeah, when I first started I was just there to get them talking

and now, I'm more like, you know, getting them to improve

so there's a bit of a change there from when I started

In this narrative Dan describes the change he underwent over his career, from an unknowledgeable novice at the beginning of his career, just 'entertaining' students, to becoming an 'effective' teacher. This development is revealed through the use of the subject 'I' at the beginning and at the end of the narrative, giving it a symmetrical shape. The central section of the narrative uses the universal subject pronoun 'you' to describe the professional goal of being effective, presenting it as a general process all teachers go through, although still reflecting back on Dan. In addition to considering Dan's development over time, he is also compared to other teachers, who he believes may not be effective. By critiquing the tendency of 'a lot of teachers' to engage students in activities that are not meaningful, the narrative marks Dan out as an effective teacher. The narrative ends with a summary, emphasizing Dan's professional growth.

Japanese university

Moving on to teach at the university represented a significant learning experience for Dan.

Dan, narrative 2:

Dan: when I got to Tokyo, after two years, I was so sick of that job

and then I applied for a job at a university

and they have these tutorial programmes at [university]

which is one of the biggest private universities in Japan

like all their presidents and prime ministers go there

like, it's quite a big one

but they have a tutorial English programme there that's mandatory for all the students

so they were all university students

classes were very small, four students maximum

and we would, we would have a textbook

and we would just um, use this textbook

like there would be like activities where you would introduce language to them

you'd drill the language

and then you'd give them an opportunity to practice with the language

and you'd pull back as a teacher to assess their use of the language

and then you'd give them an assessment

and after each –

and then there'd be like two, two parts where this happened

like language introduction, drilling, practice, feedback

and then new lang –

another language would –

you know, grammar, function, or something different

something else would be introduced

and the same thing

and then after each class you would assess them and write a class comment

and then, you'd have to write huge reports for each of them too

This habitual narrative, characterized by the use of 'would', shows various aspects of Dan's professional identity. Firstly, he is seen to be restless, getting sick of the job at the private language school. The narrative then has a descriptive section describing the prestige attached to this university, with 'all their presidents and prime ministers go there'. This reflects well on Dan, showing him to be a capable teacher. Using 'just' implies that teaching was simply a matter of following the process in the textbook. The pronouns used in describing this process are 'we', in 'we would just use this textbook', and the universal 'you', implying that this is general, and almost like giving instructions. Dan is depicted as non-agentive, simply implementing the curriculum by following the book. This may be good input for learning to teach, and in this way Dan is also seen as learning professionally from the new context. Finally, the narrative shows him to be a hardworking teacher, bound by the constraints of having to write huge reports for students.

Japanese foreign languages university

The narratives Dan tells about working at the foreign languages university show the important impact training to become an advisor had on him. He describes the transformation of another teacher who he worked with.

Dan, narrative 3:

Dan: and different people are good at doing different things

like the guy [name] that I worked with

he was just an amazing teacher

but um, because of that he just wanted to teach

and so he really, it was interesting to watch him develop

because he became an excellent advisor

but initially he was just like

"well, this is your problem so you need to do this and this and this"

and he was very prescriptive

but it wasn't helping them 'cos it just creates more dependency

the students just keep coming back for your help

so you've got to slowly let them say

"ok, well that's what you want to do and I'd like you to go and try that, and see what you think about it when you get back"

but eventually what you're doing is really personalizing a, a curriculum for the students and for their kind of perceived needs or wants and you know

so, so we did a lot of –

we published a lot on that kind of stuff

we, we looked at um –

Donna: who, you and [name]?

Dan: [name] and my director

and I did something on the dialogue and the virtues of different dialogues

and different strategies

and we did a lot of materials development, self-directed materials

'cos it's quite different to regular stuff

The above narrative establishes Dan's expertise in several ways. He begins by recounting the story of a colleague who he admires. By association, Dan is seen to be knowledgeable and part of a professional community. This narrative uses many positive statements to describe his colleague's transformation from an 'amazing teacher' to an 'excellent advisor'. After this segment of the narrative, there is a change in subject to the universal 'you' to make general statements, marking a transition to an explanatory or instructional function on how to be an advisor. Direct statements are used to report how an advisor would speak to students. The narrative ends with a shift to the subject 'we', implying that the story of his colleague reflects the story of Dan, and that he also became an expert advisor. The final statement proposes that advising is a more admirable activity to merely teaching, which is described as 'regular stuff'. The professional learning experience and change in role from teacher to advisor had a profound influence on Dan's professional identity. He is portrayed as acquiring a higher status, having knowledge and skills to promote learner autonomy rather than being simply a language teacher. The final section of the narrative also establishes Dan's expertise because he 'published a lot' and developed materials for self-directed learning.

New Zealand university language school

Dan moved to New Zealand to study a PhD, and while studying he taught ESOL part-time at the university language school. One of the reasons he gave for moving to New Zealand was a pervasive sense of restlessness.

Dan, narrative 4:

Dan: I feel like every three years I get sick of where I'm working
Donna: yeah, 'cos you said that about the Tokyo job
Dan: yeah
Donna: and the other, the first university, you said you got sick of the job
Dan: yeah, so it's just, at the three year mark I know I'm sick of it
and, and this is a pattern I've noticed
three years I'm sick of it
and then it takes me another two years, once I've realized I'm sick of it,
to actually get out
so I usually stay about five years in a place
but those last two years, I'm just looking for a way out, usually

The theme of this habitual narrative is the need for change. Dan is depicted as a person who is globally mobile and adaptable. Repetition of what could be considered a negative concept, being 'sick of it' indicates he is curious and ambitious. It shows that Dan perceives changes in context to be necessary, potentially as a source of professional learning.

The experience of being an advisor and embracing the principles engendered in learner-centredness had a deep influence on how Dan saw himself as a teacher. One way he operationalized this knowledge was through a unique development in his teaching style.

Dan, narrative 5:

Dan: but I like to prepare my classes on power points
and so the students, I just give it to them
so all the information is there
and the amount of prep time is quite high
but it's just so, to avoid –
I don't really have to do any talking in class other than feedback
I just put the lesson up
and then they can just go through it as, as, you know

we have to do, you know

the language is there and everything

and so I prepare it to a point where I'm very minimally involved in what's going on

other than addressing specific problems that are going on

or –

and giving specific feedback

so I spend a lot of time prepping so I don't have to talk

Donna: Do you think you got that from the training when you were an advisor?

Dan: yeah, I think so, I feel, ah, you know, I've been –

I'm quite critical of teacher education

and the way teachers approach teaching

um, and one of the issues I have is that they just talk too much to, to students

and ah, and they don't listen well

and you know, there's a lot of issues with it anyway

Donna: so do you think you were like that back at the beginning?

Dan: sure yeah, of course, yeah, but you know, giving them,

'cos obv –

sometimes that's what the students want

they just want a lot of teacher talking time, they want a lot of –

but it's not doing them any good

This is a habitual narrative, describing and justifying Dan's pedagogical approach. He is portrayed as a knowledgeable and principled teacher, adapting his teaching style in order to foster learner-centredness. A lexical device used is repetition of 'just', for example: 'I just give it to them', 'I just put it up', to imply that putting instructions on a power point is a straightforward and simple matter. The subject pronoun used throughout is 'I', and in this way Dan is seen to take ownership of his actions. Repetition of the information that this approach involves a lot of preparation time shows Dan is willing to put in extra work to stand by his beliefs and encourage learner autonomy. Dan critiques teachers for talking too much and not listening, which is described as a problem. He also comments that students themselves may want teachers to talk a lot, not knowing what is best for their learning. In contrast to these misconceptions held by others, the narrative depicts Dan as aware of these pitfalls. He is shown to be an expert teacher, knowledgeable and acting in the best interest of students.

Review of Dan's professional identity journey

Dan initially appeared to be an unknowledgeable novice teacher in a private language school who felt his role was to entertain the students. At the first university he worked at in Japan he lacked autonomy, as he implemented the curriculum by following a set teaching process. His knowledge and expertise in teaching increased through the experience of training to be a language advisor when he moved on to work at a different university in Japan. An awareness of learner needs and the importance of adopting a learner-centred approach became a defining part of Dan's professional identity. Dan's journey is marked by a sense of restlessness, as he feels the need to move on every few years, finally moving to a new country to do a PhD. Teaching at the university language school in New Zealand, he is described as an innovator by further developing his own teaching style to incorporate his beliefs about learner-centredness.

V. Stella

Stella's career journey

Stella is a 30 year-old teacher from China and has been teaching ESOL for about six years. Although her career trajectory is relatively short, she has had many different teaching experiences, which have provided rich input for professional learning and professional identity building, and therefore her journey has been equally as varied and rich as teachers in this study who have longer career paths.

Stella did a degree in teaching Chinese as a foreign language, and tutored students in English throughout her time of study. In the final year of her studies she did an internship at a large English language institute in China, working with native speaker teachers. Her ambition was sparked by the teachers' wide range of knowledge and techniques, and she decided that learning about TESOL would inform her teaching of Chinese. On finishing her undergraduate degree she taught English and Chinese at a private language school in China for six months while planning to travel overseas for further study.

In 2011 Stella came to New Zealand to do a Masters in TESOL, and while studying took on several volunteer positions. After completing both her masters and a preparatory TESOL Certificate in 2013, she got a job at a private tertiary institute where she worked for 20 months. Since leaving that position she has worked at four different institutions: part-time at a private language school and a

community language school simultaneously; on a short course at a university language school; and at the time of the interviews, she had just begun working fulltime at a tertiary institute.

China Internship 2008

China private school 2010

NZ volunteering 2011

NZ private tertiary institute 2013-2014

NZ private language school and community school 2015

NZ university language school 2015

NZ tertiary institute 2016
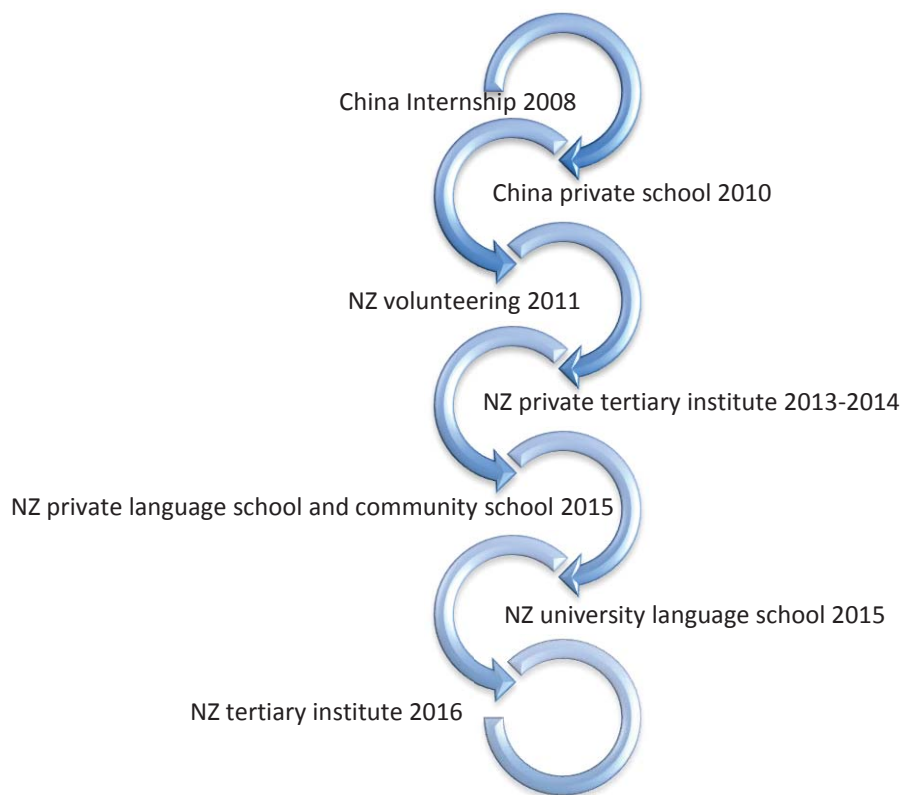
Figure 4: Stella's career journey

Stella's professional identities

Stella's professional identity has developed rapidly over her relatively short career journey. The beginning stages of her career are marked by an eagerness for learning. When working in China, the focus was on preparing students to pass exams. Stella's goal however, was to travel overseas in order to learn more about language teaching.

NZ student and volunteer

In Stella's narratives about teaching in New Zealand, a dominant identity that emerges is that of her status as a Non-Native English Speaking Teacher (NNEST). In the following narrative, Stella recounts her feelings towards a NNEST who came to teach her class when she was a student at the university.

Stella, narrative 1:

Stella: that when you think about learning English you think about a European looking person
you don't think about people coming from –
you know, at least you're from Singapore where English is, you know
a common medium of communication in those countries
not in EFL context
so there was a very strong identity I took on
even when I first came here
when I saw (foreign teacher) walk into the classroom
she used to work here, right, to teach us
I thought "no, I'm not paying this much money to study with her"
but later on I thought "her English is really good, she's so good"

This narrative shows Stella to be aware of her initial perceptions and prejudices towards being taught by a NNEST. There is a long orientation section describing the expectations students have of the ideal English language teacher. The narrative is peopled by two other NNESTs. The first is a reference to a teacher from Singapore who studied with Stella, and the other, the foreign teacher who came to teach her class, both of whom are described as successful. The narrative uses direct statements to describe her thoughts, and the immediacy of these stresses the emotional impact of this incident on Stella, showing that this was an important event for her. At first Stella is seen to be surprised and annoyed at being taught by a NNEST, and then she realizes that the teacher has good English. The narrative uses repetition of 'good', another evaluative device, to emphasize that this teacher was in fact good, and that this was a turning point for Stella, signalling a critical incident in her evolving identity as a NNEST.

Another incident Stella recounts, which had a strong emotional impact on her, is about becoming a volunteer at a community school.

Stella, narrative 2:

Stella: but at the same time it's quite funny
that I knew that they were looking for a volunteer for quite some time
I actually went in to talk to the manager at that time, that lady
and she kind of, just moderately nicely, said to me
she doesn't think I can teach there even though I'm a, just a volunteer
because it was a speaking class and students want Kiwi English
and she said um, she used a particularly, particular term,

I still can remember now, that she was saying

"oh, so you come to NZ just for barely a year and speak good English,

you had an ear for English'"

and ah, she said "do you understand saying, have an ear for?"

and I said "oh, kind of, because from the context it means you think I am talented or gifted in

something"

and she said "see, it means that people are quite good at something,

that's an example of Kiwi English and the students need this kind of thing,

you know what I mean"

and I was like "ok"

and it really didn't help with my confidence at all,

but later on she actually contact me and asking me if I could teach, ah volunteer for them

and then later on I found out it was faced with a you know, large Chinese group

so I was thinking

"well, you think I'm not a native speaker so you disadvantage me on that

at the same time you want me to teach Chinese"

so, yeah, I got a really funny feeling with that person at that stage

later on she was a lot more polite towards me

because even from a, you know, the receptionist and staff like that said

"oh well, we had teachers in the past who just sat there and did nothing

but with you they laugh, they stand up, everyone is so involved

we are really happy"

so I said "oh that is great"

This narrative is structured like a drama peopled with many characters: the woman who hired her; students; and other staff members. It has a full plot development from orientation describing the context, through development of the problem to the final resolution. The phrase 'it was funny' introduces the narrative, although the incident was not funny at all, but had a strong influence on how Stella saw herself as a teacher. Through the narrative, several different facets of professional identity are presented. At first Stella is disadvantaged due to discrimination against NNESTs, her eligibility to teach 'Kiwi English' being challenged. However, in the end she overcomes adversity and is portrayed as successful and validated by praise from others. This incident took place almost five years earlier, and the fact that Stella still remembers exactly the idiomatic phrase that she was tested on, indicates the far-reaching emotional impact it had on her. The repetitive use of direct statements such as: 'she was saying'; 'she said'; 'I said'; 'I was like'; 'the receptionist said'; serves to increase the dramatic effect of the narrative and to emphasize the importance of the incident. The aside introduced by 'I was thinking' has an evaluative function, commenting on the unfolding

storyline. It describes the irony in that although Stella's status as a NNEST was at first considered a disadvantage, it was later seen as an advantage.

This experience was critical in informing Stella's identity as both a NNEST and as a competent teacher. At first she believed she was judged negatively by others and took this personally, feeling inadequate, but later she was depicted as competent. The success that she experienced in this role led to her perceiving her NNEST status as inconsequential. The NNEST issue is woven through many narratives over her career, and Stella was eventually able to re-conceptualise her NNEST status as an advantage, because she felt she was able to understand the students better than native speakers, and she could serve as a role model.

NZ private tertiary institute

After completing her Masters degree, Stella taught at a private tertiary institute for 20 months, which was the longest position in her career. It represents a time of professional learning, a theme emerging in almost half of her narratives about this period. Her approach to learning on the job is shown in the following narrative.

Stella, narrative 3:

Stella: at (institute) like, the teachers have their own folders
and when they leave, they leave it with the management team
so if you go there and ask them and say "I'm really stuck here"
they would actually sit down and bring some ideas with you
I asked for help all the time
and ah, yeah, everybody was just really open and you can borrow their resources and ah
Donna: who did you ask for help?
Stella: everyone, you know in the office um, most of them,
some of them were really weird, I don't want to talk to them
but we had resource, the resource room was so wonderful

This is an habitual narrative that describes how Stella engaged with her colleagues and was able to draw on the community of practice for learning on the job. She is presented here as a hardworking and determined novice teacher, open to learning by asking others for help. She received a lot of help from colleagues, management and a supportive work environment. The narrative uses many positive statements to describe the experience, showing that entering and being accepted by a community of practice had an affirming influence on her.

After this intense 20-month period of learning on the job, Stella felt she had achieved a level of competence, but still had doubts about her efficacy.

> Stella, narrative 4:
>
> Stella: and at the same time the other reason for me to leave was
> I just felt that I don't have anything to learn anymore
> that whether you do a good job or not it comes from the students
> I loved the students I taught, whether they were a pain or not, but at the end they were all good,
> but um, you don't get, because you still teach independently, you don't have observers all the time,
> and because we don't have a final exam to evaluate them
> like we don't teach them like NCEA, like exams at least you can see across all bands where you sit
> so I don't have the feeling of whether I did a good job or not
> I knew, I all –
> I knew that I must have, because I started to get a reputation
> people asked me, when I did speaking tests
> I got in touch with students from [programme] and [programme]
> and all the other things
> the students will come to me and say
> "oh I've heard you're a really good teacher, do you teach in [programme]?
> can I chose your paper?"
> and I said "unfortunately I only teach in [programme]"

In the above narrative Stella is depicted as having two opposing professional identities. Firstly she is portrayed as feeling uncertain about her competence, and doubting her efficacy, needing validation from her students' success in exams. Without this external measure of students' achievement, she felt she could not know if her teaching was effective. Relying on standardized marks as a measure of successful teaching may be due to her background in China, where there is a dominant focus on exams. The second part of the narrative presents Stella as a competent teacher, as she was popular with students. Direct statements are used to report the actual conversation she had with students, which provides evidence of her competence and popularity.

NZ private language school and community school

Connections with students are a prominent thread running through Stella's narratives, providing her with positive validation as an ESOL teacher.

Stella, narrative 5:

Stella: and it was actually funny
a lot of them <u>had</u> studied there for maybe a year or maybe a couple of months
before I left I had two male students almost in tears
because they said
"Stella, I've learned here for a year, still couldn't read write,
I've studied with you five months, now I can read and write I'm so happy,
now you're going, what should I do?"
and I was like, "hum, well you know sometimes –"
it takes them a year maybe to have that push to go up
so I can't take all the credit from it

Like narrative two, this narrative is also introduced with the statement 'it was funny', emphasizing the impact this incident had on Stella. It establishes her competence in two ways, firstly through her connections with students, and secondly through their learning success. She is depicted as connected with students by the use of emotive language such as 'almost in tears' and 'I'm so happy', to describe her students' reactions when she was leaving. The use of a direct statement also emphasizes the emotive content and allows the students, as characters in the narrative, to speak for themselves. Stella is portrayed here as an effective teacher, albeit modest, because she was successful in teaching the students to read and write, in contrast to other teachers.

NZ university language school

Stella returned to the university where she had been a student herself to teach on a short course.

Stella, narrative 6:

Donna: so when you worked at the university that was useful for you?
Stella: yeah, it was, it was, and at the same time it was really uplifting as well
like, can't remember if I told you this or not
like, first day when I went into work for the [group]
at the front where they said [university, school], where they used to have blue sign
I went there earlier, and had a moment to myself with the sign, yeah
I was thinking
"I'm coming back here, but this time I'm working"
'cos last time I was there, that was the beginning of my New Zealand experience
I was a student there
and from the five years I've grown so much, yeah, and had so much

like it might be, you know, some people just a job

but to me it's coming to the stage of life, like finally,

I'm still learning

but finally I know what I'm good at, I know what I want

and I'm on the way (to) getting what I want

and I'm happy with getting the things I have achieved in life

Through its emotive content, this narrative reflects the sense of pride Stella felt at her accomplishment of getting a teaching job at the university where she had previously been a student. The aside, introduced by 'I was thinking', reinforces the influence this experience had in providing her with validation. The temporal device 'last time I was there', links the beginning of Stella's New Zealand experience as a student, to her role as a teacher, reflecting the change through time. This is also made explicit through the statement 'I've grown so much'. The repetition of 'finally' expresses a feeling that Stella's achievements have come at the end of a long journey. However, she comments that she is 'still learning', showing that she is open to professional learning.

In the following narrative there is a similar feeling of closure concerning the NNEST issue.

Stella, narrative 7:

Donna: do you still feel that you have to be perfect?
Stella: now not, not so much

ah, at times, at times ah I still feel like that

when I go into a new class

I don't know <u>how</u> the students will perceive me, and stuff like that

ah, but now I feel a lot more confident because of the experience I've had

and I start to develop my own style of teaching, so yeah

I'm quite happy to laugh at myself

and the students can, can actually accept that I have my flaws as well

it's not perfect but I will always tell them

you know, if I can do it you can do it too

so I'm using it as my advantage that, as a role model, in some way

yeah to encourage them

but I always tell them

"if you are –

if you think I speak good English, I worked <u>really</u> hard for it

so if you work really hard you can get it

if you can't be bothered you can never get it"

This habitual narrative depicts Stella as growing in confidence and using her NNEST status as an advantage. There is a sense of self-acceptance as she has developed strategies for dealing with this issue. Stella is depicted as open to learning as she says 'I start to develop my own style', and 'I have my flaws', so acknowledges this is still the beginning of her career journey. The narrative also portrays Stella as a role-model. By using direct statements to report the words Stella uses to speak with students, the moral is made explicit: to succeed like she has, students need to work hard.

Tertiary Institute

Stella now works at a tertiary institute and is in charge of developing a programme. She feels that all her previous experiences have led her to this stage, and is confident in her abilities.

Stella, narrative 8:

Stella: yeah, mm, present simple, past simple and simple future
I actually had this discussion with [teacher] as well
he asked me "like with lower levels, how do you, how do you teach them?"
and I said "well I tried with present simple, and with present continuous, but they just really confusing"
I showed him the number line I had for the first [conference]
and he said "oh, it's starting to make sense"

In this narrative Stella is depicted as an expert and a leader, now able to advise another teacher. The narrative uses many direct statements to make this point, using a dramatic structure to report the conversation between the other teacher who asks for her advice, and herself, as knower. Stella's expertise is established through the action sequence described by 'I showed him', and the other teacher's acknowledgement.

Review of Stella's professional identity journey

Stella's professional identity journey shows rapid development through various jobs. The relatively short time spent in each job also points to a sense of restlessness. She is an eager learner, pursuing study and drawing on diverse teaching contexts and colleagues for professional learning. Being connected to students is important to Stella, as they provide her with validation she needs to feel she is doing a good job. An important source of her professional identity is her NNEST status. Her feelings about this evolved from seeing it as a disadvantage, as she felt she was judged by others, to perceiving it as an advantage by being a good role model for her students. Taking on a leadership

role and being in charge of a programme, has allowed Stella to take on an expert identity where she can draw on previous experience.

VI. Summary

Tracking through the four participants' career journeys highlighted particular aspects of their professional identities, which have relevance to them. This has demonstrated that teachers follow distinct paths, adapting to and taking on identities from different contexts. Although all four teachers initially intended to teach ESOL for a few years, they all became highly qualified and experienced professionals, having considerable investment in their careers.

Some key concepts emerging from the narratives as having influence on teachers' professional identities are: competence; autonomy; the status of TESOL; and connections. These themes and others, which appear both within individual teachers' trajectories and across trajectories, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Discussion

I. Introduction

In this discussion I look across the four teachers' narratives of personal experience to determine sources of identity construction and reconstruction. These sources will be considered in two sections, those emerging from the individual and those from the social realm. Emotions in varying degrees were inherent in the way narratives were told, and indicated the impact of the experience on the teachers. Identity formation and emotion are linked in ways that cannot be separated (Zembylas, 2003a), and for this reason a consideration of teachers' emotions will be woven throughout the discussion. The discussion in this chapter is arranged thematically rather than temporally, therefore I move backwards and forwards through teachers' career trajectories when discussing how transformations occurred. In the final part of the chapter, I revisit the concept of career trajectories, and discuss how individual teachers' professional identities evolved throughout the course of their careers.

II. Individual sources of a teacher's professional identity

Individual sources of professional identity identified in this thesis and discussed in this chapter are: professional learning and qualifications; the need for autonomy; and beliefs about good teachers and good teaching.

Learning on the job and professional qualifications

A teacher's professional identity is inevitably bound up in the knowledge they hold about their subject matter; pedagogy; and "the understanding of themselves as teachers" (Pennington & Richards, 2016, p. 6). This knowledge is acquired in various ways, through learning on the job and through gaining professional qualifications. The teachers' career trajectories presented in this study illustrate that the TESOL profession is characterized by a variety of journeys, "that span multiple national and international contexts", as noted by Haworth and Craig (2016, p. 5). Therefore, they had different experiences contributing to professional learning. Johnston (1997) described many

ESOL teachers' "entry into teaching as accidental" (p. 691). This was certainly the case with Ged, Maggie and Dan, who originally intended to stay for only a few years. Initially, TESOL represented an exciting overseas adventure, and they were not required to have TESOL training or qualifications. For example, Ged describes watching a teacher a few times at the high school and 'then it was in' (Ged, narrative 4). Furthermore, they had all taught for several years before doing any specific TESOL training: Ged for fourteen years; Maggie for five years; and Dan for six years.

This lack of TESOL training had varying effects on the teachers' professional identities. Ged's prior experience teaching primary school gave him a sense of competence as he was able to use methods like 'phonics' with his Japanese students (Ged, narrative 2). Dan however, only had a few weeks' training provided by the school, and commented 'when I first started, . . . how little I knew' (Dan, narrative 1), indicating that professional learning did not come from the initial training but rather from experience. Kanno and Stuart (2011) observed with novice teachers that "classroom practice helped nurture their teacher identities, and their emerging identities in turn shaped their practice" (p. 237).

In the 1980s and 1990s when Ged, Maggie and Dan began teaching in Japan, it was relatively easy to get into TESOL without qualifications. This is reflected in Ged's narratives as serendipity, a sense of being in the right place at the right time. Ged commented that not only did he get into the profession without TESOL qualifications, but without a degree, reflecting that 'you wouldn't get in now without a degree' (Ged narrative 1). Johnston (1997) commented on the ease of entering and leaving the TESOL profession.

Today in New Zealand, a preparatory certificate in TESOL would be a minimal requirement for entry to the field, however it is not always a pre-requisite. Such a certificate provides a basic introduction, compared to entry into a profession such as mainstream school teaching, which is preceded by a course of study lasting several years. This can reinforce a wider perception that TESOL is a job that can be done by anyone who can speak English, as has been noted by Thornbury (2001), in turn pointing to a perceived lower status of TESOL as a profession. Manara (2013) refers to TESOL as a 'bus stop profession', a job that people take up in order to get somewhere else, but not as a serious career. This implies an absence of professionalism or commitment (Johnston, 1997). However, this study suggests that this perception may be changing in some contexts.

In contrast to the other teachers in the study who began their careers in the 1980s or 1990s, Stella began teaching ESOL full-time in 2013 after first obtaining both a masters degree and a preparatory certificate. Already having an undergraduate degree in teaching Chinese language indicates that Stella was always interested in a career in language teaching, and for her, qualifications were a pre-requisite to entering the profession. As a non-native speaker, there were further constraints on Stella's entry into the profession in New Zealand, and this may be why she pursued higher qualifications. The effects of globalization have increased opportunities within TESOL and also perceptions of professionalism (Haworth & Craig, 2016).

Despite the relatively low entry requirements for TESOL, postgraduate qualifications are considered necessary for career progression. The three teachers in this study who began by just trying it out, have demonstrated their commitment to a TESOL career by their choice to complete a masters degree in applied linguistics. Their studies signified a mark of professionalism, informing their professional identity. Thornbury (2001) noted that one way for TESOL to take itself seriously as a profession is by teachers pursuing qualifications. The decision to stay in the profession links with the stage of stabilization and commitment in the life cycle of teachers (Huberman, 1989).

However, commitment to a career in TESOL by participants in this study was often marked by a need for movement. There was a sense of constant motion throughout the teachers' careers, a characteristic of ESOL teachers also found by Johnston (1999). For example, Dan described feeling driven by a sense of restlessness, saying 'every three years I get sick of where I'm working' (Dan, narrative 4). Stella also mentioned 'I don't have anything to learn anymore' (Stella, narrative 4) as a reason to leave a job. In this way, teaching in a specific context could be seen as a source of professional learning, nourishing the teacher until they have learnt the lessons it has to offer and then feel an urge to move on. Although Ged and Maggie spent longer periods in each job, with ten or more years in certain positions, there was still an eventual need for change. Moving to different jobs links to the stage of experimentation or reassessment in the life cycle of teachers (Huberman, 1989). In this study, it appears that this is ongoing, with the ESOL teachers constantly on the move, rather than a stage that they passed through just once.

At the time of the study Dan was at a crossroads having recently completed his PhD. This higher degree will provide him with a competitive edge in finding a job and the potential for diverse career

opportunities beyond TESOL. However, his future plans and aspirations still revolved around travel rather than a specific career path, pointing to an underlying sense of restlessness and global mobility that opens up ever-present possibilities within the TESOL field.

The need for autonomy

A key finding in this study is that teaching within curricular constraints can provide learning on the job through classroom experience. However, the findings ultimately reinforce that having autonomy seems to lead to job satisfaction. This is consistent with Tsutsumi (2013), who found that having autonomy and being creative were important aspects of the job that provided teachers with motivation to continue in a TESOL career.

As a novice teacher, implementing a set curriculum could be seen as a source of professional learning, as it provides a structured approach to teaching while teachers gain classroom experience. Ged and Dan both told narratives representing a career journey from initially teaching in high constraint contexts, simply following a set process, to later having more freedom. For example, Ged described classroom practice at the high school in Japan as following the textbook, using drills and rote learning, which underscored his lack of agency. However, he saw this in a positive light, as everything was planned out, and he felt he still had some control because he was able to choose his own textbook and was not restricted to using the government prescribed textbook as were the Japanese teachers.

Initially, Dan saw his role as an entertainer: 'you're just going out there in front of a class and just kind of talking' (Dan, narrative 1). Dan also described following a prescribed teaching process consisting of introducing new language, drilling, providing practice, giving feedback and assessing. Although there is an inherent lack of autonomy in following this process, it also provides teacher training on the job.

Teaching in freer conditions with autonomy, in this study, also appeared to lead to professional learning, by building up teachers' knowledge base through experience. Stella's experiences as a novice teacher within a specific historical context, teaching in New Zealand without high levels of

constraint, contrasted with the experiences of Ged and Dan. Stella said: 'I asked for help all the time' (Stella, narrative 3), indicating that she was not limited to teaching with particular methods or materials. This aligns with the stage of discovery and experimentation in a teaching career (Huberman, 1989). Later in her career, Stella again showed she had autonomy, by giving advice to another teacher about how to teach low level students.

Also in contrast to Ged and Dan who began teaching with a lack of autonomy, Maggie was given control over her curriculum and had a leadership role at the beginning of her TESOL career. This illustrates the different pathways each individual takes in a career trajectory. On the cultural exchange programme, Maggie was able to change the way the orientation programme for Japanese teachers was run by making it more 'western' (Maggie, narrative 1), implying she had autonomy to make decisions about curriculum. At the private tertiary institute in New Zealand, Maggie also felt she had autonomy by being in charge of her curriculum, and this was expressed in positive terms indicating her satisfaction and enjoyment of the job. Feeling agentive, defined as having 'the capacity for intentional acts' (Zembylas, 2003a, p. 224), and having autonomy, are seen influential in shaping a teacher's professional identity. Furthermore, autonomy is considered a basic human need by Ryan and Deci (2000).

A lack of autonomy was evident when teachers in this study faced challenges, and this often resulted in feelings of powerlessness. Ged's narratives at times referred to survival as a new teacher when describing how he struggled with particular classes early in his career in Japan. For example, although Ged was an easy-going teacher and adapted to the constraints within his teaching contexts, he described several classes as 'hard going' (Ged, narrative 3). Unfavourable conditions impacted on how the teachers saw themselves in terms of agency. For instance, a perceived inability to make changes led to frustration, illustrating the intertwining of the dimensions of autonomy and emotions (Nias, 1996).

Narratives about overcoming difficulties, however, imply a sense of achievement. Overcoming challenges builds resilience and helps individuals to grow, and perhaps assists ESOL teachers to move up to a new stage in their career development. Gu and Day (2006) described the importance of resilience for teaching effectiveness, as "enabling teachers to respond positively to challenging circumstances which they may meet over the course of a career" (p. 1302). Curtis et al (2013) note

that tales of survival are a common type of narrative, illustrating how hardship leads to professional learning and feelings of satisfaction. This links to the first phase in the life cycle of teachers, characterized by survival and discovery, generally found in the early years of a teaching career (Huberman, 1989).

Another example of the lack of autonomy was when Maggie was denied project time to make workbooks at the university in New Zealand, but created them in her 'own time' (Maggie, narrative 9). The lack of recognition may have caused Maggie to feel disenchanted with the job, as being undervalued can lead to "diminished teacher empowerment" (Curtis et al, 2013, p. 180). However, there was also a positive outcome, as she felt immensely proud of her accomplishment when the workbooks were adopted by all teachers. In this way she was provided with validation for her hard work and the quality of the workbooks she produced. The image of teacher-as-curriculum-maker, rather than merely implementer of a set curriculum, gives teachers the space they need to feel job satisfaction (Clandinin & Connelly, 1992), illustrating a link between having autonomy and feeling effective. This resonates with Nias (1996), who emphasized that "when teaches feel they are effective, they experience joy, excitement, exhilaration and deep satisfaction" (p. 297).

On the other hand, a lack of autonomy may impact negatively on professional identity construction. As an experienced teacher at later stages of his career, Ged clearly showed his need for autonomy. For example, when asked to teach a seminar on how to use a contents page at the university in New Zealand, he refused because it did not fit with his beliefs about what was important in teaching. His response: 'I'm not doing that, that's ridiculous' (Ged, narrative 6), illustrates the interconnectedness of autonomy with teacher beliefs and emotions. Howe and Xu (2013) commented that academic autonomy and freedom are a characteristic of western educational contexts. Furthermore, Hargreaves (2000) highlights that autonomy and professionalism are inseparable.

Beliefs about good teachers and good teaching

Teachers' beliefs about how a good teacher should act and what constitutes good teaching, reveal aspects of their professional identity. It is important for teachers to have autonomy in order to operationalize the beliefs they hold about good teaching, and their beliefs are often bound up with notions of a teacher's sense of efficacy or competence. Competence is another basic human need

described by Ryan and Deci (2000), who assert: "feelings of competence will not enhance intrinsic motivation unless accompanied by a sense of autonomy" (p. 58).

Maggie expressed strong views about how a good teacher should behave ethically and professionally, according to her moral compass, by describing other teachers in Japan who fell short of her expectations. For example, she believes a good teacher should not go out with students, although she acknowledges this may be a way to win popularity. This presents the paradox that although a teacher should keep a professional distance from students, having affection for students is often an intrinsic quality of teachers (Gao, 2010). Another belief Maggie holds is that a good teacher should be flexible and respond to students' needs. In contrast to the Canadian teacher in Japan who wanted to teach the same way she had in Canada, Maggie showed that she was flexible. Although initially she had not allowed students to speak Japanese in class, later she allowed them to ask her questions in Japanese, rationalizing that it was more important to build good connections with students. This shows the transformative potential of evolving beliefs, and is supported by Bukor (2015), who explained that teachers' beliefs derive from various sources such as "experience of what works best" (p. 307).

Teachers also held particular beliefs about good teaching, which at times became defining features of their practice. However, these beliefs may present tensions. For example, Maggie's belief in the importance of consistency of course delivery, led her to create workbooks with the intention that they would be used by all teachers. This however, introduced a tension with the need for teachers to have autonomy. Maggie showed through her narratives that having autonomy was important to her, however requiring teachers to use these workbooks implies they would lack autonomy. Autonomy in leadership can restrict the autonomy of those lower in the chain, although this may also provide useful initial learning for less experienced teachers.

When beliefs that teachers hold about teaching can be incorporated into their practice, and when teachers are given freedom to develop their own teaching styles, they are able to teach in line with their 'best-loved selves' (Craig, 2013). Dan's experience working as a language advisor in Japan informed his beliefs about the importance of adopting a learner-centred approach to teaching. He developed expertise in this role, which in turn influenced his sense of himself as a knowledgeable expert. This marked a critical transition in Dan's professional identity, as evidenced by the large

number of narratives he told about being an advisor and encouraging students to manage their own learning. In the interviews it was noticeable that Dan often avoided telling narratives, reverting to an instructional style where he explained how to promote learner autonomy, using the persuasive function of narrative. Later in his career in New Zealand, Dan described using power point in class as a way of fostering learner-centredness.

A learner-centred curriculum is considered a strength of the western educational approach (Howe & Xu, 2013). As a knowledgeable teacher, Dan felt confident in expressing criticism about teacher education and teachers, believing that most teachers 'talk too much and don't listen' (Dan, narrative 5). This is a pervasive theme in the field of TESOL, with novice teachers often being advised to reduce the amount of teacher talking time in order to promote learner interaction (Harmer, 2007). Dan's beliefs perhaps reflect wider educational discourses that emphasize learner-centredness as constituting good teaching.

III. Social sources of teachers' professional identity

Teachers are situated within a social context because their work involves interacting with others. Factors from the social realm that were seen to exert an influence on teachers' professional identity were: their connections with students and other teachers; cross-cultural issues; and their own and others' perceptions of status, including NNEST status.

Connections with students and other teachers

Connections with students and other teachers were found to be sources of identity negotiation and construction. How people understand their relationships to other people and social structures shapes their identities (Barkhuizen, 2016b). I first discuss ways that the teachers demonstrated connections with students, and then go on to discuss how they referred to their connections with other teachers.

Students are central to teachers' professional identity as they are at the heart of teachers' daily activity. The way the teachers in this study described their relationships with students reflected

their feelings towards their students. Connections with students can be viewed through the lens of emotions, for example showing concern for students' learning and wellbeing implies a sense of care and attachment (Gao, 2010). Ged referred to his students in ways that showed he maintained good relationships with them throughout his career. For example, he described a boy he had taught at both high school and university in Japan and 'got on with really well' (Ged, narrative 4). At the tertiary institute in New Zealand, Ged was helping two students, who had failed, to prepare for the next semester, showing him to be a nurturing and caring teacher by going beyond his normal work duties. Gao (2010) noted that altruistic reasons could attract teachers to the teaching profession.

Students' reactions and feedback can provide teachers with validation, an important source for constructing their professional identity. Tsutumi (2013) found that ESOL teachers felt intrinsically motivated by students' appreciation. At the high school in Japan, Maggie felt that she was trusted by students, who came to her for help when they had problems, and this provided her with validation as a caring teacher. Although Stella initially doubted her competence, and felt she needed her students to succeed in exams in order to prove that she was a good teacher, later she realized that validation came from the students themselves. At the private tertiary institute, students would ask to be in her class, and when she was about to leave her job at the private school in New Zealand, her students were 'almost crying', (Stella, narrative 5), feeling they would be unable to learn without her. The students had a strong emotional connection to Stella, attributing their success to her teaching. This shows how the dimension of connections with students is intertwined with a teacher's emotions, and can provide teachers with validation, satisfying the need to feel competent.

Connections with colleagues were important for professional, as well as more personal aspects of identity. Collegiality is an essential condition for professionalism to emerge (Hargreaves & Lo, 2000). Being part of a community of practice provided the teachers with professional learning and also validation. Ged, Maggie and Dan all describe other teachers in their narratives, defining themselves in relation to the professional community. Maggie referred to working with colleagues as part of a team in her narratives, which indicates the enjoyment teachers can derive from belonging to a professional community. Dan described the professional growth of a colleague as representing his own professional growth, showing that learning together as part of a community of practice can also be a valuable experience.

Stella described learning from colleagues in her first full-time teaching job, where she 'asked for help all the time' (Stella, narrative 3), seeing colleagues as a network for professional learning and feeling she was being accepted into the community of ESOL teachers. Learning can be viewed as increasing participation in communities of practice, and "a person is defined by as well as defines these relationships" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 53).

Cross-cultural dimensions

ESOL teachers' careers are a particularly rich source of data for examining the influence of cultural dimensions on professional identity construction. In selecting participants for this study I purposefully sought out teachers who had taught in international contexts, as I wanted to explore how teachers negotiated cross-cultural aspects of their practice, and how they drew on their experiences of living and working in varied cultural contexts.

In this study, teachers' narratives gave insights into how they incorporated cross-cultural influences into their professional identities in different ways, by both adapting to the culture and resisting it depending on the context. Lo Bianco et al. (1999) highlight that cross-cultural encounters "can vary greatly along a spectrum ranging from rejection of to fascination with the other culture" (p. 5). Maggie's narratives revealed that at times it was useful to align herself with the Japanese culture, and she believed it was important to meet cultural expectations. For example, she attributed the Canadian teacher's failure in part to her lack of cultural adaptation, while in contrast, Maggie had a more open-minded perspective. Maggie stated explicitly 'things aren't wrong, they're actually just different' (Maggie, narrative 3), showing her acceptance of cultural differences.

However, at times the teachers showed they resisted cultural expectations and aligned themselves with the western way. Both Ged and Maggie referred to the gender divide in Japan, where boys and girls would not work together in class. On the cultural exchange programme, Maggie wanted to make the orientation for Japanese teachers 'more western' (Maggie, narrative 1), by making males and females work together, and making it more interactive. In this way, she may have been trying to change cultural traditions, or alternatively, seen through a different lens, she was giving learners an opportunity to experience the 'other' culture, often seen as part of language teaching. Lo Bianco et al (1999) noted that "difference is the central aspect of intercultural communication" (p. 4).

Another example of resisting the culture was when Ged asserted his agency at the high school in Japan by working out that it was not necessary to take part in extra-curricular activities, despite the cultural expectation that teachers do so. Ged got by doing the bare minimum, saying '[friend] had wised me up' (Ged, narrative 5), rebelling against cultural expectations which he saw as constraints.

Cross-cultural issues were relevant in the teachers' contexts both overseas and in New Zealand. Teaching students from other cultures is located within a cross-cultural space, which Bhabha (1992) described as a 'third space' created at the intersection between one culture and another. This third space can be expanded or restricted by a teacher's actions. As a foreign teacher, it is possible to pick and choose, having freedom to adopt aspects of each culture and to shuttle between the two (Lo Bianco et al., 1999). If "people come to resemble the institutions in which they work" (Huberman, 1989, p. 53), then ESOL teachers represent global networks that may lead to cross-cultural understanding.

Another cultural issue, which had an important impact on Maggie's professional identity, was that the low status of women in Japan led to feelings of vulnerability and of being treated unfairly. This is also an example of a cultural clash, where what is accepted in one cultural setting can seem wrong from another cultural perspective. Maggie partially attributed her decision to leave Japan to her inability to get a permanent job at the university because of the gender bias, as 'both times they gave it to a male teacher' (Maggie, narrative 5). Simon-Maeda (2004) observed that expatriate teachers "often described disempowering experiences as women" (p. 417), which could lead to a need to prove oneself. Interestingly, the majority of ESOL teachers in many contexts are female, which may also contribute to TESOL being perceived as a marginalised profession, since traditionally men are advantaged and hold more powerful positions.

The status of TESOL

The literature provides many examples of how TESOL as a profession suffers from low status (Johnston, 1999; Thornbury, 2000), and this was also found in the teachers' narratives. The status a teacher feels they have, arises from identities ascribed by others, and can have a positive or negative impact.

In Japan, both Ged and Maggie found they were highly respected as foreign teachers, and this was a source of building a positive professional identity. For Maggie, an important, even defining experience was being the head teacher at a high school in Japan. She was respected and exerted influence, which provided her with validation as a capable teacher and leader. For example, the school hired a NNEST on her recommendation, despite their preference for native speakers. This involved a struggle against institutional beliefs and traditions, represented by Maggie's statement 'I had to fight for this guy' (Maggie, narrative 2), however her influence implied she had a high status.

The subsequent loss of status that both Maggie and Ged felt upon returning to New Zealand required them to reconstruct their professional identities. Initially, Maggie had difficulty finding a job in New Zealand, being told that Japan had lower standards as they would hire ESOL teachers 'off the street' (Maggie, narrative 6), which made her feel powerless. Although a teacher may have both qualifications and extensive experience, this may not be considered relevant in the New Zealand context, and ex-patriates returning home may meet this potential bias. This is consistent with Sussman (2000) who described work-related re-adjustments as a contributing factor to repatriate distress experienced as part of reverse culture shock.

However, the experience of living and teaching overseas can provide teachers with invaluable insights into the experience of their students. Furthermore, not all ESOL teachers in New Zealand are as highly qualified or experienced as those who have taught overseas. Maggie was annoyed to find the attitude within her university in New Zealand that anyone can be a good teacher as long as they are 'intelligent' (Maggie, narrative 8). Maggie believed that qualifications and experience were necessary for a teacher to be competent. The perception that TESOL is a job that can be done by anyone who speaks English, is part of a pervasive wider discourse reinforcing the low status of TESOL. This ultimately results in the profession suffering from low self-esteem (Thornbury, 2001). As long as entry to the profession requires only minimal preparation, the status issue for TESOL may persist.

Status is also related to the basic human need to feel competent (Ryan & Deci, 2000), which can result from feeling valued by others. Therefore, one way the teachers in this study achieved status was by establishing their competence. Maggie attempted to regain her sense of lost status in New Zealand by aligning herself with teaching English for Academic Purposes rather than ESOL. Talking

about the private tertiary institute she stated: 'I didn't really see myself as an English teacher' (Maggie, narrative 7), but rather as a teacher of academic skills, from which she derived pleasure and validation. In this way, she avoided the low status associated with TESOL.

People need to feel effective, and telling narratives is a way to show that the narrator is capable and competent (Bruner, 1990). In subtle ways, Dan enhanced his status by aligning himself with prestigious institutions. For example, Dan referred to working at a university in Japan where 'presidents and prime ministers study' (Dan, narrative 2), which reflected well on his skills by determining that he worked at a highly reputable institution. He also talked about the fact that he had published materials, which again points to his competence.

NNEST identity

Another issue arising from the data connected with perceived status was that of being a Non-Native English Speaking teacher (NNEST). Stella's status as a non-native speaker was a dominant theme in her narratives, both informing and transforming her professional identity. This is especially salient as, in the New Zealand context, the majority of ESOL teachers are native speakers. Stella's cross-cultural journey involved not only adapting to living in a new culture, but also the need to prove her ability as an English teacher in order to establish herself as part of a professional community.

Initially as a student in New Zealand, Stella described her own feelings of resistance to having a non-native speaker teacher coming to teach her class, reflecting how she had been conditioned by the wider discourse around the expectations of the ideal English language teacher, particularly that they are 'European looking' (Stella, narrative 1). This resonates with Song (2016), who commented that "native speakers of English are presented as the ideal teachers, marginalizing (NNESTs) . . . (this) disempowers (NNESTS) by questioning their professional authority and legitimacy and generates various challenges and difficulties" (p. 635).

At first, Stella felt she was restricted and judged as a NNEST, and that she had to prove herself to both employers and students. She felt she was discriminated against when seeking work as a volunteer in New Zealand, being told that the students wanted 'Kiwi English' (Stella, narrative 2).

This experience had far-reaching consequences on how Stella perceived herself, and also reinforced the need for her to establish her legitimacy to teach English. Later, Stella was given the volunteer position teaching a class of Chinese students, and found it ironic that now her status as a Chinese speaker was seen as an advantage. Despite her NNEST identity, she proved herself to be successful, which provided her with validation as an ESOL teacher.

Stella was able to reconceptualise her NNEST status in a positive light. For example, her students at the community school told her they preferred her due to her non-native speaker background, showing her affinity with students. She came to see herself as a role-model for students due to her success as an English speaker, and felt she was better able to understand her students' experience as she had been through the same process of learning the language. What had previously been seen as an impediment finally became a positive aspect, as Stella said: 'I'm using it as my advantage' (Stella, narrative 7). Yuwono & Harbon (2010) found that in a similar way, non-native speakers were able to attribute their professionalism to language skills, experience and pedagogical skills. Stella's transformative journey also constitutes a tale of survival as she re-invented herself as a competent English teacher. This illustrates the intertwining of individual and social aspects, and the influence of wider discourses, all mediated by teachers' emotions.

A clear instance of the strong mediating influence of emotions on Stella's sense of competence and achievement is in her narrative about returning to teach at the university where she had been a student five years earlier. She related how she had 'a moment to herself with the sign in front of the language school' (Stella, narrative 6). This experience imbued her with a great sense of accomplishment, and led to her feeling validated as an ESOL teacher. Self-awareness is linked to reflection (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009), so when Stella said: 'finally I know what I'm good at', (Stella, narrative 6) this demonstrated her developing positive professional identity.

IV. Changing professional identities over career trajectories

The notion of career trajectories can be seen as exerting an influence on teachers' professional identities. Although this discussion has been organized around themes across teachers, each individual teacher had a unique career journey and drew on different sources to construct their professional identities. The sources can be represented in terms of individual journeys through a continuously changing landscape (see figure 5.1).

Ged

previous teaching   luck   need for autonomy   students

Maggie

high status   cultural adaptation   gender   low status   undervalued   principled

Dan

restlessness   learning on the job   belief in learner-centredness

Stella

professional learning   NNEST   connections with students   leader

Figure 5: Individual teachers' sources of professional identity

Ged was the only teacher in the study who brought previous teaching experience to his TESOL career, although he still experienced difficult situations. He saw getting jobs as a matter of luck. Later in his career he showed his need for autonomy by asserting himself against perceived constraints. Maggie's professional identity journey was characterized by the contrast between the high status she enjoyed in Japan and the loss of status in New Zealand. Cultural adaptation was also a dominant theme for Maggie in Japan, as she both accommodated and resisted cultural expectations, the latter regarding gender discrimination. Although she showed she was highly principled, disappointment at feeling undervalued had an influence on her sense of herself as a professional. Dan's journey is marked by his sense of restlessness, which drove him onward to different jobs and to doctoral studies. The experience of training to be a language advisor was a defining experience for Dan, and his strong belief in promoting learner-centredness became central

to his practice. Stella's journey is characterized by her evolving sense of her NNEST status. As a relatively new teacher, professional learning was also a prominent source of her professional identity. Later on, connections with students and her leadership role provided her with a feeling of competence.

V. Summary

The discussion in this chapter has highlighted some emergent issues from the complex matrix of individual and social factors, which influenced the teachers' professional identities in this study. These are all inextricably bound together and mediated by teachers' emotions, while they are also dependent on wider discourses surrounding the field of TESOL.

Individual sources of professional identity found in the study were: professional learning; the need for autonomy; and teachers' beliefs. Professional learning was seen to take place on the job through teaching experience. Early in the teachers' careers, a lack of autonomy could be linked to professional learning, as constraints can provide structure. However, as the teachers gained experience, a lack of autonomy could be a source of frustration, and they showed their need for autonomy in various ways. Beliefs that teachers held also exerted a strong influence on their professional identity, and having the freedom to operationalize their beliefs led to positive outcomes.

The social sources of professional identity emerging from the study were: connections with students and teachers; working in the cross-cultural space; and the low status of TESOL. Connections with students included the validation teachers received from their students, and connections with other teachers through membership in a community of practice. Cross-cultural influences on professional identity were found to be a combination of adaptation and resistance. The issue of the low status of TESOL emerged from one participant's narratives in particular, however the other teachers were seen to refer to it by their need to establish their competence.

In the next chapter I draw some conclusions from this discussion and make practical recommendations arising from the findings of this study.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This research project investigated how ESOL teachers' professional identity constructions changed throughout their careers. In this chapter I summarise the key findings in response to the research question, and then draw some implications of this study for teachers and for institutions. I go on to note the main strengths and limitations of the study, and end with a personal reflection.

I. Research question revisited

This study began with the question: *How are ESOL teachers' professional identities informed and transformed over their careers?*

The findings to this question illustrate how teachers' professional identities were informed and transformed by various sources arising from individual and social factors, although they were intertwined in complex ways. Furthermore, their experiences in a variety of contexts were mediated by their emotions. Individual factors were found to be: teachers' experiences of professional learning; the lack of and the need for autonomy; and the beliefs they held about how good teachers should act and what constitutes good teaching. Sources contributing to teachers' professional identity arising from the social realm were: connections with students and connections with other teachers, which could also be a source of validation; cross-cultural adaptation; and status issues. The latter included: the low status of TESOL; the status of female teachers in Japan; and for one non-native speaker participant, her status as a NNEST. Through their narratives, teachers demonstrated how they drew on these various sources to construct their professional identities.

II. Implications

The findings of this study have particular implications for ESOL teachers, as well as the institutions where teachers work. The teachers' narratives contribute to understanding how teachers think and what is important to them, by providing glimpses into teachers' experience of their work. Teachers' professional identity has consequences for their feelings of satisfaction, their sense of professionalism, their practice and their effectiveness. The issues emerging from this study have far-reaching implications, which need to be considered in order to constantly improve on the teaching and learning experiences of all involved in the field of TESOL.

Due to the power of experiences in informing professional learning, consideration needs to be given to how new teachers can be provided with a variety of experiences. As novice teachers, Ged and Dan were portrayed as learning from the practice of teaching from textbooks. In Stella's first teaching job she had more freedom in what and how she taught, but relied on asking for help from her colleagues. If teachers are learning to teach in low constraint contexts, it is important to ensure they are provided with support for professional learning. Another implication is the need to consider how institutions can support teachers in their ongoing professional learning and ensure they get experience in a variety of contexts. The teachers in this study moved to different contexts, which provided them with a range of experiences that led to professional learning. This confirms that "the greatest teacher educator is daily, practical, life experience and reflection on it" (Xu & Connelly, 2009, p. 226). Besides the need for teachers to have a variety of experiences, they must also feel autonomous in order for them to feel they have control over their work and freedom to try things out and put their knowledge into practice.

This study points to the need to raise the status of TESOL by increasing perceptions of professionalism. Although entry into the profession is relatively easy, through doing a short training course, the low status issue can be addressed by teachers pursuing higher qualifications. Furthermore, institutions should support teachers in this endeavor. Thornbury (2001) outlined three ways that TESOL has attempted to raise its sense of professionalism and thereby status. They are: through aligning itself with academic study; through seeing the therapeutic benefits of education; and through teachers becoming co-participants in the enterprise of classroom learning. Despite having Master degrees, some of the teachers in this study still felt at times their lack of status impacted on their professional identity. They found alternative ways to increase their self-esteem, which were largely through having the freedom to operationalize their beliefs, and through their connections with their students. Raising the status of TESOL and increasing professionalism could therefore be achieved if teachers are re-conceptualised in wider discourses as 'language teaching experts'.

III. Recommendations

1. Institutions should provide new teachers with guidance and a range of experiences.
2. Institutions should allow teachers freedom and encourage innovative practices.
3. Teachers should commit to raising the status of TESOL by pursuing further qualifications.

IV. Strengths of the study

A major strength of the study is the rich insights into teachers' professional identity provided through their narratives of personal experience. Keeping the narratives intact rather than breaking them up into categories contributed to maintaining the holistic nature of the data, which imbued the findings with a fuller picture of each teacher's experience. A teacher is more than a quantification of their attributes or themes they have raised in interviews.

Presenting the narratives in teachers' own voices enables research to involve and empower people by 'expanding the range of voices heard' (Barkhuizen, 2016b, p. 29). The reader of this research report can see the processes involved in the researcher's interpretations, and also bring their own meanings to the narratives. Adopting an eclectic approach to analyzing the data by looking at linguistic and structural features within the narratives, as well as identifying narrative themes and identities, provided a rich interpretation reflecting the multi-dimensional nature of professional identity construction. Also by taking into account different perspectives on identity construction, as arising from both individual and social sources, teachers' professional identity was not described as a fixed or one-dimensional feature, but rather as an ongoing fluid process stimulated by teachers' interactions with various sources within their individual contexts.

V. Limitations of the study

A main limitation of this study is that of space and the necessary selection of narratives. The teachers' interviews yielded a large number of narratives, for example around 80 from Ged, but only seven are presented in the data. Although representative of themes raised, these provide merely a few glimpses into the full richness of the entire collection of narratives. A table of analyses of Ged's narratives is provided in Appendix five to exemplify this. Furthermore, the particular selection of narratives and themes included in the findings may give the impression that other themes were not present in individual teachers' narratives. However, the categories were not preselected but arose from the data, and this illustrates the interpretive nature of the research.

Another limitation of this study could be that it relies on narrative interview data from a small number of participants. However, as the aim is not to generalize, but rather to present teachers'

narratives of personal experience, this could also be considered a strength as it has allowed deeper insights into individual teachers' thought processes.

Finally it must be acknowledged that the data presented in this thesis consists of the stories of experience that teachers told in interviews, which present their own perceptions, and may not reflect their actual practice. Therefore, interview data could be seen as one-dimensional, viewed only from the perspective of the teachers. The students' perceptions is another dimension that could be added. Teachers' narratives of experience could also be expanded by adding observational data that would provide further insights into how the teachers' perspectives related to what they do in class and how they engage with students. However, observation could add an evaluative component, which is not useful in terms of understanding how professional career identities evolve.

This leads to another limitation in narrative interviewing, which is the convention of uncritically accepting and supporting what teachers say (Convery, 1999), rather than addressing what may be confronting. Nonetheless, the aim was not to present or judge objective 'facts' but rather to present teachers' personal perceptions of their experiences.

VI. Personal reflection

As I come to the end of my research journey for this thesis, I also near what Huberman (1989) terms the final stage of a teaching career and feel myself shifting from "instrumental concerns to more reflective pursuits" (p. 36). In my attempt to understand the ephemeral and multi-faceted nature of professional identity I have realized the complexity of its construction and reconstruction, and how identity is linked to a multitude of influences. Examining the narratives told by the teachers in this study has helped me to examine some of my own assumptions and beliefs about teaching ESOL, and emphasized that there are always other perspectives. Teaching ESOL is a profession with paradoxes, for example, the need for teachers to have autonomy and the need for structure to ensure quality and foster professional learning. Exploring ESOL teachers' narratives of work in cross-cultural spaces has reinforced my excitement about TESOL and inspired me to continue in my own journey.

VII. Imagining the future

Career trajectories also wind into the future as imagined identities, which can expand temporally (Norton, 2010). In my imagination, Ged moves into a senior role, no longer teaching but managing staff and spending more time on outside pursuits, representing a serene disengagement from work. Maggie returns to Japan to work at a university in a leadership role, hiring both male and female teachers. In this way she re-establishes her sense of lost status, and is once again called a visiting 'professor'. Dan becomes a university lecturer in Education, specializing in self-directed learning, and establishes himself as a leading authority on learner-centredness. Stella leaves TESOL as she feels she has learnt all she can, and she has many more talents and directions to explore, reflecting changes which come with the ever faster pace of life.

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MASSEY UNIVERSITY
ALBANY

2 November 2015

Donna Bliss
21 Anglesey Place
Palmerston North

Dear Donna

Re: **ESOL teachers identities in Flux: Identity transformations throughout a career**

Thank you for your Low Risk Notification which was received on 2 November 2015.

Your project has been recorded on the Low Risk Database which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committees.

You are reminded that staff researchers and supervisors are fully responsible for ensuring that the information in the low risk notification has met the requirements and guidelines for submission of a low risk notification.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis that it is safe to proceed without approval by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 356 9099, extn 86015, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

Brian T Finch (Dr)
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and
Director (Research Ethics)

cc   Assoc. Professor Penny Haworth and Dr Clare Mariskind   Professor. John O'Neill
       Institute of Education   Director of Institute of Education
       Palmerston North   **Palmerston North**

Massey University Human Ethics Committee
Accredited by the Health Research Council

ESOL teachers' identities in flux: identity transformations throughout a career

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher Introduction

My name is Donna Bliss. I am conducting a narrative study for a thesis in fulfillment of a Master in Education at Massey University.

Project Description and Invitation

My research aims to investigate the career trajectories of experienced ESOL teachers. In particular, I want to explore changes throughout a career. I would like to invite you to take part in my study.

Participant Identification and Recruitment

As the aim is to collect rich stories, just four ESOL teachers with at least ten years teaching experience are being sought to take part in the study.

Project Procedures

- Each participant will be interviewed individually. Participants can choose to be interviewed either face-to face or by skype or telephone, at a mutually convenient time and place.
- Each participant will be interviewed a maximum of three times. The first interview will last a maximum of one hour and is to gain an overview of the teacher's career pathway. Second and third interviews will last up to 90 minutes to get in depth insights into critical turning points. I may also seek further clarification from participants by email.

Data Management

- Information gathered through the interview process will be used for the purpose of the current study and for future presentations and publications based on the findings. This includes incidental information obtained during the interviews.
- Interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed by myself.
- If I use another person to transcribe interviews they will sign a confidentiality agreement.
- Transcripts will be sent to participants to have an opportunity to check and edit information.
- No real names of participants, institutions or other identifying information will be used.
- All data will be stored securely on a password protected computer and in a locked filing cabinet. It will be kept for 5 years after the thesis has been graded and then will be securely disposed of.
- Consent forms will be stored securely separate from the data in a locked filing cabinet and a password protected computer.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation.   If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study up until 2 weeks after the interview;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts

- The project is being carried out by:
  - Donna Bliss

    telephone +6443569099 extension 84083, email d.g.bliss@massey.ac.nz
- The project is being supervised by:
  - Dr. Penny Haworth

    telephone +6463569099 extension 84446, email p.a.haworth@massey.ac.nz.
  - Dr. Clare Mariskind

    telephone +6463569099 extension 84396, or email: c.j.mariskind@massey.ac.nz

- Please feel free to contact either the researcher or the supervisors if you have any questions about the project.

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researchers named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 356 9099 extension 86015, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

ESOL teachers' identities in flux: identity transformations throughout a career

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: .... **Date:** ....

Full Name - printed ....

ESOL teachers' identities in flux: identity transformations throughout a career

AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF TRANSCRIPTS

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the interview(s) conducted with me.

I agree that the edited transcript and extracts from this may be used in reports and publications arising from the research.

Signature: .... **Date:** ....

Full Name - printed ....

Ged narratives

Narrative	Themes	Identity presenta-tion	Moral	Structural features	Devices/ evaluation
Training college and primary teaching – unique					
I went to teachers' college not thinking (1,7)	unique golden days	unique clever	In the old days it was easier to get into teachers' college	Coda: I don't think they would ever let you in that young again	Repetition: young x 3 There were a couple of us young ones, but only a couple
I taught all levels in primary school (1,1)	competence	worldly experienced	An experienced teacher is flexible		Every single level, I've taught every single one of them
I went relieving (1,7)	competence autonomy rebel control	competent successful easygoing decisive	Primary teaching is fun	Coda: everybody says it's terrible these days	emotive language: loved, hated I quite liked, I used to have heaps of fun
Japanese company – the good life					
So I took a year's leave (1,1)	serendipity decisiveness agency cultural adaptation	culturally adaptable easygoing decisive agentive	If you find something you love, sell up and move	Chronicle of events	direct statement: so I said "oh, ok" internally embedded evaluation
I got in and I didn't have a degree (1,10)	serendipity golden days	lucky	If you are in the right place at the right time, you can get the job	Coda: you wouldn't get in now without a degree Past perfect - sequencing	It was funny
The first time I ever taught ESOL (1,8)	competence profession-alism adaptability easy transition	competent experienced adaptable	If you are experienced you can adapt to different teaching situations	I think being a primary school teacher - temporal link	Repetition: it was actually ok x2, got around it
Have you never heard of	status - prestige competence	competent prestigious	If you are a competent teacher, you	Habitual narrative: would, could,	Repetition: I would have no idea what the

G-mat? (1,8)			get the good job	past, present	answer were, it was <u>so</u> complicated, I couldn't answer them all, I had <u>no</u> idea
You didn't know where you were going to be teaching (1,28)	survival easygoing lack of agency	easygoing survivor non-agentive	you didn't always get what you wanted	Habitual narrative: present, past Explicit moral: "you didn't always get what you wanted"	Repetition: you just did it, you had to do it, even if it was crappy, its' only going to be for a term, so it didn't really matter
We would all take the train home (1,20)	camaraderie connected-ness adventure	easygoing culturally adaptable	It's good to be part of a community	Habitual narrative: would, past Coda: I don't know that we, we, have that so much here now, we don't do much as a staff, do you guys do much as a staff?	Repetition: it was really like a kind of nice feeling x2
So I did flower arranging just for a year (1,22)	cultural adaptation /learning	artistic sporty culturally adaptive	To adapt to a new culture you need to get connected	Descriptive narrative, justifies – Just did flower arranging for the composition	Repetition: real real mixture, flower arranging x5 contradiction – flower arranging, well not flower arranging
Each class was in a different factory (2,3)	good easy job competence	lucky easygoing competent	Dynamic lifestyle is fun	Habitual narrative: might have, would	That was quite good, was quite good, which was fun Pronouns: we, you, everyone
We took the students away for the weekend	enjoyable work easy going	easygoing compliant hard-working	La dolce vita	Habitual narrative: past, would x8, we might	it was good, that was really fun, really fun Pronouns: we, you, I

some-times (2,4)					
I'm tended to be better teaching the more advanced ones (2,4)	competence admiring programme constraints	self-aware non-agentive admiring	Rewards of teaching on a good programme	Descriptive narrative Coda: I wish I'd kept it	that was a good one x2, the students seemed to really enjoy it Pronouns: I, we, you, we, I, you
It was all in a book (2,4)	easy job	non-agentive compliant	To teach you just need to follow the book	Descriptive narrative	it was really well organized actually Pronouns: you, we, I, you, you
I was never so good with the grammar (2,5)	weakness teaching strategy professional learning	self-aware survivor reflective	If you don't know, look up in a book	Explanatory narrative: maybe, present Coda: I'm better now	I think that's one of the challenges actually being an ESOL teacher Pronouns: I, you, we
You just looked in books, got ideas (2,10)	professional learning easy job agency	competent agentive part of community of practice	You can learn to teach by looking in books	Habitual narrative: past, would Co-constructed: Q about PD > A: no x3, never x8	you just looked in books, it was up to you Pronouns: we, you, they, we, somebody
I suppose the first couple of years were quite hard (2,10)	constraints routine prestige	adaptive compliant reflective	Adapt to fit your context	Descriptive narrative Coda: it will still be the same now . . . university has actually gotten a lot better	It was so hard, nothing ground breakingly exciting, In some ways I felt sorry for them Pronouns: you, I, they, you, you
It was fairly formal 'cos you had the textbook and stuff (2,15)	constraints easy job	non-agentive compliant reflective	Teaching is easy	Descriptive narrative Repetition – it was lesson one this day, lesson two the next day. . . .	it was quite hard at the beginning – backshadowing

But I think that being a trained primary teacher (2,15)	competence confidence experience	competent experienced	If you have experience you know what to do	Descriptive narrative	I think actually helped, I just knew what to do, I knew how to deal with it, I always try and make the classroom a fairly happy place
I used to work with him, he's full of himself (2,21)	critique of self-promotion	In the know connected critical of successful TESOL celebs	Success is a matter of luck	Descriptive narrative	Externally embedded evaluation: out of nothing, I don't think he's done any groundbreaking
Japanese university – easy life					
I was lucky enough to get a job at a university as well (1,1)	serendipity hard worker easy transition	lucky hardworker	If you are in the right place at the right time, you can get the job	I was full-time at the uni, even though full-time at factory - temporality	I was lucky enough, I just jumped into her place – implying ease
I took over her job at the university (1,23)	competence luck	competent lucky	If you are good they roll over your contract indefinitely	Action followed by long evaluation	conditional: if you do ok, they just kind of roll over your contract, so that's a good time to step in, which was good
They gave me a fulltime (1,24)	status competence easy progression lack of agency	prestigious competent non-agentive compliant easygoing	Fulltime university teaching is easy	Habitual narrative: you have to, I had to go	it's called a vising professor status, that's kind of a full-time
There's no health insurance (1,24)	survival rebel	survivor easygoing risk taker	If you don't have health insurance you'll be ok	Descriptive narrative with action: I broke my leg, I had teeth capped	Repetition: you just paid, I just paid and it wasn't that expensive – implying ease
They had the 50th anniversary party	conscient-iousness status - prestige	conscient-ious valued compliant	If you do things you don't have to, you will	Coda: I've still got it somewhere at home	lexical intensifiers 'enormous big' contradiction – you had to, you

(1,24)	valued cultural adaptation	(contrasts with [x] wised me up)	be rewarded		didn't have to go
There was a gay Catholic priest (1,26)	fortune, luck	part of eclectic community non-agentive	you can get ahead through luck	Coda: don't ask (teacher) about him 'cos they didn't get on - invites interviewer into world	he was just there at the right time, he was there way before me
There was an American Jew (1,23)	multi-cultural community	part of exciting ex-pat community	cultural stereotypes exist in the multicultur-al space	Coda: that sounds terrible doesn't it - risqué story	we think it was maybe because – external
And the boys didn't like the girls and the girls didn't like the boys (2,5)	difficult class survival	survivor	Sometimes you need to deal with difficulties	Descriptive narrative Hypothesizes about cause	it was a struggle, and I struggled and struggled and struggled, that was one of the hardest years, it was just so hard going
They just wouldn't interact with each other (2,6)	survival competence difficult students reflection	survivor competent easygoing reflective	You have to go with the flow (explicit)	Descriptive narrative Coda: I'd do it differently now maybe Co-constructed	there wasn't any real good interaction, they just wouldn't interact Contradiction: it's a bit similar here, but it is a bit different
I did one language lab (2,7)	difficulties teaching inadequacy	compliant inadequate	Language lab was good for providing practice	Descriptive and habitual narrative Compares self to others – but I could never, some teachers did it really well	I was not so good, I thought it was quite good x3 not such a bad thing
I quite liked academic writing	autonomy competence	competent enjoying teaching	Autonomy is important for enjoyment	Descriptive narrative Explaining	I quite liked, you had quite a bit of freedom

(2,7)					
And you got all these free samples (2,7)	good work conditions	fortunate	The good old days in Japan	Habitual narrative Coda: whereas we don't really get that here	all these amazing books, an enormous array of textbooks, I think that was good Pronouns – you, we
There was never any photocopy limit (2,8)	easy job good conditions freedom from constraints	lucky autono-mous	Freedom is important	Descriptive narrative Temporality – moves from past to present Coda: there might be now	There was never any photocopy limit
They had a whole system of work-sheets (2,20)	freedom competence	innovative independ-ent	Freedom to be creative is important	Descriptive narrative Co-constructed: questions about graded readers, and the system	you were fairly free, stuff that I liked pronouns: They, I, you, we, I
In Japan they had an underclass (2,12)	cultural learning	culturally aware, learner	Be careful of cultural differences	Action and explanatory narrative – history lesson	you have to be very careful with this, I was very very careful after that Repetition: I don't know
I do remember being stalked by some girls (2,12)	moral, appropriate behaviour cultural boundaries	culturally aware popular teacher	Different cultural boundaries	Action and habitual narrative Coda: I don't know if you'd do that in NZ, would they? – includes interviewer	I had some really really good classes that I got on well with
Japanese private boys' high school - compliance					
My brother got me into the high	serendipity unique adapting to constraints	lucky unusual adaptable	Through luck you can get the job	Coda: so I've got a Japanese registration as well as my	so I luckily got into that, that actually worked out very successfully,

				Kiwi registration	which is pretty unusual, which is quite unusual
school (1,2)					
Imagine 50 15-year-old boys all sitting in rows (1,25)	competence survival constraints	competent survivor	You need to adapt to difficult circumstances	Action and habitual narrative List of difficulties x 5 You imagine, you've got to think – invites interviewer	because you couldn't do anything else with them
They just wouldn't cooperate (2,6)	Difficult students	survivor compliant	Difficulties need to be borne	Action and habitual narrative: would, used to, past Co-constructed: what did they do? > leads to repetition	I used to hate it, hat going to work Pronouns: I, we, I you, I, they(school) they (boys)
My (name) had wised me up (1,25)	cultural resistance rebel competence	rebel resisting the culture decisive an insider	you don't have to follow the rules	Descriptive and Instructional narrative – How to work in Japan	Just =implies doing minimum necessary
It was the second most prestigious private school in (city) (1,27)	competence status prestige connected-ness	competent teacher connected	Golden days	Descriptive narrative: compares present to past: now, then	repetition: second most prestigious, pretty well thought of
You'd just take the train to work (1,27)	survival easygoing hard work	survivor flexible hardwork-ing easygoing	success means being busy	Habitual narrative: Would and Past simple	no wonder we were all skinny, it was busy, when you were busy, you were really busy Repetition busy x3, You
"Oh dear, would you like a cup of	professional learning responsibil-ity	professional responsible	Study is serious but can be fun	Action and habitual narrative Temporal	it was quite strict, Oh dear, would you like a cup of coffee?"

coffee?" (1,10)	fun			sequencing: backwards, would Invites interviewer 'you know what it's like'	Contradiction: strict but casual
I kind of had a little bit of enough (2,1)	cross-cultural foreigness	foreigner different fed up	You can get worn down as a foreigner	Descriptive and habitual narrative Coda: I think it's a little bit different now	being tall with blonde hair, blue eyes, you know, of course you're an American You get sick of x2 Pronouns: I, he, you x3
Return to NZ – professional learning					
We decided to come back to NZ (1,2)	having a life outside of teaching	wise - financial investments agentive	A well-rounded person	Action	Funny time of year Kind of
I did a thesis (1,3)	profession-alism qualifications	well-qualified elite teacher	It's better to do a thesis than just papers	Action	Evaluation embedded – he did just papers only repetition: just/only direct speech: "oh, I might do my masters"
I wouldn't say my Masters went entirely smoothly (1,21)	triumph over adversity professional learning	survivor	with persever-ance you can overcome obstacles	Coda: (at beginning of story) do you know her? invites interviewer into conversation	it was a disaster (laughs) I wouldn't say my masters went entirely smoothly It was a disaster
I did Pearson correlatio ns and all of that (1,21)	successful as student professional learning	studious	rewards of studying	Coda: don't ask me I couldn't do that now (mid story) Contradiction : I couldn't do that now, probably it	positive statements: it was quite good x3, was really quite rewarding, I really enjoyed that, that was pretty good, I was quite pleased

				would come back to me	about that
I was a good student (2,3)	prestige professional learning	studious survivor	A good job is worth doing well	Descriptive narrative Co-constructed: were you a good student?	"she's fairly well regarded" I think it paid off x2 Really enjoyed the masters study It made it very difficult x2 It was hard x2 Pronouns – I, I-we, we, Ix3
NZ high school - prestige					
It's a very prestig-ious high school (1,3)	competence status - prestige status of ESOL	competent teaching easy	Ease of getting ESOL job	Coda: have you ever heard of them? (mid story) Invites interviewer into conversation	It's a very prestigious high school just x2 (teaching ESOL)
It was just a kind of a, a bit of a subby job (2,2)	competence hard work prestige	competent hard-working prestige	Good teachers get good jobs	Description with action Little info about college	It was good though, it was considered a, a pretty good job
He went through five rounds of redund-ancy (1,11)	disadvant-aged discrimin-ation status	disadvant-aged survivor	Prejudice against foreigners	Explanatory narrative 3rd person narrative	Very prestigious We thought "well, oh look"
And then he was made redundant there (2,2)	NNEST discrimin-ation	disadvant-aged by NNEST discrimin-ation	Some things are out of your control	Repeat story from int 1 explanatory narrative and action, 3rd person narrative coda: the school has now since gone under	Direct statements They said "we want you to teach this group", they said "no"

NZ university - disadvantaged					
Then I moved over to (university) (1,4)	competence easy enjoyment flexibility	competent teaching easy decisive agentive	Enjoyment of varied teaching	Descriptive narrative + action Coda: do you know (teacher)? (university)? (mid story) Invites interviewer into conversation	We'd change over if we got bored And that was great, really good lexical intensifiers
And (lecturer) asked me if I wanted a job (2,2)	competence easy to get job	competent unique	If you are good you will be offered work	Narrative fragment Co-constructed: what was the reason? so you were offered the job, did you have to apply?	Mm yeah, pretty much, yeah No, not really
Then they kind of let in everyone (1,20)	historical comment-ary	experienced connected historical	Multiple cultures are better than just two cultures	Describes historical changes Coda: they tell me now, it's not so bad now, now it's changed	Then they kind of let in everyone
You were just teaching content (2,18)	changing work context competence flexibility	easygoing adaptable	You need to be flexible	Descriptive narrative Co-constructed: how did you deal with Kiwi students?	Whatever you got, you just got Contradiction: you're not really bothering too much about, well, you're teaching the language
How to use a contents page (1,29)	sticking to ideals rebel	competent decisive fearless	Stand up for your beliefs	Action: I was asked, I said no	direct statements: and I just said "oh no, you know, this is no point", I think that was kind of a bit of a waste of

					time
My boss, to be honest, wasn't particularly good (1,4)	disadvant-aged unfair treatment	disadvant-aged agentive	If you are mistreated, do something about it	Explanatory narrative – why left Coda: And we've been here ever since	My boss, to be honest, wasn't particularly good, and um, she favoured somebody else who didn't really do any work
My boss wouldn't give me a perman-ent full-time job (2,1)	disadvant-aged unfair treatment	disadvant-aged agentive	If asked to do something unreasonable, refuse	Descriptive narrative Habitual narrative: would	She'd probably be one of the worst bosses I've ever had, not supportive, And had us doing all these ridiculous things I just said "I'm not doing that, that's ridiculous
She was a (#) (1,12)	competence disadvant-aged standing up for himself	competent disadvant-aged decisive agentive	Stand up for yourself	Action unfinished: and then I, so that was ok Coda: I've still got the reports that I wrote you know	She was a (#) This really good programme I mean, yeah, come on, that was just (##), so I just said "look, I'm not doing it"
"Look, it's full of mistakes" (1,13)	competence fight for justice disadvant-aged	disadvant-aged principled decisive agentive	If the situation is unfair, stand up for yourself	Action	Embedded evaluation - So then I thought "nah, this isn't going to work" Repetition – petered out Direct statements x 6
NZ private tertiary institute - resignation					
I'm in charge of all that now (Private NZ tertiary institute) (1,5)	leadership In charge	competent manager	to get ahead you have to make sacrifices	Action Coda: I've been assistant manager here for a while	Aside: which I hate (admin) I took over I'm in charge of all that now I'm pretty efficient at stuff like that in fact

					very efficient
They did try to push me out (1,14)	rebel disadvantag-ed resignation	disadvantag-ed survivor rebellious agentive	Stand up for yourself	Coda: I do now, I don't care, they can fire me Includes interviewer: Do you know (teacher)?	It was quite funny, I just don't care, I don't care, they can fire me, kind of a bit like a very kind of a contolling kind of a boss
"Oh well, we'll stay here" (1,15)	disadvantag-ed resignation	disadvantag-ed not appreciated resigned	Seek pleasure where you can find it	Coda: you see what I mean"	Direct statement: "oh well, we'll stay here", if I wasn't so happy at work
"Oh Ged, would you do it again?" (1,15)	disadvantag-ed compliant good employee	disadvantag-ed non-agentive compliant easygoing decisive	Sometimes we are convinced against our better judgement	Coda: I wish I hadn't now Invites interviewer: do you know (teacher)? you see what I mean?	Our dear pop-up director decided alone/ I said "nah, I don't think I'll do it"/ I kind of got convinced to do it which I shouldn't have, I should have just gone back to being a teacher/ then the funny thing it Direct statements x3
We have these powhiris (1,18)	compliant good employee rebel	compliant rebel	Even if you do the right thing you may not be rewarded	Invites interviewer: do you have those? Co-constructed: did you attend > oh, yeah yeah, yeah, I've attended every time	Evaluation: now that's bullying and I just said "no, I'm not doing it" Direct statement
I think I'm the first person ever not to rub noses	Māori culture discriminat-ed against rebel	disadvantag-ed decisive agentive	Discriminati on breeds mistrust	Explanatory narrative – linking past story to present attitude	They suddenly decided oh no, if you're white you couldn't teach that And I thought

(1,19)				Coda: I've lost a bit of interest in it	"nah, not interested in it anymore
There's a bit of a tall poppies syndrome going on (1,20)	success beyond teaching unique	successful in life envied by others	Don't envy rich people, we're all the same	Narrative fragment descriptive: I find there's, they all think Present tense	We're the rich people from (city)that we came down from (city) and we're the rich ones Who cares you know, who cares, it doesn't matter
So there's a teaching award (1,29)	principles teaching duties competence in charge rebel	principled competent confident rebel	Good teaching is reward in itself	Coda (at beginning) I've just had a discussion about Includes interviewer Have you ever been to that Ako Aotearoa?	I said "I'm not doing it / well I never do that, I just delete them/ I don't even want a bar of it, to me it's just a teacher building themselves up/ I refused to do it after that Direct statements x2 Actually x4
"Oh, you're doing too much photocopying" (2,8)	good work conditions	compliant free	Trust for teachers	Co-constructed: do you have one now? do some people get pulled up on it? do you have guidelines?	Yeah, mm, it never seems to hit me/no, no, no, nothing like that Repetition: I think x3 Direct statement
We just work on a one-to-one basis (2,8)	competence easy work	easygoing competent	Good job	Descriptive narrative No action	Repetition: quite a good paper to teach actually, I quite like it
So I've told him he's failing (2,9)	care for students	caring considerate	Help those you can	Descriptive narrative: conditional clauses Action: present	Repetition: but that's quite quite good cc: no, not enrolled, no, they're not

				perfect Co-constructed: they're enrolled still in the paper?	enrolled
I'm kind of doing ESOL but not (2,18)	competence easy work	competent	If you are competent the job is easy	Habitual descriptive narrative Direct statements: I'll say "look, you should have a full-stop here" Coda: I'm going to have one in a minute	That's all really, you're just, you're just making sure they've got the right components, that's all
And he was really great to work with (2,21)	praise for motivated student	competent appreciative	Good students make the job delightful	Co-constructed: who would you say was the best student you ever taught?	Repetition: I've had a few, I've had a few, to be honest / he was really great to work with and it's just great to see, puts out this amazing project
And we still keep in contact (2,22)	good relation-ships with students	sociable connected	Good relationships are important	Reflective + hypothetical narrative Habitual: conditional Coda: we still keep in contact/ we've kind of lost contact I think, you know	in some ways I wish that we had, but we didn't I've had, I've had some, some, some, yeah, good ones
One of them was pretty, pretty covered (2,16)	uncomfort-able context culture	uncomforta ble male teacher in unfamiliar cultural context	Different cultures can be confronting and disquieting	Co-constructed: have you taught classes? (with veiled women)	I don't particularly like it, I wouldn't like the burqua, I think I would feel very uncomfortable there, and I felt

				Contradiction: I've never, never, yes I have, oh no, I haven't	very uncomfortable Pretty x4
He and Nunan started this task based, but it's nothing new (2,19)	critique of scholars common sense teaching obvious chance	competent critical of ESOL 'gurus'	Anyone can be an ESOL guru	Habitual/descriptive/opinion narrative Co-constructed: questions about tasks	But it's nothing new / they just gave it a fancy name and wrote a book / Pronouns: I give them tasks, we've been doing tasks, you would always give them tasks
After being here I might be a bit more formal (2,19)	easy work capable students	competent practical efficient	High level students don't need much teaching	Habitual narrative Co-constructed: Q about error correction Temporal links past with present Coda: so I think it's changed a little bit	Maybe we were a bit more informal, and probably now, after being here I might be a bit more formal
I'm quite stern in the classroom I think (2,16)	correct behavior	proper polite	"good manners get you a long way" - explicit	Descriptive/opinion Co-constructed: where do you think that comes from?	Direct statements "oh, but Ged, I've got a bad hair day, I just say "well, you know, either you don't want me to teach you, 'cos I'm not gonna stay here if you're gonna wear a hat"
I'm doing the TESOL course (2,14)	wisdom expertise advice to novices	expert wise giving good advice to trainees	Don't stress when you're new	Habitual narrative	That's quite good, I quite enjoy that, yeah, I quite enjoyed it, so that's great
You've got to teach a little mini	expertise	knowledg-eable	Good teacher means	Habitual narrative – present and	It was actually quite successful, they all seemed

lesson (2,20)			happy students	past	to quite like it
I tend to dress fairly young (2,13)	correct behavior	easygoing rebellious carefree young at heart knowledg-able respectful compliant	You need to show respect	Descriptive narrative Coda: they've given up here, I think they've just given up now 'cos I take no notice Temporal – links past to present: I'd always have a tie on (Japan), I never wear them here, advises trainees on smart dress code	I was told that I was far too fashionable, I was still very fashionable, my dress has been remarked on a couple of times Direct statements
I did try to get a job at (university) once (1,6)	rejection resignation resilience	easygoing	If you try and don't succeed, never mind	Short narrative Action: I did try to get a job, but I didn't get it	But I'm not too worried about that
How fast were you going? (1,22)	thrillseeking	thrillseeker risk taker	Live life to excess	Detailed story	I mean the car could easily go 200