TEACHER CHANGE: A CASE STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGE TEACHER IDENTITY AT MID- AND LATER CAREER

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ABSTRACT

This study is a qualitative inquiry of eight mid-career second language (L2) teachers’ identity evolution. These teachers have or had full-time or tenured teaching experience in secondary schools in Japan. Since they were mid- and later career teachers, they have explored their development, what they are now, and why they keep growing. They have all made meaningful voluntary changes in their professional lives. To make meaningful voluntary changes at moments of transitions, the teachers have made choices and negotiated, or juggled, their identities. They are successful teachers who have tenaciously pursued what matters to themselves professionally throughout their lives.

One unfilled niche in the L2 teacher development and education is research on re-defining L2 teachers who began their careers in secondary education in Japan, make meaningful voluntary changes in mid-career, and make apparently difficult work situations negotiable. The three purposes of this study are to (a) explore why and how L2 teachers’ identity evolution and their professional growth at mid-career happen; (b) learn more about the complexity of teacher change mechanisms at mid-career, and; (c) highlight ways that teachers whose professional development has stalled can grow out of their stagnation by examining the lives of successful mid-career and later career teachers.

Eight L2 teachers participated in this study, recruited between 2005 and 2010. Interviews are the main source of data collection. I triangulated the data with email exchanges, class visits, and public documents such as Curriculum Vitae, syllabi, and curriculum descriptions given to students in a current or former class, handouts used in class, and published research articles. The data analysis was grounded in Riessman’s
I analyzed the data by (a) looking for stories and events in the telling as well as searching for identity negotiation and evolution with the participants. I used thematic analysis, which applied to all the participants, and (b) seeking contextual, discursive, and interpersonal cohesion and meanings with structural narrative analysis, which was applied to one participant. What each participant deemed important determined what kind of L2 teacher they wanted to become. With their efforts to keep evolving as L2 teachers through reflection, action, and negotiation, they became consciously aware of what mattered to them. Their conscious awareness prompted them to exercise agency to plan meaningful changes.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost I wish to extend my deepest heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Christine Pearson Casanave, my advisory chair and dissertation advisor. More than 20 years ago, Dr. Casanave opened up my eyes to the world of narrative as a groundbreaking research method in the MA program in another American graduate school campus in Tokyo. It was excitingly happy news for a storytelling lover that narratives could be used as a research method. Several years later, I encountered Dr. Dwight Atkinson in his lectures in the Temple University graduate school in Tokyo. He enticed us to enter the world of genuine qualitative research. Dr. Casanave came to the graduate school once again to teach narrative inquiry. The opportunity to conduct qualitative and narrative inquiries was available for graduate students at Temple. I also greatly appreciate the understanding and hard work that Dr. David Beglar as Director always shows to the graduate students. I am so grateful for the invaluable, acute, and helpful comments that Drs. Marshall Childs, Andrea Simon-Maeda, and Chieko Mimura made as members of my dissertation committee. I particularly want to express my sadness at the recent death of Dr. Childs and express my deepest sympathy to his family. He was a great educator and loved all the students. Dr. Simon-Maeda made constructive criticisms at the committee so as to facilitate rewriting. Dr. Mimura has supported me not only for this qualitative study but also in teaching in her four-year college for nearly ten years.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the eight participant teachers for the honesty and sincerity they have continued to show for the long period of this research. I am
confident that their students will succeed in following their passions for English language education.

The sustained support and warm friendship from my cohort members and Temple graduates have continued to support my research. I would like to thank Sakae Suzuki, Takako Nishino, Akiko Katayama, Yuka Kusanagi, Reiko Yoshihara, Sarah Holland, and Laura Kusaka for their encouragement.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the memories of my mother Takeko Wada and my undergraduate professor Kazuko Hasebe. From their lives, I learned the way women should maintain their human dignity even in the most difficult times, such as under the destructive World War II.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This is a study of eight English language teachers that had teaching experience at secondary schools in Japan, and that at mid-career or after retirement decided to study in graduate schools outside and/or inside Japan or to become a text writer, test developer, or researcher. My primary focus in this study is teachers’ voluntary change in their life stories and the transition periods that led to such decisions. Their transitions are regarded here as an indication of teachers’ voluntary change that all the participants experienced in one form or another. Before and after the transitions, they lived different professional lives. By investigating their transitions, this study portrays how the English teachers in secondary education have been evolving their language teacher identity: what spurred them to make transitions; what they learned from the transitional periods; how they enacted what they learned in the real world; what they defined and redefined about themselves through the enactment; and how they continue to develop professionally.

This introductory chapter is organized into eight sections. First, the rationale for the study is explained in the Background of the Issue section, including stories of my own experience. Second, teachers who make voluntary change or self-initiated meaningful changes are discussed in the Statement of the Problem section. Third, the three purposes of the study are presented. Fourth, I regard change moments, life stories, and successful life-sized teachers as important in the Significance of the Study. Fifth, I elaborate the concepts that guide this study. Sixth, the Audience of the Study is described, and that
section is followed by a description of the delimitations of the study and the organization of the study.

The Background of the Issue

Secondary school foreign language teachers are influential in helping adolescent students shape their futures. Secondary school students are growing mentally and physically by leaps and bounds, and learning foreign languages helps to open up opportunities for them to see another world and expand their intellectual boundaries. Young tenured secondary school teachers are engrossed in putting knowledge learned at university into practice and aligning themselves with situated (localized, contextualized) practice in the teachers’ world. In mid-career when they reflect on and question themselves about what has made them what they are now, there are few stories or life-sized role models that encourage and guide them to grow professionally and independently by negotiating, or finding ways to solve problems and stay focused on what matters to them in difficult educational environments. There are many difficult environments in schools in Japan, as elsewhere.

The vantage point of this study is the professional development of experienced teachers who (a) earned an master’s (MA) degree in TESOL and/or general education inside and/or outside Japan or made a transition equivalent to an MA degree; (b) have teaching experience at the high school level as full-time or tenured teachers; and (c) have been continuing to grow professionally after graduating from an MA program or making another kind of major transition. This vantage point is my own as well. I can identify at
least two stories of my change after graduating from an MA program that sparked my
curiosity about change in others.

**Story 1: Participating in an MA TESOL Program in an American Graduate School in Japan**

Until enrolling in a master’s program in TESOL, I had taught English in girls’,
boys’, and co-educational private and public high schools on tenured, full-time, and part-
private university. In 1994, I enrolled in an MA program in order to (a) learn theory and
practice and acquire new perspectives on teaching and (b) study with motivated teachers.
I learned about self-exploratory observation by looking at the relationships between the
details and the whole of a phenomenon. The self-exploratory observation in my MA
program involved reflective learning and teaching, and writing as reflection, exploration
and discovery (Casanave, 1994, 1997; Fanselow, 1987; Jackson, 1968/1990). This
educational philosophy awakened my curiosity about the processes of language learning.

**Story 2: Graduating from the MA TESOL Program and Becoming a Tenured Teacher**

In 1996 after graduating with an MA, I was employed as the first tenured female
teacher by a private high school, which became co-educational the following year, as a
reformer of their English education. The principal had a plan that English teachers, who
were all mid-career, could change their teaching perspective and methodology, and then other teachers would follow the models of the mid-career teachers.

In English education, rote memorization, decoding and analyzing grammar, and translation were the major teaching and learning practices used at this school, practices that are still prevalent throughout Japan. These tasks are effective for those who have rich background knowledge whereas they can induce boredom for others. Such students need devices by which they can gain intellectual stimulation by using English. At the outset, I believed that my colleagues would be willing to shift their English teaching perspectives in favor of their students. To make the shift easier, I formed a study group that met every week, in which they studied by trying something new. I also held workshops, and invited scholars to speak at them. In addition, I taught English part time in a private junior college for two years. Ironically my colleagues reacted negatively perhaps because they felt that they were being pushed too quickly, which resulted in their resisting the efforts. I understood that meaningful changes could not happen if they were driven by external pressures but only by internal ones. My efforts turned out to be useless.

I then made an enormous decision. I joined a doctoral program at another American graduate school of education, and at the time of this writing I am still enrolled there. My experience at this graduate school has stimulated my interest in the growth of teachers who voluntarily pursue continued professional development. Through my reading, thinking, and continued work experience, it became clear to me that teachers juggle, or cope with dual allegiance to educational and institutional tasks by adroitly balancing their attention to them and that the synergy of reflection and action instigates growth.
Learning leads people to redefine, or recast themselves, and to see the world in more than one dimension. Such learning, which can take place anywhere at any time, stimulates intellectual excitement and enjoyment, turns into voluntary learning, and empowers learners to go through difficulties. It can be called heuristic, exploratory, or naturalistic learning, which Jackson (1968/1990) called education tasks. Teachers help this learning happen in their students and simultaneously teachers engage in institution tasks in that a school is also an institution. These tasks require teachers to fulfill the institution’s teaching objectives within a certain period (e.g., a semester, a year). To achieve them, teachers often prioritize effective and efficient knowledge transmission and students’ test performance. As teachers know that educational and institutional tasks do not match or are not parallel, they juggle them because of dual allegiance to the tasks (Jackson, 1968/1990). In formal education, the pendulum swings between the dual allegiances, that is, the pursuit of efficiency and effectiveness on the administrative side and heuristic learning on the educational side. Teachers know that students enjoy heuristic and exploratory learning whereas learning becomes painful when only efficiency and effectiveness are pursued. Some teachers recognize this dual allegiance and find that they need to juggle their allegiances by negotiating their professional identities between institution-identity and discourse-identity (Gee, 2000-2001). These teachers and their identity negotiations aroused my professional curiosity.

The key to growth is the synergy between two mental and physical operations, including mentally reflecting on what one has done and how one has done it, and then actively connecting previously acquired knowledge and experiences to new ones. This
synergy, I presume, generates voluntary actions for development. This presumption and juggling, negotiating, and balancing educational and institutional tasks arouse my curiosity about how other L2 mid-career teachers such as those whom I met in the MA and doctoral programs, as well as those who reach moments of change, continue their growth. I hope to understand what brought them to change and to success. By understanding the successes, I might be able to understand more about the failures, in particular the resistance to change, that I perceived at the high school where I taught. In this study I investigate teachers that were enrolled in MA programs and/or current doctoral programs or that have continued to explore further professional growth.

**Statement of the Problem**

The main problem addressed in this study concerns why some teachers stop growing and others continue growing professionally. The reasons for the differences between the two types of teachers might not be sharply defined, but rather intertwined with not only personal matters, dispositions, opportunities and decisions, but also with social, political, and/or economic factors. I reduce this problem to why some teachers continue growing in the field of L2 teacher development and education. In particular, I focus on mid-career teachers’ change moments and life stories, including the processes in which they define and redefine themselves professionally.

By *redefine*, I mean that some teachers make self-initiated meaningful changes in mid-career and pursue what matters to themselves professionally throughout their lives tenaciously. By *self-initiated/voluntary meaningful change*, I mean the changes that give
rise to or result from their self-exploration about what has made them what they are now and why they keep growing. Like other teachers, the participant teachers’ career lives during the period of pre-service and the initial three years of service might have allowed them to look at educational tasks and define themselves as teachers. In service, they might be surprised by the fact that educational and institutional tasks are not necessarily in parallel. Unlike other teachers, these teachers can turn surprise into intellectual curiosity by self-reflection. By juggling institutional tasks with educational tasks, they become curious about how realities interact with theories, how everyday lives interact with classroom practices, how pedagogies interact with knowledge, and how their teaching-self interacts with students. They bring these interactions to discussion open to public. Openness, intellectual curiosity, and self-reflection are intrinsic dispositions for these self-evolving teachers.

Academic publications that include life-sized stories of successful teachers or research on them have appeared in North America (e.g., Belcher & Connor, 2001; Casanave & Schecter, 1997; Casanave & Vandrick, 2003; Clandinin & Connelly, 1995; Connelly & Clandinin, 1999), but none have been published in Japan.

**Purposes of the Study**

This study is motivated by three purposes: (a) to explore why and how L2 teacher identity evolution and their professional growth at mid-career happen; (b) to learn more about the complexity of teacher change mechanisms at mid-career; (c) and by examining
the lives of successful mid-career teachers, to highlight ways that teachers whose professional development has stalled can grow out of their stagnation.

**Significance of the Study**

I attach importance to change moments and life stories that life-sized successful teachers directly articulate in narrative accounts. These change moments are important to know about because stories in professional development can help us understand that teachers' identities evolve throughout an individual’s entire life and therefore influence the education system in a positive way in which successful experience contributes to self-confidence that facilitates meaningful change. Mid-career teachers in particular have the potential to become life-sized successful teachers or life-sized role models. Their stories reveal that teacher identity is not formed at the beginning of career. Teachers are becoming teachers and forming their professional identities by learning and experience throughout their careers. In this respect, mid-career teachers are the nexus that plays a decisive role in healthy or constructive education.

When we look at the lives of teachers at mid-career, we see that they are not full of success stories and linear progression from point A to point B, but of twists, turns, and surprises. This complexity keeps us attracted, exploring, struggling, reflecting on ourselves, and encouraged us throughout our career lives. We are curious about how such re-inventors keep growing in a zigzag with curiosity and passion along their career-life paths. In the zigzag growth, they sometimes plan to do something but suddenly bump into a vexing problem, study it, manage to solve it in some way by making the most of all
their knowledge, experience and wisdom, eventually learning from it. Stories of growth and change can thus encourage and revitalize other teachers. Such life-sized successful teachers can share feelings and thoughts with other teachers and still keep developing professionally. Their teacher development is essential to a healthy educational system and as such, formal educational systems owe a great deal to them (Jackson, 1968/1990). This study sheds light on such teachers in the field of L2 teacher development and education by looking at change moments within their life stories.

**Guiding Concepts**

**Change Moments: Turning Points**

Change moments can be rephrased as turning points, which are crucial events that engender (usually voluntary) changes. These turning points affect the teachers’ ways of thinking and behaving, as well as their lives enormously. By investigating teachers’ turning points I hope to contribute to our understanding of teachers' professional development.

Turning point moments were viewed by Denzin (1989) as epiphanies, which often include moments of crisis and reveal a person’s inner personal character. They are also marked interactional moments and experiences. Thus, they alter fundamental meaning structures because persons’ worldview and way of living change when they realize what is most important to them. According to Denzin, epiphanies occur in four forms:

1. The “major” epiphany: a significant event that instigates life change;
2. The cumulative epiphany: a series of minor events that lead to the significant event;
3. The “minor epiphany”: a symbolically problematic event in one’s life, and;
4. The “re-vived” epiphany: a series of episodes whose meaning is given in the reliving of the experience. (p. 71)

These forms are not necessarily discrete; rather, they overlap with one another and sometimes are multi-layered. This is similar to the boundaries of multiple stories in which an earlier story overlaps with another story in a larger narrative.

Denzin also argued that personal-experience stories are bounded by cultural, ideological, and historical contexts:

To understand a life, the epiphanies and the personal-experience and self stories that represent and shape that life, one must penetrate and understand these larger structures. They provide the languages, emotions, ideologies, taken-for-granted understandings, and shared experiences from which the stories flow. (p. 73)

Life Stories

In order to understand what occurs when language teachers experience turning points, it is necessary to investigate their life stories within personal ideologies and histories because even turning points that appear to occur suddenly are the outcome of a sequence of events that have transpired over a long period of time.

Ideally, a life story captures the innermost reality of what has happened to a person, and embraces his or her past, present, and future as well as important events, experiences, and feelings (Atkinson, 1998). The life story illustrates a person’s sense of self, provides the person with an important means of communicating and negotiating with others, and tacitly assumes how the person should act or behave in a certain milieu (Linde, 1993). Therefore, the life story presents an excellent way of understanding teacher development.

We cannot investigate teacher development in a short time frame and/or a limited social scene. It embraces teachers’ life and career changes in the past, present, and future lives
as well as their interaction with others in societies as social beings. We can best understand individual teachers’ development by being allowed to listen to the life stories they are telling about themselves.

**Institutional Discourse or Situated Practice**

I sometimes use the phrase *institutional discourse or situated practice*, particularly in the findings chapters and the discussion chapter. It refers to institutionalized ways of thinking and talking whose meanings and values are embedded in talk. Institutional discourse or situated practice is not fixed but changeable when major members and policy makers of the community are replaced.

**Audience of the Study**

The study of teacher change is important to four groups of people: teachers, administrators, researchers, and teacher educators.

Teachers will benefit from this study. Pre-service teachers might be able to imagine how they should prepare for teaching jobs. Novice teachers might be ready to cope with unpredictable difficulties and guideposts on their career journeys. Both pre-service and novice teachers might learn about the processes of L2 teachers' educating themselves about theories and practices as well as continuing to practice their L2 themselves to become even more proficient users of English. Mid-career teachers might reflect on their life trajectories, examine what made them become teachers in the first place, and keenly realize not only that the ordinary path of professional development is not straight but
winding and interwoven in complex ways with educational and institutional intentions. However, they might also realize the need to develop agency in themselves, and control and guide themselves more consciously as opposed to simply letting things happen to them. Post-career teachers might cherish the memory of their careers and make their post-career lives meaningful. Administrators might have a belief about the received notion that a good teacher should become a good administrator. Hopefully they might become more attentive to what individual teachers deem the most important and how they actually do their educational and institutional tasks, and might assign mid-career teachers to tasks that are appropriate for them and place the same value on both educational and institutional ones. A focus on mid-career teachers can provide an opportunity to see why and how teacher development begins and continues. Teacher educators might help their students consciously delve into what has made them participate in teacher education courses, so that the students might be more autonomously engaged in their practicum. This kind of study is thus intended to contribute to our understanding of L2 teacher development.

**Delimitations**

This study portrays eight teachers’ lives centering on their voluntary changes in mid-career, their re-awareness as teachers around change moments, and the subsequent actions they have taken for their professional development. I do not intend that the teachers represent all the high school teachers in Japan that try to make voluntary changes
in their career lives, nor do I generalize their experiences to other English as a Foreign Language (EFL) or English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers’ lives.

The eight participants share a similar vantage point with me. They had similar work environments, similar education as they entered MA programs at mid-career, and similar self-exploratory experiences as mine. Our experience, education, and life are not discrete but interwoven through complex interactions into our career trajectories. By telling their stories to me, the eight teachers and I together construct their past and lived experiences. I, as a researcher, only continue to look at their own constructions of stories and reconstruct the stories they told to me. I hope that audiences for this study become aware of the issues by reflection, and connect and compare them to their own situations.

**Organization of the Study**

In Chapter 2, I frame the concepts for teacher change. I review the literature on teachers’ voluntary change in Chapter 3, and I describe the methodology used in this study in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5 I introduce the participants’ profiles. In Chapters 6 to 8 I present the findings, and in Chapter 9 I discuss the findings. Chapter 10 concludes the dissertation.
CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTS FOR TEACHER CHANGE: REFLECTION, EXPERTISE, AND IDENTITY

In this chapter, I discuss four concepts centering around teacher change: (a) reflection; (b) teacher expertise; (c) identity formation and its enabling concepts of discourse, identity, and agency, and; (d) language teacher identity.

Reflection

Since Dewey (1910), numerous teachers and researchers in general and ESL education have been exploring what reflection rests on in the first place and the way it acts on their professional lives. In teacher education, it is evident that prescribed models of reflection for teacher education have been prevalent but not been effective (Calderhead, 1989). Most recently in expert-teacher studies in ESL, reflecting on thought and its accompanying action has become incentive to take further action to teacher change when one decides to grow more professionally. Farrell (2013) argued in his case study on ESL teacher expertise that reflection can bring teacher expertise “to level [sic] of awareness” (p. 1072). He also called the concept of teacher expertise “this usually unarticulated concept” (p. 1072). Between Dewey and Farrell, numerous researchers have been conducting empirical studies on reflection. In this section I discuss Dewey’s reflective thought, Schön’s appreciative systems, Korthagen and Vasalos’ (2005) ALACT Model, reflection accompanying action, and depth of reflection.
Dewey’s Reflective Thought

In the field of education, one of the most influential theoretical thinkers on reflection was John Dewey. In his work *How We Think* (1997, originally published in 1910) he differentiated reflection from imagination, deliberation, and thinking beyond the five senses. He referred to reflection as the thought stemming from beliefs. Reflective thought refers to conscious inquiry into what a belief is about, and how it is situated. In reflective thought, people examine their beliefs consequentially and logically in the environment. In sum, reflection is inherently action-oriented, social, and self-critical by one’s delving into something innermost within oneself.

Schön’s Reflective Practitioner

Schön (1983) theorized Dewey’s reflection and/or reflective thought and theory of inquiry into “the reflective practitioner.” Reflective practitioners display competence in unique, uncertain, and conflicted situations of practice to change them for the better by way of *appreciative systems* (originally coined by Geoffrey Vickers). In the systems, reflective practitioners *appreciate* (frame), *act upon*, and *reappreciate* (reframe) their experiences by way of reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action. The appreciative systems influenced the other researchers that followed. During and/or after actions, the reflective practitioners reinterpret the situation, look at their experiences from new perspectives, see the situation differently, reframe the situation, and finally reconstruct or reinvent their experiences (Fanselow, 1990). The process that enables interpreting and framing experiences to move on to reinterpreting and reframing them is an essential

**Korthagen and Vasalos’ (2005) Reflection Model**

In the Netherlands, Korthagen and Vasalos (2005) investigated how deeply teachers reflect on themselves for healthy teacher development. They were motivated by their own question why reflection did not work well and what made student teachers’ development stagnate. They found that in hectic situations student teachers tended to use rapid solutions for practical problems and developed standard solutions instead of developing those that suited the situations where practical problems occurred. Such teachers also tended to reflect on themselves in light of an ideal situation. These tendencies made their development freeze. For this situation, Korthagen and Vasalos created a reflection model, the ALACT Model, for student teachers, applying ideas from positive psychology. The acronym refers to Action, Looking back on the action, Awareness of essential aspects, Creating alternative methods of action, and putting them to Trial. The reflection model seems to work like Schön’s appreciative systems but it is designed for teacher education. It is characterized as the interventions that teacher educators provide for their student teachers between each stage in teacher education.
Reflection Accompanying Action

Concerning action, in social science, Giddens (1984) held that human action occurs in a continuous flow of conduct, as does cognition, which is composed of intentions, reasons, and motives in concert with the body that mediates between the surrounding world and the coherence of an “acting self” (p. 3). In general education, Clarke and Hollingsworth (2002) created a change model, the interconnected model, in which they used the term *enaction* (p. 951). It is conceived of as putting into action a new idea, a new belief, or a newly encountered practice, and works with reflection as a process mediating four factors: (a) external sources of information such as a new idea or new practice; (b) professional experimentation, (c) a salient outcome, and (d) knowledge, beliefs and attitudes. In second language education, Bartlett (1990) maintained that actions are intentional and occur in a social context. Further, he specified a teacher’s actions as “influenced by the beliefs and chains of reasoning that held before and after the occurrence of the action” (p. 203). In sum, action is intentional and socially contextualized, occurs in a continuous flow of reasoning and conduct, and mediates between a person’s inner and external worlds.

Depth of Reflection

A self-critical function on reflection enables those who encountered something unexpected to question the assumptions or experiences upon which they have depended, analyze the incident by involving in their inner world, and restructure their assumptions or experiences (Bartlett, 1990; Doecke, 2004; Korthagen & Vasalos, 2005; Wallace,
1891; Zeichner & Liston, 1996). This self-critical function of reflection is also called simply critical reflection. Richards and Lockhart (1996) claimed that critical reflection leads teachers to examine “teaching experiences as a basis for evaluation and decision-making and as a source of change” (p. 4). They also maintained that well-informed teachers can identify what stage of professional growth they are in and what aspect of their teaching should be changed.

How far people delve into their world is the first step for change. As mentioned above, Dewey (1910/1997) considered reflection to be thought that rests upon beliefs. Since then, different researchers have expressed the ways people strive for reflection differently. For instance, this idea has been termed worldviews (Ulichny, 1996); subjective educational theory (Ballet, Kelchtermans, & Loughran, 2006; Pennington, 1995); personal and practical theories (Zeichner & Liston, 1996); and professional identity (Doecke, 2004). Zeichner and Liston argued that “[s]o much of teaching is rooted in who we are and how we perceive the world” (p. 23), that is, identity. Hence, deeply exploring our identity and recognizing what type of teachers we have wanted to become can help us promote meaningful change through transaction or negotiation with the environment.

In sum, people can change meaningfully by reflection. It empowers them to look back upon their beliefs, behaviors, and identity; to negotiate what they have defined and redefined with the realities that they have never experienced; to see the realities differently; to redefine themselves; and to change voluntarily. Hence, reflection for meaningful change is generated via three components of reflection: depth of reflection,
action, and self-critical function. If these mechanisms of reflection make sense to teachers, then in the time of professional crisis in particular they can ask themselves what has made them choose to become teachers in the first place; whether or not they enjoy teaching and learning with their students and colleagues; and/or where their intellectual excitements as teachers are situated. In second language education, Farrell (2013) argued that reflection can unearth teacher expertise by raising it to the level of awareness.

**Teacher Expertise**

This section discusses teacher expertise in three studies in which expertise itself is considered contextually specific: first from perspective of the expertise of two elementary school teachers in general education (Bereiter & Scadamalia 1993). The other two studies were investigations of experienced ESL teachers: experts and non-experts were compared (Tsui, 2009) and the characteristics of experienced expert ESL teachers were described (Farrell, 2013).

**Bereiter and Scadamalia (1993)**

In the primary education, Bereiter and Scadamalia (1993) reported the study of two contrastive types of elementary school teachers whose names were Cynthia and Margot, both of whom had approximately 20 years of experience. They shared similar reputations outside their classrooms but their teaching outcomes in the classroom were contrastive:

They both have been elementary teachers for almost two decades. Both are easy-going, relaxed to the point of being slow-moving, firm but patient and warm with their pupils. If you walk into either classroom you are likely to find all the children
pleasantly busy. Principals and supervisors regard both of them as excellent teachers (p. 79).

In each of their classrooms, however, their students’ academic performances were contrastive. In Margot’s class, few reading problems were identified with the students, who were reading rather beyond expected levels. They were comfortable with numbers, amazing in writing and science, and showed sophisticated levels of knowledge and thinking. In contrast, most of the students in Cynthia’s class had many learning problems in reading, writing, and mathematics. Furthermore, Cynthia did not teach science at all. In this way, both of the teachers had become observably different for about two decades. What made them become different from each other in two decades?

Bereiter and Scadamalia (1993) assumed that in their early teaching days when young Margot’s and Cynthia’s class management jobs were over, the source of differences had “to do with the process they have gone though in becoming what they are” (p. 80). They developed effective routines for preventing or dealing with many kinds of difficulties. Each of them made a long checklist in which problems were prioritized to be solved, which was common practice for Margot’s and Cynthia to set about the task as other teachers did. But the way to use the list totally differentiated Cynthia from Margot. Ordinarily in any job, once the top priority in any problem list was solved, it was checked off and gone forever. In education, however, even though any problem in education once seemed to be solved, it tended to recur later. Cynthia used the list by eliminating a top problem in the list, checking it off, and moving “farther down the list with the eventual goal of eliminating all of them. She is almost there” (p. 80). It was how Cynthia as an experienced teacher reduced problems in her education.
As common practice Margot also eliminated problems from her problem list such as those once solved as a way of developing effective routines for preventing or dealing with many kinds of difficulties. Listing problems for her, however, did not reside in simply eliminating problems but rather in updating her expertise to grow professionally as an elementary school teacher. What she considered as problems were: those that “she could not even have formulated early in her career”; those distinctions she was not aware of, for instance, “a distinction between children’s telling and explaining what they know; and “perennial problems” that she once dealt with simply but now appeared much more complex (p. 81). Furthermore, to the original list she added her new versions that showed “her increasing wisdom” (p. 81). By such progressive problem solving, Margot improved her expertise.

The more progressive problem solving teachers are immersed in, the more professionally they will be able not only to look at similar problems with multiple lens but also to gain new insights into the complexity of the problem and find better solutions for it. In contrast, teachers who have concentrated on reducing or eliminating problems could not gain expertise in their professional fields. Therefore, those teachers such as Margot, who have kept being deeply involved in progressive problem solving, can be considered expert teachers.

Tsui (2009)

Tsui conducted case studies on teacher expertise of four secondary-school ESL teachers—Marina, Eva, Ching, and Genie—in expert and non-expert comparison in the
same school for 18 months in Hong Kong. She investigated teachers’ personal histories, professional development, classroom practices, and the knowledge embedded in the teaching act. The data were analyzed through lesson observations, interviews with teachers and students, reflections by the teacher, and artifacts such as lesson plans, curriculum materials, and student work. Mariana majored in translation as an undergraduate, and in the fourth year of teaching enrolled on a professional program, and was now in the eighth year of teaching. Eva majored in sociology and had no professional training. Ching majored in English and had four years of teaching experience. Genie also majored in English but had one year of teaching experience without professional training.

In expert versus non-expert comparisons, only Marina showed the characteristics of expert teachers. None of the other participants indicated the critical difference between expert and non-expert teachers in all the three aspects: their capacities to integrate various aspects of knowledge into the teaching act; the way they relate to their contexts of work and their understanding of teaching so constituted; and their capabilities to engage in reflection and conscious deliberation. One of the most important aspects for Marina in the development of expertise in teaching is voluntary learning of further expertise in mid-career by enrolling in the professional program for her teacher development in her fourth year of teaching, which other participants did not try out. With this further learning Marina moved out of a self-doubt phase as a teacher. I infer that in the program she must have reached a stabilized stage of professional development as an expert teacher who engaged in ongoing progressive problem solving:
In other words, Marina did not treat lesson planning as something which was routinized and unproblematic; she problematized her previous lesson plan and its enactment in the light of the characteristics of the current class of students (p. 432).

One of the important aspects for expert teachers is that instead of congratulating herself on eliminating disciplinary problems as did Cynthia (Bereiter & Scadamalia, 1993), Marina problematized the disciplinary problems as something achieved at the expense of enjoyable learning. So did Margot in the study by Bereiter and Scadamalia in 1998. Marina engaged in constant renewal of the curriculum and teaching strategies instead of simply drawing on her existing repertoire.

**Farrell (2013)**

Farrell (2013) carried out a case study of ESL teacher expertise in relation to reflection in the field of TESOL. He demonstrated that expertise is a domain-specific concept and elicited by self-reflection and that reflection can bring teacher expertise to the level of awareness. Farrell conducted this qualitative case study with three participants for over two years, who were experienced female ESL college teachers in Canada. They initially qualified with a BA in applied linguistics, later were certified at a more advanced level in teaching English as a second language, and later one of them received an MA degree in applied linguistics. They had at least 15 years of teaching experience. The researcher of this study played a role as facilitator of the three-teacher group through the use of reflective practice, using group meetings, and interviews over two years. Five main characteristics of teacher expertise emerged from the group discussions, interviews and teaching journals. As a result, the first and most frequent
characteristic was knowledge of learners and learning and teaching (211 occurrences). It was the very expert area the three teachers were concerned about. The second most frequent (133 occurrences) expert characteristic was engagement in critical reflection in the way of examining their methods, techniques, tricks, relationships with students, how their job fitted into their lives, and whether or not their teaching became too automatic.

The third expert characteristic (120 occurrences) was that all the three teachers possessed the ability to make intuitive judgments about their practice based on past experiences and they were comfortable with their decisions. The fourth expert characteristic (84 occurrences) was informed lesson planning, which referred to “lesson planning attributes: with efficiency, with comfort, with ease, ability to anticipate events of a lesson; strategies for focusing on lesson planning; not dependent on the original lesson plan if the lesson takes them in a different direction and to accommodate their students’ needs, challenges and interests” (pp. 1077-1078). The fifth and final expert characteristic (59 occurrences) was active student involvement: “language teachers are often the first contacts that newcomers have in the target language community, and they serve as social mediators and informants in the new environment” (p. 1079). Farrell concluded this study by suggesting that teaching experience does not automatically translate into teacher expertise unless teachers consciously and actively reflect on their teaching experience; that experience which embeds “balance” may also have contributed to the expertise of the three participants (pp. 1080-1081). He also added that the teachers were constantly attempting to achieve some kind of “balance” within and among the five main characteristics of teacher expertise identified from the group discussions. He also
concluded that the results of the case study might not provide the basis for prescription for all language teachers wishing to engage in reflective practice because results are specific to a small group of three experienced ESL teachers in Canada.

In conclusion, these three studies on reflection in education suggest that reflection cannot be prescribed for generalized classroom practice, that matching up learning experience and living experience elicits reflection, and that such reflection brings about expertise.

**Identity Formation**

Prior to discussing identity formation, I define identity, agency, Discourse, borderland Discourses, and imagination, as they are the key components that give rise to identity formation and evolution and intertwine in the process significantly. I predominantly draw on Wenger’s (1998) work on identity and identity formation in that Wenger deals with professional identity in general.

**Definitions**

**Identity.** Although Wenger’s (1998) research did not involve teachers, his definition of identity can be best adopted for experienced teachers. He sees identity being produced as a lived experience of participation in specific communities and giving concrete form to or reify/embody the lived experience in a social Discourse of the self (e.g., narratives) and of social categories (e.g., roles and positions). As individuals recognize their effects in the world by participation and work out their relations with
others by what Wenger called reification, these layers build on each other. Such layered events that stem from lived experiences help individuals form their identity. Identity is thus not fixed but rather is transformed by experience. In the processes, people are not just negotiating or juggling matters within a professional context, but identifying themselves with what is important to them. Identity is transformed in the interplay of identification and negotiation. In this sense, teachers are not teachers at the beginning of teaching careers. Rather, they become teachers through lived experience in certain social contexts in a learning trajectory and by negotiating or juggling and combining multiple practices or discourses across the boundaries of their communities of practice. As is the case with the development of other professional identities, teachers’ identities eventually become reified in their narratives about themselves and in their social roles and positions within their educational institutions. Teachers come to see themselves, and be seen by themselves as certain kinds of people within the institution.

Agency. By agency, I mean the capability of a teacher to determine to take action to negotiate what matters to them, which is not so far from Wenger’s (1998) concept of negotiability. The term agency is often used in the literature in the social sciences, but I use Giddens’ (1984) conception of human agency. Human agency is enacted with intentions and refers to actors’ “capability of doing things in the first place” (Giddens, 1984, p. 9). While acting, actors consciously continue to monitor their actions by controlling themselves for their purposes. Action involves the power and capacity that an actor has to transform and achieve desired outcomes. However, all the acts do not
endorse intended consequences, but rather tend to produce unintended outcomes, which can energize the actors for further acts.

**Discourse.** I define Discourse as a series of situated practices in which individuals speak, write, act, feel, react, and behave on particular occasions as they adapt to the environment, communicate, and socialize. This definition coincides with Gee’s (1999) *Discourses* with a capital “D” (p. 13). He used the capital-D Discourses to differentiate it from the notion of discourse in the field of linguistics. The underlying conception of Discourses is compatible in a large measure with “practices” as discussed by Bourdieu (1972, 1991), and Wenger (1998).

Discourses are in tandem with the ways people lead their lives. People belong to several Discourses simultaneously in that they are social beings. Infants are born in a particular family, raised in several Discourses created by their families, neighborhoods, friends, and primary and secondary schools nearby. When the children grow up, they might become teachers. Novice teachers might be surprised at the differences between the Discourse more experienced teachers enact in front of students and the one they enact among their colleagues. The novice teachers’ Discourse changes by gradually being integrated into that of the more experienced teacher. In this way, people, in childhood and adulthood, grow by being immersed in various Discourses in which situated practices are repeated.

By repeating or *routinization* (Giddens, 1984), individuals get used to the practices. Repeated practices make individuals feel that their behaviors are natural and
commonsensical (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), and make them see, think, and act in the same way (e.g., Butler, 2006; St. Pierre, 2000a). Hence, Discourses are characterized by repetitiveness (Butler, 1995; Hall, 1996; St. Pierre, 2000a, 2000b), which is associated with identity formation. By experiencing repetitively various Discourses and identifying with those Discourses, people form their identities. Ironically, people are fettered to Discourses and cannot easily get out of them. However, some people tend to get tired of the repetition of situated practices and intend to contrive Discourse change. They choose to see, think, and act differently. Tiring of repetition enables people to exercise agency for change.

**Borderland Discourses.** I have adopted Alsup’s (2006) conception of borderland Discourses for this study. I simplify her concept as follows: In borderland Discourses, a teacher’s professional, learner, social, and personal identities come “into contact toward a point of integration” that “can lead to cognitive, emotional, and corporeal changes, resulting in identity growth or increased metacognitive awareness” (p. 209). Although her study concerned student teachers, this concept involving the integration of personal and professional identities can be adopted for teachers with a wide range of experiences from pre-service teachers to established teacher educators (e.g., Gebhard, 1999; Oprandy, 1999).

An individual belongs to multiple Discourses during his or her lifetime. Even in the image or metaphor, however, it is difficult to sketch the clear-cut contours of Discourses as having borderlines that distinguish them. Rather the contours are blurred in the image.
or the borderlines cannot be delineated. This imagined and indistinct space between Discourses should remain intact because it is important for people to be continually forming their identities. Gee (1996) noted that borderland Discourses “carry social identities and values that render people, for that time and place, certain ‘kinds of people’” (p. 162). The idea of Borderland has been often adopted as an intersection of different identities or Discourses, for example, for student teachers in general teacher education (Alsup, 2006), Japanese junior college students who major in the English language (Katayama, 2008), and the third-culture kids in a Japanese international school (Okada, 2009). More than anything, however, Alsup (2006) saw “a space of continual becoming” in borderlands (p. 7). It can be inferred that she takes a step further—goes beyond the normative Discourse of “who a teacher is and can become”—on to the transformative Discourse of how a teacher is or will continue becoming. Not only does she focus on the evolving nature of teacher identity but also conceptualizes borderland Discourses as a negotiating space of professional identity forming in which multiple identities and discourses come into contact and interact.

This negotiating space of evolving professional identity, that is, borderland Discourses, is what Wenger (1998) did not focus on in his concept of identity formation. It is borderland Discourses as a negotiating space where identities, Discourses, and agency intersect and interact for teacher identity evolution. Wenger viewed an idea similar to borderland Discourses from a different angle as “an overlap between different practices” in the boundaries (p. 117). What differentiates overlap from borderland Discourses is whether or not “recognition,” i.e. being recognized as a member, involves
overlapping activities on the borderland between two or more different communities of practice (Gee, 1996, p. 18). I have found so far that Gee’s concept of borderland Discourses is more explicative of the mechanism of self-initiated change moments than Alsup’s borderland Discourses. In terms of how individual professionals act for negotiation and identification, Wenger’s identity formation is the best explanation that I have found in the literature.

**Imagination.** Imagination is strongly connected with identity formation and self-image changes through experiences (Barkhuizen & de Klerk, 2006; Dagenais, 2003; Kanno, 2003; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton & Kamal, 2003; Tsui, 2007; Wenger, 1998). The concept stemmed from *imagined communities*. The term was coined by Anderson (1983/1991). Anderson’s imagined community referred to nation. Compared with local communities, nation is an abstraction that is immediately intangible and inapproachable to its people. They can imagine through their representatives and the mass media what nation is like. In contrast, local communities are accessible at first hand because by participation people can see and feel how their local communities really work. In social science, Wenger (1998) adapted the concept to identity formation. People can project themselves on to their imagined selves across time and space by imagination. The imagined selves help energize the individuals to attain their goals. In the field of second language acquisition or bilingualism, Kanno and Norton (2003) demonstrated how the sense of imagined communities with reference to target-language societies and cultures affects target-language learning and acquisition. From Wenger (1998), Tsui (2007)
adopted the idea of boundaries that are brought into being through imagination as a mode of belonging and named it *imagined boundary*. It is an imaginary line that prevents people from having a sense of belonging, and she used it to explain an apparently non-negotiable situation that empowers people to reinvent a sense of belonging only by breaking down their imagined dichotomy. In this project I employ all the adoptions above in many ways that evolve as the project develops.

**Social Ecology of Identity**

Wenger’s (1998) social ecology of identity is an overarching concept of professional identity formation that includes not only the degrees of participation such as central, peripheral, marginal, and non-participation, but also “who we are” as well as who “we are not” (p. 164). People’s participation in various communities and discourses is neither fixed nor eternal, but rather current only at the moment because people keep evolving over their lifetime. Such identities are shaped in the dual processes of identification and negotiability. In identification, by investing themselves in a community, people obtain power to shape how they are related to the other members of the community and its social and cultural practices. Negotiability involves the ability to shape what matters within an institution, that is, to occupy an official position of power. The official position and its assertion are not fixed or stable but rather subject to negotiation or juggling. In Wenger’s work, each process of identification and negotiability interacts respectively with three modes of belonging: engagement, imagination, and alignment. Each of the modes can be a source of identification and a
source of negotiability. The ways of interacting illustrate the complex mechanisms of identity formation. Through these mechanisms, people can gain the lived sense of self, namely, they can define how they participate in their own identity formation. Let us look at the interplays of the mechanisms in school contexts.

**Identification**

*Through engagement.* In the educational institution, teachers can obtain a membership through self-investment in their work as well as through their relations with colleagues and administrators. In a word, mutuality is the heart of identification through engagement. This first-hand experience of mutual engagement enables them to be identified as teachers. Without self-investment and mutuality, teachers can be marginalized in their relations with others.

*Through imagination.* Imagination can be associated with the ability to draw a vision or vista of a future. Consider teachers who want to transfer from a girls’ high school to a boys’ school. If they have a vision of how to position themselves in the new situation, this vision enables them to try something new without many difficulties. This identification through imagination then helps the teachers associate the new dimension of identity with their reality. The association leads them to participate in the new context. Without such a vision, they would not feel part of the community or could not develop comradeship and might become isolated from it, which would lead them to non-participation.
Through alignment. Alignment refers to mutual engagement in which people serve as part of the big institution by coordinating energies, actions, and practices. Professionals in general are considered to be those who are familiar with particular kinds of expertise as well as situated practices, that is, Discourses, in a larger social and political institution or enterprise. Unless people align themselves with Discourses, they cannot be identified as members of the community. Alignment helps them shape their experiences and define their identities. The experiences and identities empower them to increase their sense of what is possible for them to do and be within the community. Without alignment with social and institutional power, they cannot become experts and gain power for themselves. However, alignment that coerces teachers into submitting to power without questioning deprives them of their visions of what might be possible for them in the future and might squelch their identities. More specifically within the contexts of educational institutions, being tenured opens up the possibility to continue professional development with a sense of security. Tenured teachers have experienced identification through alignment with powers-that-be in their institutions. This experience is important to help teachers define their professional identities. This is why the tenured position is a desirable condition for the participants in this study.

Negotiability

Through engagement. Only when teachers at school are involved in mutual engagement in producing and adopting meaningful teaching, does the teaching give new
meanings to the school. Let us take an example in which a school in Japan launches a new homestay program in an English-speaking country. The school might form a committee of teachers that includes nonnative and native teachers of English. The committee can take the initiative in implementing the program and might serve as a contact zone where negotiation is possible. The members might educate students before, during and after the program, involve other teachers, parents, and office workers in some processes, and negotiate the implementation of the program with administrative officers and the travel agency. This program will give new meanings to the school through mutual engagement of all involved people. However, what if native and nonnative teachers of English have different responsibilities in the same home-stay program? One party would be responsible for training students before the program. The other party would take the students to the English-speaking country, get them enrolled in a language school, and take them back to the home country. This separation could result in teachers' non-participation in the program as a whole. If the situation continued, the non-participation would progressively marginalize both the native and nonnative teachers of English and they would be unable to learn from the entire program. Full engagement of all teachers, on the other hand, would contribute to the professional identities of both native and nonnative English speaking teachers.

Through imagination. Novice teachers who have not had teaching experience yet at school in the real world can imagine what to do as teachers at school. In their lives, they observed as students in class how their own teachers taught them and experienced
how the teachers affected them, and heard a great many stories about teachers, students, and schools (Lortie, 1975). In teacher education, the students learned methodology and put it into a practicum experience. In fact, the integration of these experiences, observations, stories, knowledge and practice formed the imagination of what their future work would be like. Imagination allows novice teachers by negotiation to get access to school culture and to appropriate its meanings.

**Through alignment.** Alignment with situated practices or Discourses is a necessary condition for teachers to become part of a school institution and to be able to affect ways they can negotiate to obtain membership. If they find they can negotiate to align with their colleagues, they will be willing to participate in the school’s practices. If not, they will distance themselves from school. For the sake of the policy of accountability, in some schools in Japan, the teachers holding administrative positions observe the other teachers’ classes and evaluate their performances, but the administrative power holders never disclose their evaluations. In other schools, the administrative power holders might award a grade of A to a very few teachers and a grade of B to the rest, and make the grades known to the target teachers only. Teachers who receive an A had directed their energy and action positively to align themselves with the policy by any means. They can expand the effects of their alignment in order to make a transition from secondary education to higher education, for instance. Teachers receiving a B are likely to maintain their position by keeping some distance from the policy makers, somewhat aligning with and somewhat resisting their policy with some negotiating.
In light of teacher change, I believe that negotiation plays a central role in professional identity formation because by negotiation teachers can explore deeply what matters to each of them, and that negotiability, the ability to negotiate between different forces and visions within an institution, resides in both members and their situations.

It is also important to consider how language teacher identity is conceptualized and to identify the issues that are intrinsic to language teacher identity. I discuss these in the section that follows.

**Language Teacher Identity**

Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, and Johnson (2005) were the first researchers to theorize about language teacher identity. They investigated different substantive and theoretical aspects of language teacher identity and found strong conceptual resonances among the different approaches.

The topic of language teacher identity appeared in applied linguistics in the 1990s. Varghese, et al. (2005) mentioned that Casanave and Schecter (1997) launched a project of a collection of autobiographic essays written by second language educators, a type of project that had not been published up to that time. In that collection the authors' identities came through in first person narratives that had until then not been seen in second language education.

In their theoretical discussion of language teacher identity, Varghese et al. (2005, pp. 35-38) pointed out three predominant themes and four substantive issues. Their categorizations are congruent with my own understanding. Some of the citations are from my own literature search. The three predominant themes that they identified were: (a)
identity as multiple, shifting, and in conflict (e.g., Norton, 2000), in which identity is “transformative” and crucially compounded with “the primacy of agency in identity formation” (Varghese et al., 2005, p. 23); (b) identity as crucially related to social, cultural, and political context (Duff & Uchida, 1997); and (c) identity as constructed, maintained, and negotiated primarily through discourse (Gee, 1996). The four substantive issues centering on language teacher identity were: (a) social marginalization (e.g., Casanave & Schecter, 1997; Johnston, 1999; Johnston et al., 2005); (b) the position of non-native speakers (e.g., Liu, 1999, 2001, 2006; Thomas, 1999); (c) the status of language teaching as a profession (e.g., Johnston, 1997, 1999; Miyazato, 2009; Murphey, 2000); and (d) the teacher-student relation (e.g., Alsup, 2006; Paley, 1997; Sakui & Gaies, 2002; Strand, 1997; Watson, 2006).

Varghese et al. found conceptual resonances between psychology, sociology, and applied linguistics. Not only does teacher identity concern an individual and psychological aspect (self-image and other-image of particular teachers) as well as a social one, but it is also a process intertwined with language and discourse, and a real-world phenomenon that impacts teachers’ working positions and conditions in communities. Taken together, whichever native or non-native teachers of the target language they are, L2 teachers in local-language contexts are also involved in social processes of formation, negotiation and evolution of teacher identity.

As seen above, language teacher identity has just begun to be studied. Even the term language teacher has not been defined. Generally it might refer to second language (L2) teacher. How L2 teachers are grouped is unclear. Do they concern those who teach
(a) their first language (L1) to L2 learners in the learners’ setting, (b) their L2 to L2 learners in the L2 setting of both parties, (c) their L2 to L2 learners in the L1 setting of both parties, and/or (d) their L1 to L2 learners in the teachers’ setting? Not every L2 teacher teaches in a single grouping of the four, but sometimes L2 teachers migrate over two or three groupings. Thus, the four groupings cannot be covered with the dichotomies of native speaker (NS) versus non-native speaker (NNS) and English as a foreign language (EFL) versus English as second language (ESL). In brief, I can call all those teachers L2 teachers and L2 users in this study, whichever language they might use as mother tongues. In this way, the search for L2 teacher identity would be more complex in that even such canonical words, NS-NNS and EFL-ESL, cannot give a full explanation of L2 teachers’ complex situations. In this respect, it makes more sense to listen to L2 teachers’ own stories in the first place about how through reflection they delve into what has made them what they are now, what self-images they have had, and how they have juggled what matters to them with themselves, with others, and with their situations.

**Summary of Chapter 2**

Research on L2 teacher identity forming and transforming processes has just begun, so that people are not yet fully aware of its intrinsic complexity. L2 teachers lead their career lives as they traverse two worlds of L1 and L2 enmeshed with different histories, different social and cultural values, different power relations, different discursive practices, and different comradeships. The differences are sometimes well meshed with one another and sometimes the mesh falls apart. In such mechanisms, L2 teachers define
and redefine themselves as to what kind of L2 teacher they want to become. The definition is not fixed but rather their self-definitions or professional identities evolve dynamically through experience, reflection, and action. In these L2 teachers’ environments, teachers might work on borderlands more often than those who teach other subjects or areas of expertise in their L1. This is because L2 teachers are always involved in more than two languages and cultures, which means that, inside L2 teachers, different things nurtured in the languages sometimes are integrated into something new and sometimes clash with one another. Due to this complexity, research on L2 teacher identity formation and transformation can be conducted under social science disciplines that include education, second language acquisition (SLA), applied linguistics, psychology, and sociology. It is meaningful at this point to review some of the literature on teachers’ voluntary change in general and L2 language education in particular, which I do in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 3

TEACHERS’ VOLUNTARY CHANGE: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the first section of this chapter I consider reflective teaching in one study from general education and in three studies from L2 language education. In the second section I focus on Huberman’s study and eight studies influenced by him in general education and foreign language education. The third section concerns the issues and themes that pertain to negotiability for teacher/researcher identity formation, primarily in two-language contexts.

Reflective Teaching

In relation to the previous chapter, the following four empirical studies show the way reflection as a concept is put into practice as reflective teaching and the way it contributes to teachers’ exploration into their beliefs and to changes in their further teaching (Richards & Lockhart, 1996).

In Malaysia, Wallace (1996) reported a case study of two Malaysian practice teachers (students D and X), who engaged in action research for the final projects of their four-year honors bachelor of education course in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). Wallace examined ownership, focus, and structured reflection. Student D chose reading as a pedagogical focus in a developmental study. She had an idea from the methodology course that she had taken. She modified the idea to suit her teaching situation, and tried it out. She found that some of the modifications worked out,
but others did not. She made further modifications by getting feedback from her students, and finally evaluated the entire procedure. Wallace concluded that student D’s new approach was endorsed with the suggestions that reflective practice be practical and meaningful for training teachers. By contrast, Student X became involved in experimental research on listening as a pedagogical focus. Wallace found that there was little benefit in encouraging experimental research design in the case of Student X for three reasons:

1. It was intrinsically difficult to avoid substantially disrupting normal class routine;
2. The need to follow a tightly organized syllabus imposed constraints on X’s study; and
3. The “Halo” effect could not be avoided. (p. 291)

In sum, reflection itself is a powerful interactive mechanism between mind and action. It becomes conscious when we encounter incidents that are too difficult to use our knowledge as well as past and lived experiences and when we have to solve difficulties by risking everything we have. Those who began to touch upon unraveling the mysterious mechanisms were Dewey and Schön (see the discussion in Chapter 2). When we are immersed in reflective practice, we can find something new. We deeply engage ourselves in unexplored self-projects. In other words, reflection has the power to set people free from past and lived experiences as well as from transmitted knowledge and practice, to let them face up to the reality in front of them without preconceptions, and to help their reality interact with their experiences and transmitted knowledge and practice. Reflection can also let them invent and reinvent practices that suit the members in their contexts. In Wallace’s study, the author invented or devised a reflective practice model
for student teachers. Evidently Student D reinvented it for her own teaching practice whereas the experimental research that Student X employed left no freedom for reflective practice.

In Ireland, Lyons (2006) initiated a long-term teaching portfolio project in the National University of Ireland at University College Cork (UCC). The final report was made on a case study of three faculty members: an accounting professor, a biochemistry professor, and a finance professor. Lyons investigated how the three professors would gain insights from their portfolio reflections and how they redirected their practices after reflection. Data were collected and analyzed from their portfolio entries and portfolio presentations and interviews. The findings were as follows:

1. The accounting professor began to “reconceptualize” teaching;
2. For the biochemistry professor, the reflective process “provided him with one way he could interrupt his teaching and attend to this assessment.” In addition, reflection was “necessary” but still “mysterious”; and
3. The finance professor identified “how new ways to mentor her students would need attention” after she had investigated if students could “be coached to be reflective thinkers themselves.” (pp. 164-165)

In closing, Lyons defined the term *reflective engagement* as:

a deliberate and intentional act of interrupting, or suspending, one’s teaching practices to interrogate or inquire into them systematically and to heighten one’s conscious awareness of one’s practices and of one’s students and then using that consciousness to redirect one’s practice and actually act to change. (p. 166)

In Hong Kong, Bailey, Curtis, and Nunan (1998) investigated themselves to find out whether the work with colleagues trusted by each other, namely, themselves, would be successful and generalizable, and if the resulting insights would be “undeniable” (p. 548). The undeniable insights came “from the insider knowledge that only we as teachers
possess” and were led by “reflection-in-action” (p. 548). The study used a collaborative approach to reflective teaching. The researchers adopted the three practices of keeping journals, videotaping, and using teaching portfolios. They were teaching EFL university students in Hong Kong at that time. Their project was carried out over two semesters. In the collaborative work, Bailey kept teaching journals that were later read by Curtis and Nunan. Curtis and Bailey were videotaped while team-teaching. Nunan compiled a teaching portfolio, which was later read by Bailey and Curtis. Eventually, each of them was involved in two phases of the tasks. It turned out that each practice has potential for ongoing reflective professional development with an emphasis on two principles: “Successful professional development was ongoing, sustained, and self-directed”; “The sustainability of professional development initiatives” could “be maximized” if reflection on one’s teaching was incorporated into the developing process of his or her knowledge and theories of teaching (p. 554).

In the United States, Ulichny (1996) explored how a teacher teaches to understand an ESL teacher’s own underlying methodology. The case study was part of a larger ethnographic investigation of a semester-long non-credit college ESL reading class. It related directly to change but indirectly to reflection. Wendy, an ESL teacher, was the participant. Ulichny explained concisely the close connection between change and reflection, stating that “change requires reflection on these underlying principles and conscious attention to modifying the roots as well as the consequences of these beliefs” (p. 179). When I read this article, I identified Wendy’s engagement in reflection-in-action during class, even though this was not Ulichny’s main focus. Ulichny used three
procedures: classroom observation, audio-taping the interaction, and interviews with Wendy and her students. The data were analyzed with discourse analysis of the classroom interaction and micro-analysis of observations and interviews. As a result, Ulichny found that:

1. Wendy made moment-to-moment decisions to mediate between task and student performance;
2. Wendy made on-line interpretations that: were a product of her beliefs about her students and the learning task at hand; were formed by her past experiences as teacher as well as learner and by personality; and formed her knowledge base for teaching and provided her with a “worldview”; and
3. “Wendy’s judgment to nurture students” took root as her “worldview.” (p. 195)

Teachers’ methods of instruction are reflected in their belief systems. Change was triggered by reflection. It occurred when Wendy reflected on the principles that lay beneath the surface of planning and executing classroom activities, and when she paid conscious attention to modifying the roots and the consequences of those beliefs.

The four empirical studies demonstrate that reflection empowered teachers in second language education and general education to uncover their beliefs about teaching and education, and then to inspire changes to their belief systems. Though there has been much study of reflection, there has been little in the field of second language education showing how reflection can lead people to delve deeper into identity as Korthagen and Vasalos (2005) reported (see Chapter 2 on Concepts).
Huberman’s Swiss Study and Its Influences

The Swiss Study

In Switzerland, Huberman (1989/1993) conducted a study on secondary school teachers’ lives in his investigation of teachers’ life cycles. The research results are still applicable to teachers, teaching contexts, and education policies worldwide.

The purposes were to (a) determine whether or not the studies of the individual life cycle would be replicated when applied to secondary school teachers; (b) test the viability of the classic schematic model (i.e., a single path leading to a stabilization phase followed by multiple paths at mid-career; converging again into a single path at the end) and to refine it; and (c) collect in-depth information from interviews, but to do it with a sample approximating that of a survey.

The participants were 160 secondary school teachers. They came from three public schools and had teaching experience ranging from 5-39 years. Huberman transcribed 160 interviews of an average duration of five hours. Conventional content analysis was used for the qualitative analysis. Comparative analyses were used primarily with the statistical data.

The results were summarized in three major themes: stabilization, self-doubt, and experimentation or renewal. All the teachers went through some form of stabilization. The oldest teachers could move directly from stabilization either to self-doubt or to experimentation/renewal. Those teachers who began their careers positively appeared to end them in the same vein. In contrast, those whose paths focused on the negative aspects of their work experienced waves of doubt after stabilization and brought their careers to
an end with a negative focusing or non-resolution. The findings concerned the factors of self-initiated teacher change in professional development, the factors that gave rise to negative consequences, the factors of private lives that affected careers, the influence of the socio-historical factors, and an unasked factor, reflection.

The crucial factors that helped teachers with self-initiated change as well as professional development were curiosity and openness, pedagogical mastery, and relationships with students. Curiosity and openness about teaching and students led to professional satisfaction. Dewey (1910/1997) maintained that curiosity is manifested in physical, social, and intellectual expressions of the mind and that “To the open mind, nature and social experience are full of varied and subtle challenges to look further” (p. 33). Dewey also claimed that curiosity and openness are the primacy of reflective thought. Pedagogical mastery and good relationships with students promised careers beginning with ease and ending with fulfillment in the Swiss study project. As for pedagogical mastery, Huberman asked the participant teachers to choose pedagogical facets as occupational priorities rooted in the classroom. The facets exceptionally included class discipline and rapport with parents, which are normally excluded in the definition of pedagogy.

Advancing in pedagogy, in addition to expertise, is a matter of vital importance for teacher development (e.g., Bailey & Nunan, 1996; Freeman & Richards, 1998; Johnson, 2006; Shulman, 1986, 1987). Relationship with students is closely connected to what has made one become a teacher. Even in difficult times, curiosity and openness, pedagogy and expertise, and the relationship with students, empowered teachers, most of whom in
the Swiss study had experienced difficult periods, to overcome any difficulties and continue to grow.

In contrast to the teachers who ended their careers on a positive note, the teachers whose ideas were remote from realities and who chose the teaching profession without educational reasons ended up with negative consequences. Materialistic reasons for choosing the teaching profession caused such teachers self-doubt. Idealistic teachers’ commitment also gave rise to disillusionment. A more recent detailed example of this can be seen in Oplatka’s study (2005), in which a participant called Beth wanted to be a teacher like the idealistic teacher that she had met in her childhood, but she could not recognize that she was a different type of teacher. This wrong recognition overwhelmed her so much that she quit and moved to another primary school. In the new school she found what type of teacher she was and finally could feel part of the school.

Huberman (1989/1993) also learned that teachers’ private lives affected their professional ones. Burnout arose from a combination of factors in teachers’ private life and their life in the classroom. Female teachers portrayed more complex career paths than males in this regard. In addition to teaching at school, female teachers at home had full responsibilities for raising children and for household work as cited below:

Whether the women know better at some somatic level or whether they have no choice initially, as they try to juggle child-rearing and full-time teaching, is uncertain. Certainly, one of the main difficulties of the younger women in our sample is that of finding an equilibrium between demands at home and demands at school (see figure 2). This is a difficulty never mentioned by the men. There are indications that many of the women are lucid from the start, as one woman teacher said: “I knew that if I made the school the center of my life, I’d burn out—like all those men around me are doing.” (Huberman 1989, p. 48.)
Institutionalized training and/or reforms and the influence of social and historical movements also ended up affecting many teachers with successive doubts. They could not depend on such training and/or reform and movements throughout their careers because they are ephemeral by nature in that they are normally initiated out of someone else’s intentions, not out of individual teachers’ curiosity. This finding suggests that self-initiated change that stems from curiosity and openness might be the determinant factor for teachers to continue to grow.

In Huberman’s semi-structured interviews in the Swiss study, the topic of reflection was not originally scheduled to be asked but it happened to be talked about. When the participants were asked if they had engaged in reflection, they showed their interest in it though they said they had not done it yet at the time of the study. In other words, the interview process itself helped them reflect on their careers.

In conclusion, whether or not teachers studied by Huberman ended their careers with a sense of fulfillment was determined by two factors. One was about something affected by happenings outside of the teachers (e.g., materialistic, institutionalized, or idealistic ambitions). The other was about something consciously or unconsciously nurtured inside teachers (e.g., retaining curiosity and openness, continual effort to improve pedagogy and expertise, maintaining good relationships with students). The outside factors drove teachers into action without reflection because the apparent goals were already set and they temporarily exerted their energy for the goals. As the ownership of the meanings of outside factors resided outside the teacher-self, the teachers were led into self-doubt or disillusionment in the end.
As an example from Japan about teacher self-doubt created by imposed goals, in the 1980s the Ministry of Education introduced communicative English language teaching in secondary education. A large majority of the English teachers of Japanese had little experience of using spoken English inside and outside the classroom. It was not a teachers’ self-initiated assignment but a top-down assignment by the nation. The miserable and comical stories were heard in Lena’s and Leroy’s stories in this study (See Findings chapters). Thirty-five years later, the division of teaching English stands out. A large majority of English-native-speaker teachers are sent to junior and senior high schools by temporary staff agencies to teach spoken English. Tenured and full-time English teachers of Japanese bog down in self-doubt, teach students how to tackle proficiency tests, and continue using the grammar-translation method. This is how the top-down assignment has concluded in 35 years. In contrast, the inside factors, as shown in Huberman’s (1989/1993) study, can lead teachers to reflect on themselves by re-examining their practices, adjusting them, and negotiating the meanings of what had made them what they became. The entire process results in a sense of achievement. Therefore, reflection seems to be a cornerstone of self-initiated or voluntary teachers’ change. Let us look at how the Swiss study has influenced other teachers/researchers.

**Huberman’s Influences on Younger Researchers Worldwide**

According to Richardson (1998), it is commonly argued that teachers do not change, but she made a counterargument that teachers voluntarily change all the time. In terms of what and how to teach, she often observed as a teacher educator that teachers never
taught exactly the same way from one year to the next. In teaching they constantly reflected on their actions by questioning, evaluating, and experimenting with their assumptions. As a result, she viewed them as autonomous inquirers who initiated change when they were allowed to. She concluded that supporting teachers’ desire to change was a key to teacher education and development.

In the United States, Gusky (2002) proposed again the model of teacher change that originally was presented by Huberman in 1989. Professional development leaders had presumed that in the process of teacher change, changes would occur in teachers’ attitudes and beliefs first, then in specific changes in their classroom behaviors and practice, and these changes would lead to improved student learning. However, this general presumption turned out to be ineffective in that it did not reflect teachers’ need to manage the day-to-day operation of their classrooms. Gusky and Huberman both found that successful experiences of classroom practices and student learning outcomes shape changes in teachers’ attitudes and beliefs. Such an alternative model was presented by Gusky (2002).

Also in the United States, Havelock (2002) investigated teacher turning points in the lives of university faculty of mathematics by focusing on a single factor, intellectual growth. The data were collected mainly through extensive interviewing supplemented by writing samples about their careers and by their résumés. Havelock identified five sequential turning-point phases common to all the participants: (a) taking undergraduate education, (b) having practical teaching experience, (c) deciding to enter graduate school
in education, (d) committing themselves to research, and (e) establishing specific research interests.

In Australia, Clarke and Hollingsworth (2002) proposed an interconnected model of teacher professional growth based on their three longitudinal studies of mathematics and science teachers. In the model, there were four domains: (a) external source of information or stimulus; (b) professional experimentation; (c) teacher knowledge, beliefs and attitudes; and (d) salient outcomes. These domains were interconnected by reflection, which involved *enaction*, that is, putting into actions a new idea or a new belief or a newly encountered practice. They used this model as an analytic tool. The theoretical backgrounds were underpinned by Wenger’s (1998) community of practice, Shulman’s (1986) pedagogical content knowledge, and Lave and Wenger’s (1991) situated learning. Clarke and Hollingsworth recognized that the non-linear structure of the model was characterized by the situated and personal nature of teaching, not just by teacher practice, but also by teacher growth, which comprises an individual amalgam of the situated nature of teaching, growth, practice, meaning, and context. This finding coincided with Ben-Peretz (2002), Oplatka (2005), and Cheung (2005), among others, discussed below. After all, reflection and enaction are necessary conditions for teacher development.

In Israel, Ben-Peretz (2002) interviewed 15 retired teachers about learning from experience and the role of memory. She found that (a) a sense of dissonance between expectations and reality led to improvement in practice, (b) learning from experience was socially specific, and (c) learning from experience required openness to learn from failure. These three findings were tied to teacher development by reflection.
Oplatka (2005) conducted life story interviews to investigate (a) how 20 senior female teachers in primary and secondary schools in Israel made voluntary inter-school transitions (IST) in their mid-career; (b) how the voluntary IST were associated with the teachers’ self-renewal; and (c) what contextual and biographical determinants facilitated this kind of transition in their career cycle. The participants made such transitions between teaching jobs at nursery, primary, and secondary school. The major finding was that the incentives and challenges followed by the inter-school transitions helped the participants unearth new abilities, interests, and aspirations, thereby expanding their selfhood. Before closing this research article, Oplatka remarked that stress and anxiety were absent during the participants’ transitions; the recurring themes in their accounts were positive attitudes and emotions. She warned teachers to avoid premature and voluntary departure before challenging and coping with new organizational environments. Still open to question is whether or not, in attempting voluntary change, the participants reflected on what had made them become teachers and for which reasons, materialistic or idealistic, they committed themselves to a transition.

In Hong Kong, Cheung (2005) conducted in-depth interviews to investigate whether or not 18 secondary school teachers of English language could identify stages in their career development. As a result, individual ways and multiple frameworks of professional development were revealed. In addition, experience and expertise were contextualized, that is, considered together with all the factors related to them.

Also in Hong Kong, Pennington (1996) did collaborative action research with a university as part of the participants’ M.A. thesis work and investigated what the sources
of teachers’ attitude change stemmed from when input became intake in a process-writing class. The data included lesson materials, lesson reflections and observations, and pre- and post-questionnaires. Eight experienced English teachers in writing instruction at secondary school were involved in the transition from product-oriented writing practice to process writing in their M.A. thesis work. Pennington found that reflection played a major role for change in that change was processed at an increasingly deep and personal level to become part of the teacher’s system of values and classroom behaviors. This type of reflection is the causal nexus to voluntary teacher change and prompts the evolution of teacher identity.

Each of the aforementioned studies portrayed an aspect of voluntary teacher life change. Voluntary change was engendered by reflection and action that connected to experience, exploratory learning, and sense of dissonance between expectations and realities. In fact, each of them cited Huberman (1989/1993); his worldwide influence on the studies was evident.

**Themes and Issues of Negotiability**

In this section I review six studies that reflect the themes and issues of negotiability in one- and two-language contexts that engender teacher/researcher identity formation and transformation: (a) contesting, negotiating, and transforming identity; (b) central, peripheral, and/or marginal positionality in social structures; (c) issues of native and non-native teachers of English, and; (d) relatively new Japanese teachers of English in tertiary education.
Before discussing the studies, I preview why the following studies connect the above themes and issues with this study. I review Tsui (2007) first and then Alsup (2006), which represent the major themes and issues for discussing negotiability and non-negotiability at borderland Discourses crucially associated with forming a transformative identity. Third, I focus on one participant called Dr. Iwahara of the four in Casanave’s (1998) study to discuss her professional identity as a scholar in cognitive psychology who juggled between writing and publishing in Japanese and English. Fourth, I review Sasaki’s (2003) autobiographical narrative describing her own positionality as an L2 scholar, which differed from others’ recognition of her in the international academy. Fifth, Johnston et al. (2005) showed that the participant Bea, EFL-ESL teacher, was marginalized due to contradictions between her assigned and perceived identities in Japan and the United States. Sixth, Miyazato (2009) investigated how the differing power structure in team-teaching influenced the role-sharing between AETs (Assistant English Teachers) and JTEs (Japanese Teachers of English) in Japanese high schools. Seventh, Nagatomo (2011) investigated how relatively new Japanese teachers of English in higher education in Japan develop their professional identity. Finally, Nagatomo (2012) explored first the principal activities that Japanese teachers of English in higher education engaged in as a part of their work practice and second the way they constructed their professional identity as they became members of the community of practice of English teachers.
Tsui (2007)

Tsui’s case study of one participant gave me some ideas for my own study. The methods she used depended on a narrative inquiry by consistent interaction with her participant: (a) her participant’s face-to-face storytelling with her, (b) his reflective diaries shared with her, (c) her own experience stories shared with him, and (d) intensive face-to-face conversation between them. The data analysis proceeded with these steps: (a) sorting the data chronologically, (b) sorting according to identity conflicts, and (c) analyzing according to the framework of the dual process of identity formation proposed by Wenger (1998). I review her study here by utilizing Wenger’s (1998) identity formation and Alsup’s (2006) borderland Discourses.

Minfang, the participant in Tsui’s (2007) study experienced at least three borderland Discourses in which he managed to make non-negotiable situations negotiable.

**Borderland Discourses 1.** As an undergraduate, Minfang had a painfully marginalized experience due to his L1 dialect and weaknesses of his L2 in listening and speaking, whereas he had good knowledge of English grammar and good written English. To change the stigmatized image, Minfang started to reclaim or negotiate learner, local-culture, and personal identities through alignment, that is, through active socialization in L1 standard dialect and slang, and through code-mixing (L1 and L2), for transformation in borderland discourses. This transformation helped him become recognized as a member of the learner community and invest full energy into his studies and eventually
he won the first prize in a pronunciation and intonation contest.

**Borderland Discourses 2.** As an EFL learner, Minfang improved his communicative competence of the English language, then was recognized as “a genuine product of communicative language teaching (CLT)” (Alsup, 2007 p. 667) by his teachers, and was subsequently given a teaching post in the university after graduation. However, the label “a genuine product of CLT” stemmed from misrecognition that his teachers had about Minfang. In fact, he acquired his high communicative English competence not through his teachers’ guidance but through his autonomous learning efforts with his friends through actual interaction outside the classroom in real situations. Obviously Minfang’s meaning of CLT differed from his teachers’. He could neither assert his ownership of CLT meaning nor negotiate it with his teachers, or with the faculty and the institution afterwards. This non-negotiability led them to form an asymmetrical power relationship. Minfang kept struggling between the label of CLT expert and his belief in English language learning and teaching while he was climbing the professional ladder.

**Borderland Discourses 3.** Minfang’s inner struggle in non-negotiable situations came to a head when he was labeled a “model CLT teacher.” Inside himself, the tension between the allegiance with the university teaching objectives, and that with his personal beliefs about learning and teaching intensified too much. At that moment, Minfang ventured to enroll in a master’s degree program in which he felt empowered to adopt an
eclectic approach, that is, blending his meanings of CLT and traditional methods. He was later enrolled in a doctoral program in the United Kingdom, probably because he wanted to make the non-negotiable situation negotiable by exploring his idea of an eclectic approach further.

Given his positions in terms of centrality, peripherality, and marginality, an asymmetrical relationship between his inner and outer selves was revealed. Those who did not know about his tension between CLT and traditional methods might believe that no doubt he was in the center of English education. However, he saw himself as being on the periphery because he was unable to negotiate his meaning of CLT in his particular situation. This asymmetrical relationship between the inner and outer self is similar to that of Dr. Sasaki (2003) in her personal narrative reviewed later.

The study of Minfang points to the issue of where the ownership of L2 resides and how L2 teachers can overcome the preconceptions, that is, the imagined boundaries that they themselves as well as other people demarcate between L1 and L2. Tsui suggested that L2 ownership belongs to its users when L2 teachers negotiate and give voice not only to their professional allegiances by advancing their expertise, but also to their professional tensions against the imagined boundaries that they themselves and others hold in larger discursive contexts.

**Alsup (2006)**

Alsup aimed at exploring, explaining, and improving how teacher educators work. She presented how preservice teachers integrated personal and professional identity into a
methods course in literacy but not L2 education, and provided real-world applications for classroom practice. Alsup recruited six participants from her methods course and collected six types of data: (a) interviews, (b) lesson plans, (c) philosophy statements, (d) literacy autobiographies, (e) teaching metaphors the participants created, and (f) class-observation notes. Of the six participants, I choose one called Lois for the discussion of agency, because she exemplified borderland Discourses the most frequently among the six. Using Wenger’s views on identity formation, I look at how Lois transformed her identity at borderland Discourses.

Lois went through a hardship in a high school field placement in her junior year. She and other student teachers collaboratively made an innovative lesson plan for “literacy in the classroom,” but during the presentation, a child stole her lesson plan and ran around the room with it. She was so startled at the incident that she lost a sense of coherence in the lesson as well as in her student teacher-self. It led her to non-participation in her student teacher development. Lois’s mentor teacher identified her dispositions of honesty and open attitudes. With the help of her mentor teacher she was able to negotiate her student teacher-self with her mentor teacher. Gradually the teacher became willing to work with her and encouraged her to challenge her own student-teacher position. To fulfill her expectation, Lois always aligned with the mentor teacher without hesitating to open up her positive personal dispositions. The mentor teacher recognized Lois’s potential for teaching. Lois thoughtfully adapted her idea for teaching by adjusting the procedure in consultation with her mentor teacher. Steadily she gained the ability to define the meanings of the situation. This empowerment allowed her to
negotiate her personal identity with her teacher identity. When these disparate identities were integrated into a transformative one, she obtained her membership in the teacher community after graduation. Lois’s story reflects the transitions from peripheral and non-participation to central participation with the enormous help of her mentor teacher.

Casanave (1998)

Casanave (1998) collected data on the academic literacy practices of four bilingual academics mainly from taped interviews over two years (1994-1996), her detailed field notes, and her participants’ reports on their writing activities. I focus on one bilingual academic of the four participants, Dr. Iwahara, who was interviewed multiple times over an academic year. She was in her mid-thirties and had just finished a Ph.D. in cognitive psychology in the United States, and was still connected with her advisor and with a colleague. She returned to work on a three-year research associate contract with a university in Japan. She wanted to have a tenured position. At the time she was a novice scholar and teacher involved in minimal teaching duties on the periphery of her scholarly community. Her interest was more in conducting research than teaching, and as such, her professional identity resided in gaining academic recognition both in the United States, with its international connections, and in Japan. Pursuing professional identity in these two worlds turned out to be laborious, stressful, and time-consuming. At that time the ownership of Dr. Iwahara’s meanings was not fully brought into play yet. In fact, these two academic worlds did not run parallel, but they had rather different practices or Discourses. According to Casanave’s findings, in the view of her informants, in the United States, academics wrote in English to contribute to the field of expertise whereas
in Japan they contributed to allegiance to groups in the university by writing in Japanese. Not only was the difference in the two academic discourses about to split Dr. Iwahara’s professional identity into two, but also she could have potentially been alienated from both of them. However, during the three-year research associate contract, she had been exploring ways to integrate the two different academic discourses or practices into her professional identity and to reify her identity. In this sense she was engaged in negotiation of borderland Discourses.

**Sasaki (2003)**

In her autobiographical narrative, a difference stood out between the way Miyuki Sasaki defined herself and the way others defined her in her position in the international academy. She is an established scholar in L2 education worldwide, a reviewer in refereed journals, and invited speaker at major academic conferences. In spite of her reputation, she made a counterargument in her narrative, presenting herself as a scholar on the periphery. Sasaki explained how she had been professionally at the center of her expertise outside Japan before her child developed a health problem. Since the incident with her child, she decided to balance her academic work in Japan with that outside. She declared that she would stay on the periphery in a positive sense as a researcher. By *periphery*, she meant that geographically, academically, culturally, mentally, and socially she was not tied to one value system, that of North America and Western Europe, nor was she seeking to compete with other scholars in her field. Instead, she took advantage of living in Japan and earlier in the West and writing in both Japanese and English. This decision enabled
her to see her beliefs, values, and environments differently. Sasaki closed her autobiographic narrative with the statement that “the periphery does not have to be a cause of despair, but can in fact be a source of hope” (p. 220). Undeniably such peripheral scholars would take up central positions if the situation in applied linguistics encouraged all the L1 teachers and researchers to become legitimate L2 users (Pavlenko, 2003) in the imagined community (B. Anderson, 1983/1991; Kanno & Norton, 2003), to understand each other beyond a linguistic level, and to present their studies to both L1 and L2 audiences. Sasaki participated in the borderland Discourses where L1 and L2 scholar identities intersected and were integrated into a transformative scholar identity. She did not elaborate her negotiating processes but implied a great deal because she committed herself to borderland Discourses (Sasaki, 2001, 2003).

Johnston, Pawan, and Mahan-Taylor (2005) investigated what happened to students after an MA program and how the realities of teacher professional development matched up with the pre-existing notions of teachers’ needs, concerns, and interests. They carried out a pilot study with a participant, Bea, for a large-scale study of the professional development of a working ESL/EFL teacher after she graduated from an American master’s program. Bea was an experienced female American teacher teaching EFL at a Japanese university. The three authors interviewed her once for 90 minutes in March 2001 during her visit to the United States. The semi-structured interview was tape-recorded and transcribed. The analysis was based on four qualities: It was qualitative, discourse-based, postmodern or poststructural in nature, and focused on tensions. As a
result, tensions were identified in four areas: cultural identity, professional identity, beliefs and knowledge, and teaching experience.

Johnston et al. explained that Bea might have felt her identity was somewhat marginal both culturally and professionally. Bea perceived herself as not typically American but in Japan she was assigned as an exemplar of American culture. A clash emerged between her perceived and assigned identities. Another tension revealed that as her familiarity with Japanese culture increased, the Japanese perception of her value as an American declined and the less desirable she became to the institutions for which she worked. This indicated not only clashes between external and internal views of the self but also part of her own internal, dynamic, evolving set of identities. Bea knew enough of the etiquette and the social behaviors in Japan, but she tried neither to fit in nor to horrify anybody. She was culturally marginalized and she accepted the marginal position. As for professional identity, she believed that she was not allowed to have access to a tenured position only because of her identity as a non-Japanese.

Concerning beliefs and knowledge, Bea, after many years of on-the-job preparation, found that the MA program provided a broad overview of the field for her and that the clash between the autonomy she knew as professional and expectations levied on her by her professors created a tension. Her beliefs and knowledge about teaching were based on her extensive experience that provided her with a basis for judgment and evaluation on one hand. On the other hand, the experience discouraged her from exploring alternative approaches. Bea firmly believed that students should learn and accept ideas that she brought to the classroom in Japan. She also understood that the cultural expectations in
the country had the ability to interrupt her efforts to have students adopt those ideas. The belief and understanding created a tension. The authors reported that the tension was one that many American teachers might encounter when they teach in another country, and further commented that what teachers believe and what the people in the culture considered most important did not always agree. In this sense, Bea, and others like her, worked on the borderlands and need to negotiate the tensions and allegiances in their professional lives.

In terms of the validity of the study of Johnston et al., I found that qualitative inquiry solely relying on a one-shot interview is problematic even though it is a pilot study. More of a problem is that the interviewee’s story turned into one full of unexplored tensions. The tensions centered around cultural and professional identity, beliefs, and experience. Mentally tensions are deeply seated inside the self and closely connected to experience. To investigate such psychological matters, interviewers should select interview sites and members with the greatest care and get to know them well over time, from multiple sources of information. Additionally they should consider the content of interview questions that are appropriate for the purpose. Bea’s tensions stemmed from her experiences in Japan. The researchers prepared Bea for the interview situation as follows. The three researchers, her countrymen, interviewed her, and the interview site was selected in their home country when she had returned temporarily. Even in such a situation, they did not ask her questions that might have helped her reflect on herself, for example, what Bea learned from differences between the United States and Japan, what made her choose an EFL teaching profession in the first place, why she chose Japan to
teach English, and what kept her teaching there. In spite of these weaknesses in the research methods, the study of Bea shows that when people feel marginalized, they tend to give up taking care of their identities at borderland Discourses where tensions need to be explored. However, there is still some doubt as to whether or not Bea herself accepted a marginal position. If not, it might leave the door open for her to deal with her position in different ways.

**Miyazato (2009)**

Miyazato (2009) investigated how the differing power structure in TT (team-teaching) influenced the role-sharing between AETs (Assistant English Teachers) and JTEs (Japanese Teachers of English) in Japanese high schools. The participants were two teaching pairs (two paired JTEs and AETs) called Team 1 and Team 2, who were involved in TT in the JET program at different public senior high schools. Miyazato collected 15 hours of class observation data and interviewed the AETs for about nine hours and the JTEs for about 5.5 hours in total, tape-recorded and transcribed them for data analysis. Additionally she interviewed 16 students at the research sites to examine learners’ perspectives on TT. The results showed contrastive characteristics of AETs and JTEs:

*AETs* were linguistic experts in the target language (English) but cultural novices in the local culture. Their linguistic and sociocultural power was perceived, but limited exposure and experience made them lacking in local language/culture skills and they lacked political power owing to their status as assistants (p. 44).

*JTEs* were linguistic novices in the target language (English) but cultural and occupational experts in the local culture. The JTEs in this study revealed lack of confidence in their English abilities and their beliefs in the “native speaker fallacy.”
However, the JTE’s important roles as linguistic, cultural, and psychological mediators to fill the gap between Japanese students and AETs were acknowledged by the teachers and students. (p. 50)

Both AETs and JTEs believed in the *native speaker fallacy* (Canagarajah, 1999), a belief in the superiority of the native speaker of English as a language teacher that has permeated into the government, any number of societies, educational institutions, and elsewhere in Japan. This belief has retained the imagined dichotomy of native speakers (NS) and nonnative speakers (NNS). Unless the *imagined boundary* (Tsui, 2007) drawn between the dichotomy was broken down, both AETs and JTEs congealed into marginal positions in L2 education by dividing their labor. That imagined dichotomy prevented them from becoming collaborative members in English education as well as from participating in integrated professional development. In this respect, neither borderland Discourses nor negotiability had been observed.

**Nagatomo (2011)**

Nagatomo investigated the way four relatively novice Japanese university teachers (three females and one male) of English constructed their professional identities in tertiary education. Three of them in their thirties had a one-year teaching experience whereas one in her forties taught for three years. Two of them were Ph.D. holders and the other two were not. The data were collected by three 90-minute interviews between December 2007 and December 2008 and analyzed with the qualitative software NVivo. Nagatomo found three areas of their teacher engagement through imaginations in the context of the university and the wider community. She reported their teacher identity
formations through imagination: (a) “imagination of students in relationship to themselves as students,” which was influenced by the perceptions they had held as undergraduates: (b) “imagination of what the participants believe their students think of them,” which required the balance between being “friendly teacher” and “the students’ friend” and (c) “imagination of what participants believe their students can and should learn,” which implied that teachers should help students “develop critical and independent thinking skills, gain a broader perspective of the world, develop more self-confidence, and improve communication skills (in Japanese)” (p. 69).

Finally, Nagatomo analyzed the underlying concepts the participant teachers held in teaching: “content-based instruction by taking on controversial issues; the impact of gender on society by way of reading and discussion, which was derived from the teacher’s mission; the interest in having students develop critical thinking skills; and “helping students learn independent thinking by exposing them to a wider perspective of the world” (p. 70). The priority that all the four teachers shared concerned “improving students’ communication skills in Japanese, as well as in English.” For instance, the underlying wish the participant Kana held as an English teacher was that:

English study can empower them because it introduces an alternative communication style and will help them overcome some of the limitations of Japanese, which she [Kana] says encourages humility, passiveness, and silence. (pp. 70-71)

Nagatomo reported that the four relatively novice university teachers were trying hard to have the undergraduates develop their cognition by using their thinking and analyzing skills first in their mother tongue and then broadening their perspectives in English by balancing friendly teacher-student relationships. This teaching process involves a variety
of negotiations between a teacher and his/her students in teaching and learning over language use between English and Japanese over cognitive development in their own contextually-specific English-language learning situations.

**Nagatomo (2012)**

Nagatomo completed and published an in-depth study for her dissertation in 2012. This review focuses on the chapter “developing professional identity.” The research questions for the chapter were: (a) What are the principal activities that Japanese teachers of English in higher education engage in as a part of their work practices?; and (b) How do Japanese teachers of English in higher education construct their professional identity as they become members of the community of practice of English teachers? (p. 81). Nagatomo found three common areas of engagement in: teaching, the workplace, and the wider social context (pp. 111-114). The engagement in early years of teaching, which was the participants’ major concern as teachers, involved negotiating their teacher images they had held as students with their current teacher-selves in front of their current students. In the second finding, engagement in the workplace was relational depending on the employment status, which is rather universal in any working contexts. Engagement in the wider social context, the third and final finding, concerned “interaction with other like-minded scholars and academic in study groups or professional association” (pp. 113-114). By this engagement, university teachers can negotiate and balance their professional identities as scholars, teachers and future administrators.
In terms of the themes and issues of negotiability in one- and two-language contexts that engenders teacher/researcher identity formation and transformation, I have reviewed eight articles: Alsup 2006 in one-language context, and in two-language contexts Tsui 2007; Casanave 1998; Sasaki 2003; Johnston, Pawan, and Mahan-Taylor 2005; Miyazato 2009; Nagatomo 2011; and Nagatomo 2012. Each study has shown a great variety of negotiating L2 teacher identity formation and transformation. In Alsup’s (2006) study, a pre-service teacher in the teacher education course grew into a confident teacher by negotiating her teaching ideas into practice with her mentor teacher’s support. The participants in Tsui (2007), Casanave (1998), and Sasaki (2003) were internationally recognized as scholars in their own academic fields whereas in their home countries they were satisfied with peripheral participation in their academic fields. However, their professional identities were contesting between their domestic and international academic fields. Each of them made different choices of participation depending on their situations, for instance, central, peripheral, and/or marginal positionalities between international and domestic contexts. In Miyazato 2009, Japanese teachers of English and English native-speaker teachers found a comfortable space in class by the role sharing of teaching in English classes in Japan. Nagatomo 2011 and 2012 concerned novice Japanese university teachers who employed eclectic teaching in English classes by having their students negotiate their English with their Japanese so that students would improve both English language competence and critical thinking skills simultaneously.
Gaps in the Literature

The literature reviewed in this chapter covers teacher change that occurred in ESL/EFL contexts in secondary and tertiary education in various countries. Each researcher in the literature focused on a certain period of time of teachers' professional lives, certain professional activities in a certain geographical space. However, my study of teacher life stories embraces the period between the participants’ first interest in English or foreign languages and their entire ESL/EFL teacher lives, particularly changes that occurred mid-career, which is the biggest gap in literature.

Life stories allow us to look at what is happening at borderland Discourses as well as the differences between how teachers and researchers see themselves and how they are seen by others. Unexplored tensions as well as imagined boundaries can lead to marginalization and non-participation. However, there is no study found in the literature that investigates L2 teachers’ full professional life trajectories beginning with teaching in secondary education, and moving into mid-career and later career where they explore what matters to each of them. In this trajectory teachers learn to exercise their agency over their educational tasks, negotiate their professional identities with institutional tasks, and transform their identities into full-fledged educators and/or researchers. For the participants in this study, the trajectory includes enrolling in masters and/or doctors programs and/or becoming an independent researcher. This is an unfulfilled niche in the literature that I hope this study begins to fill.
Research Questions

Four questions are addressed in this study:

1. What changes in their career trajectory and activities do the participants report that they underwent from their early entry into teaching through mid-career? How do they explain the motivation for these changes?

2. What have the L2 teachers learned as a result of the changes? In particular, what have they discovered about themselves as L2 teachers?

3. What changes in professional identity do the participants report as a result of their voluntary changes?

4. How were the participants able to negotiate their positions and identities in difficult circumstances so as to keep developing professionally?
CHAPTER 4

METHODS

This study is a case-centered narrative-based qualitative inquiry into eight teachers’ lives. This chapter deals with the approach to this study, the research site, the context and participants, procedures, and analyses.

Approach: Case Study

The case study is a research approach encompassing quantitative and qualitative paradigms as well as being suitable for research in different academic disciplines. I chose an approach of qualitative case study for this research, which falls within disciplines in education, applied linguistics, and social science (Casanave, 2010; Duff, 2008; Hood, 2009; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995, 2005). The object of study is termed a case (e.g., Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995), the terminology of which might stem from clinical psychology. A case refers to a teacher, a program, a language, a school, a learner, a city, relationship, and the like. In this study, each teacher is a different case.

The case study is characterized by (a) boundedness, which is particular phenomena that the researcher encircles with “artificial lines” (Casanave, 2010, p. 67), (b) rich description or “in-depth portrayals” (p. 67); (c) situatededness and physical, historical, and/or temporal embedding in a particular context (Casanave, 2010; Duff, 2008; Hood, 2009; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995, 2005). In terms of boundedness, this study deals with expert EFL teachers who have taught secondary school students in Japan, are qualified
with master-, doctor- and/or its equivalent qualification as boundedness. As for rich
description, all of them have provided me with descriptions and narrations of almost all
their entire personal and professional lives and environments that have given rise to their
becoming expert EFL teachers. All of the participants are situated mainly in secondary
and tertiary education and/or independent research for the period of 44 years between
1971 and 2015, during which the oldest participant became an English high school
teacher and retired. The other participants are still involved in their own activities in
English education. All of them are embedded in various kinds of education as teachers
and researchers.

The processes of qualitative cases studies evolve interrelatedly, iteratively,
cyclically, and inductively between components. Between the components, reasoning or
narrative is interconnected in the sense that:

…theory informs research practice and research, in turn, informs theory; data
collection and analysis inform interpretation, and interpretations, in turn, may
warrant further data collection; and the writing up of research (another form of
analysis and interpretation, as well as representation) and presentation of results to
others may also feed back into subsequent refinement of data analysis,
interpretations, conclusions, and future research. (Duff, 2008, p. 99)

Case studies lend themselves to investigations of multiple perceptions and multiple
realities (Duff, 2008). On validity issues, not all research uses the same criteria for
evaluating quantitative and qualitative studies. Some adaptations of criteria adopted by
positivist and constructivist validations are shown in the section on qualitative inquiry in
this chapter. The argument on validation in qualitative case studies results in
trustworthiness or credibility endorsed by rich description, member checking, and
triangulation (Casanave, 2010; Duff, 2008; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995, 2005) in order “to reduce the likelihood of misinterpretation” (Stake, 2005, p. 453).

In order to reduce the likelihood of misinterpretation, I visited the participants’ classrooms, observed their classes, collected their publications, research papers, and their lesson handouts and homeroom class newsletters, exchanged interview transcriptions, exchanged emails frequently over my various confirmations and my interpretations about what they had actually talked in their interviews and written by email, and finally required them to confirm and negotiate my transcriptions and my English translation of their interview data that I would use for this study.

**Qualitative Inquiry**

Below I sketch six characteristics of qualitative research along with the relationships to this study, mainly based on the concept of qualitative inquiry in education by Eisner (1998).

**Field focused/fieldwork involved.** *Field* refers to the persons, setting, site, institution or education where the researcher can go to observe behaviors occurring naturally (Eisner, 1998; Glesne, 2006; Locke et al., 2000; Merriam, 1998). Glesne added participant-observation to what she considered field work. Eisner noted that the researcher should keep situations intact and not manipulate them. One possible danger is that I might see from my own experience the phenomena the participants are presenting though I do not intend to manipulate the data. To guard against this possibility, I do not
solely rely on my experiences but triangulate the data with email correspondence, written documents, curriculum vitae, syllabus, class visits, and publications to the extent possible, as written in the previous section.

The self as an instrument. I am an instrument as a researcher. “I” take the lead in research from choosing a topic through collecting, interpreting and analyzing data to writing up the research text. In research methods, most researchers tend to use the words I, self, and subjectivity interchangeably (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Denzin, 1989; Eisner, 1998; Glesne, 2006; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). The self as an instrument includes not only the researcher but also the researched. The relationship between them is also a matter of intersubjectivity (Casanave, 2010; Chase, 2005; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Denzin, 1989; Eisner, 1998; Glesne, 2006; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Merriam, 1998; Mishler, 1986; Polkinghorne, 2007). The story told by a participant, narrator, or interviewee is not only the text of the researcher’s, listener’s or interviewer’s possession but also the participant’s, as seen in “dialogic/performance narrative analysis” (Riessman, 2008). More about intersubjectivity is explained in the section of interpretive biography.

Interpretive character. Interpretation is at the heart of qualitative inquiry. Unlike pure description, interpretation involves sense-making, meanings, rich description by inductive analysis, and understanding of covert meaning (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Denzin, 1989; Eisner, 1998; Merriam, 1998). I, as a researcher, hope that my long teaching experience and commitment to self-development provide my insider’s views to
make insightful interpretations about the participants and their situations. However, interpretation relying solely on the researcher’s experience tends to be biased. Listening to the participants’ stories around turning points, transcribing them, and interpreting them into text is not enough to establish meaning. More discussion on interpretation is provided below in the narrative inquiry section.

**The use of expressive language and the presence of voice in text.** In qualitative research, the researcher acts as a mediator (Eisner, 1998; Merriam, 1998). Merriam clarifies her position as “I” and puts heart into text in expressive language, so that emotions, feelings, and thoughts are voiced. This research is born out of my own experience. I thus become a co-participant with an insider’s views, so that I am able to listen to the participants and so that my language reflects their and my own voices in the text.

**Attention to Particulars.** The goal of qualitative studies is to “provide a sense of the uniqueness of the case; the best make the case palpable” (Eisner, 1998, p. 39). The case includes a particular situation, event, program, phenomenon, or particular groups of people confronting specific problems (Eisner, 1998; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995). Eisner (1998) further requires the researcher to become finely attuned to the particular situation, and to improve the awareness of its distinctive features and the ability to construe and express them through text. The participants in my study make particular choices of and commitments to lifelong professional development in various teaching places and daily
lives. As a result, their particularity stands out. It is the particulars of their unique situations that make them suitable participants for this study.

The criteria for judging the success of qualitative studies. Eisner (1998) proposed three criteria—coherence, consensus, and instrumental utility—in the assessment of qualitative research and evaluation on educational studies. I first explain transactive accounts that underpin the three criteria and then take the overview on the way each criterion functions. Transactive accounts are based on human experience and taken between the objective and the subjective views of the world for the methodology of educational research. Eisner elaborates the transactive as follows:

Since what we know about the world is a product of the transaction of our subjective life and a postulated objective world, these worlds cannot be separated. To separate them would require the exercise of mind, and since mind would need to be employed to make the separation, anything “separated” as a result of its use would reflect mind as well as what was “separated” from it. Hence what we have is experience—a transaction, rather than independent subjective and objective entities. (pp. 52-53)

This argument derives from John Dewey’s idea, that is, “a transactional orientation to the process of knowing” (Eisner, 1998, p.60). According to Eisner, we experience in the world and at the same time bring our experiences to the world. Not only do we have experiences but also we make experiences. In this sense, we are always in a constructive position. Therefore, the criteria for Eisner’s appraisal of transactive accounts are congruent with the constructivist view. The way we know the world occurs while we are transacting or negotiating past experience with the brand-new experience in front of us.
The transaction or negotiation brings about making experience, which is the heart of qualitative inquiry.

The believability of qualitative research is determined by three criteria, i.e. coherence, consensus, and instrumental utility. Coherence refers to “the tightness of the argument” in a study (Eisner, 1998, p. 53). When we say that it “rings true,” we mean that the study “coheres and makes sense” (p. 53). Coherence can be misguided when “evidence that might weaken or challenge” cases might not be included or when “preconceptions” or “a particular way of seeing things” work to support evidence (p. 54). However, the misguided can be traded off for triangulation. Researchers make efforts to gain credibility of the conclusions and interpretations “within the framework they choose to use” (p. 56).

Consensus is the condition in which the researcher’s findings and/or interpretations “are consistent with the readers’ own experience or with the evidence presented” (Eisner, 1998, p. 56). It occurs concurrently as “a result of evidence deemed relevant to the description, interpretation, and evaluation of some state of affairs” (p. 57). Consensus is “a matter of agreement” (p. 56), but it does not necessarily have credibility because the consistency between the researcher’s findings and interpretation and the reader’s experience and evidence presented is parallel. Hence the criterion of consensus might fall under constructivists’ transferability (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Instrumental utility concerns usefulness in terms of comprehension, anticipation, and guidance (Eisner, 1998, p. 58). A good qualitative study can help us understand a situation that would otherwise be enigmatic or confusing; it can allow us to anticipate
descriptions and interpretations of situations and people beyond the information given about them; and cannot only guide us to the situation or place we might otherwise miss but also help us experience what we might otherwise miss (pp. 58-59). Thus, instrumental utility seems analogous to dependability in constructivists’ view (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The three criteria that Eisner presents all touch on the heart of qualitative inquiry.

**Narrative Inquiry**

Narrative inquiry or research is the study of stories. According to Polkinghorne (2007, p. 472), it emerged in the early 1970s, after the demise of behaviorism in the 1960s. A reform movement began under the name of qualitative inquiry that claimed that:

there are important aspects of the personal and social realms that cannot be investigated to justify or validate knowledge claims, i.e., personal descriptions of life experiences in the form of personally reflective descriptions in ordinary language and analyses using inductive processes that capture commonalities across individual experiences. (Polkinghorne, 2007, pp. 472 & 475)

Narrative inquiry is “an inquiry into narrative, the primary form by which human experience is made meaningful” (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 1). Narrative or storytelling exists everywhere and the “narrative impulse is universal,” namely, it is “a universal way of knowing and communicating” (Riessman, 2008, p. 6, 21). Through narrative, experiences are organized and pieces of memories become coherent and meaningful (e.g., as demonstrated in Gudmundsdottir, 1995; Huberman, 1995; Linde, 1993). Without the organizing function of narrative, experiences might be placed in the subconscious sphere of mind not only without form and plot, but also with isolated actions, images, and sensations. In everyday life, people want to know for themselves what experiences they
have, and to tell a particular audience what they experienced. For these purposes, people select events they perceive as important, retrieve, organize, evaluate them as meaningful for the audience, and connect the events into a sequence that is consequential for later action. Normally people tell their stories temporally and spatially whereas sometimes they organize narrative episodically (Riessman, 2008). Besides this one-way meaning making process of narrative, both the teller and the listener participate in sense making co-constructively, that is, *intersubjectively*, mentioned in the section on qualitative inquiry (Polkinghorne, 2007). The parties express their experiences, understand the other’s experience, and make themselves understood in narrative (Bruner, 2002; Mishler, 1986; Polkinghorne, 1988; Riessman, 2008).

When it comes to turning points, life change, and evolution of identities being involved in narrative, the events of change reverse temporal and episodic orderings and meanings re-cohere because those changes of events lead to self-discovery and a reinterpretation of the past (Mishler, 2006). At the moments of self-discovery, people have a different sense of themselves. Their previous views of their pasts do not work. They cannot predict what is going to happen. To cope with the changes, people are engaged in revising “the meanings of past experiences,” reforming their “selves,” and re-storying their “life stories” and their “identities” (Mishler, 2006, p. 41). Mishler held that this process of re-storying normally occurs in cases of the multiple identities that take root in different relationships in a person’s life as well. By narrative, oral, written, and/or visual means, can we inquire into identities.
The methodology of narrative inquiry has been summarized and extended in the work that Riessman (2008) published. Her explanation of narrative inquiry is concise and informative: “…particularities and context come to the fore. Human agency and the imagination of storytellers (and listeners and readers) can be interrogated, allowing research to include many voices and subjectivities” (p. 13). Narrative inquiry is often case-centered research and a boundary crossing concept over disciplines, nations, macro-levels of processes such as social movements, organizations and politics, and professions and occupations (Chase, 2005; Riessman, 2008). The representation of narrative is also diverse in methods expanding from the oral and the written to the visual (Alsup, 2006; Leitch, 2006; Mishler, 1986, cited by Riessman, 2008). It is deeply involved in constructing and performing identity (Mishler, 1999, 2006; Pavlenko, 2007; Riessman, 2008). In this line of argument, narrative inquiry best suits this case study of L2 teachers’ evolving identity.

Narrative or storytelling is an overarching concept and practice among disciplines in the humanities and the social sciences although narrative inquiry is defined and used differently in literature, education, sociology, and applied linguistics. In applied linguistics in particular, narrative inquiry has been gaining legitimacy in the 2000s. Barkhuizen (2008) made a case for the value of narrative inquiry in teacher development in that change occurs within teachers and their practice when they reflect on their own practice and articulate interpretations. This process “involves introspection and interpretation” such that teachers “develop their personal practical knowledge to the extent that they act in the future with insight and foresight” (p. 233).
Teacher change begins to occur when a cognitive activity and a social activity match up, which Barkhuizen has been demonstrating in his work on language teacher development. To explain these activities, Barkhuizen (2011) coined an umbrella term narrative knowledging. In our cognitive activity, we are engaged in “the meaning making, learning, and knowledge construction that takes place at all stages of a narrative research project,” that is, while (co)constructing and analyzing narratives, reporting the findings, and reading/watching/listening to research reports (p. 395). Narrative is also a social activity in that “narratives are discursively constructed with others in particular spatiotemporal contexts and, after analysis by researchers, are presented to an audience for (re)interpretation” (p. 397). In social interaction, narratives function “as mediational tools” for fostering teacher professional development, that is, helping teachers make sense of teaching experiences and changing their teaching practices (p. 397).

In addition to the self-discovery caused by or generating turning points, life change, and evolution of identities, Barkhuizen (2011) identified three salient issues: first, “narrative and narrative research is far from agreed upon”; second, “narrative researchers elicit, co-construct, interpret, and in their retelling, represent participants’ accounts of lived and imagined personal experience”; and third, “meaning making endures beyond the original telling of stories” (p. 393). Further, he added,

It [meaning making] continues when researchers analyze their data and when they discuss their interpretations with participants. The preparation of narrative research texts involves further meaning making, as does the reception of these. (p. 393)

In recent years in applied linguistics the study of narrative and narrative inquiry has “grown into legitimate approaches in doing research” (Barkhuizen, 2013, p. 1).
Validation of an interpretive approach to narrative inquiry. This approach is characterized as producing findings that consist of stories themselves, validated by their detail (Polkinghorne, 2007):

The stories alone are revealing enough to provide insight into the variety of lived experiences among the participants. The validity of the story is attested to by its rich detail and revealing descriptions. (pp. 482-483)

Interpretation generally serves as a commentary that uncovers and clarifies the meaning of the text by drawing out impact of the social and cultural setting on people’s lives (p. 483). In some cases, narrative interpretation focuses on the relationships internal to a storied text by drawing out its themes and identifying the type of plot the story exemplified (p. 483). In other cases, it [narrative interpretation] focuses on social and cultural environment that shaped the story’s life events and the meaning attached to them (p. 483). Narrative interpretations are creative productions that stem from the researcher’s cognitive processes for recognizing patterns and similarities in texts (p. 483).

There are two different major positions that inform interpretation: Verstehen (deep understanding) approach and philosophical hermeneutics. The former holds that the interpreter is allowed “to transcend or break out of her or his historical circumstances in order to reproduce the meaning or intention of the actor” and this approach “treats the text as an object that can be understood as the author intended” (p. 483). The latter holds that the interpreter encounters a text from within his or her “prejudices”; interpretation is “like a conversational dialogue through which meaning is a product of interaction” and that “one cannot transcend one’s own historical and situated embeddedness; thus, textual
interpretations are always perspectival” (p. 483). Polkinghorne suggests that narrative researchers engaged in interpretation “will make different claims about their understanding of a text depending on which position they take” (pp.483-484). It means that the ways of textual interpretation are somehow open to freedom by creating “verisimilitude or ‘truth-like,’ intersubjectively shareable emotional feelings and cognitive understandings” (Denzin, 1989, p. 28). Validity of such textual interpretations above is similar to those used in literary criticism though I do not explore literary aspects in this study. However, narrative inquiry is an overarching research method between social science and literature.

Interpretive Biography

A biographical method best serves to describe change moments or turning points, and pivotal turning points in our lives structure our biographical texts (Denzin, 1989). Denzin defined the interpretive biographical method as “the studied use and collection of personal-life documents, stories, accounts, and narratives which describe turning-point moments in individuals’ lives” (p. 13). The method views the world relying on two kinds of knowing: subjective and intersubjective. Not only do people make an effort to understand and interpret their lives by drawing on their own personal experiences, that is, subjective knowing, but also they gain knowledge by participating in a common experience and sharing experiences with other people, that is, intersubjective knowing. The goal “is to build shareable understandings of the life experiences of another” (p. 28). The interpreting process allows us access to the emotional life of another, then creates the
conditions for understandings so that we can grasp the meanings of an interpreted experience for another individual. This could be referred to as empathy in Eisner’s terms above, with the result that shareable understandings are attained (Denzin, 1989). Such shareable understandings of the life experiences of another create intersubjectively shareable emotional feelings and cognitive understandings, and in the process create verisimilitude (believability; compellingness, Barone, 1992; cogency, Eisner, 1998), or truth-likeness.

There is a limit to the story. “A story is always an interpretive account; but, of course, all interpretations are biased” (Denzin, 1989, p. 74). Storytellers interpret their experiences and the phenomena before them and then tell their stories. In most cases, the storytellers interpret the experiences without knowing what kinds of structural factors have affected the storytelling, and the listeners interpret the stories from their own “biased” points of view (p. 74). The structural factors refer to “the social, economic, cultural, structural, and historical forces that shape, distort, and otherwise alter problematic lived experience” (p. 75). In the biographical project, Denzin warned researchers neither to “lose sight of the individuals who live these structurally shaped lives” nor to romanticize subjectivity (p. 75). Denzin pointed out the limits of the story on the matter of trustfulness and knowing:

(1) stories always come in multiple versions, and they never have clear endings or beginnings; (2) stories are grounded in a group’s culture where criteria of truthfulness are established; (3) the stories told are never the same as the stories heard; (4) stories are shaped by larger ideological forces which put pressure on persons to establish their individuality (and self control) in the stories they construct. (p. 77)
To avoid producing a biased interpretation of the teller’s situation, Denzin argued that researchers should not depend solely on one account but they should know the storyteller’s “biography and personal history” (p. 75).

**Research Sites, Context, and Participants**

For this case-centered narrative-based qualitative inquiry into eight teachers’ lives, in public recruiting I identified participants out of those who were full-time or tenured mid- and later-career English teachers who had earned MA degrees or the equivalent qualification in mid-career and who had experienced teaching in secondary education in Japan. The main data sources were interviewing and class observations. To triangulate the data I had frequent email exchanges for clarification with each of them, which continued after my dissertation defense, collected their academic theses and publications, and class newsletters. With some of them, we went to academic meetings, had social gatherings with our colleagues and made comments on small academic papers with each other. Further details follow.

**Research Sites and Context**

I contextualized this project within the Eastern and Central Japan, mostly in school settings, such as high school, junior college, or university. I carried out seven class visits and interviewed eight participants twice, three, or more times, as listed in Table 2. As one of them has become a text writer, test developer and researcher, I could not visit his class any more. Instead, I worked with him twice in the testing sites and participated in his
public lectures. I visited each of the seven other participants’ schools and made field notes during and after these visits. I observed their classes to see how they interacted with students to elicit English from them. Through the interaction I got a sense of what type of teachers they were, for instance, their individual ways to elicit their individual students’ Englishes in class and facilitate their students’ participation in classroom activities. The interview sites the participants selected were a corner of the teachers’ room of a participant’s school, a participant’s office, coffee houses, or a participant’s house. Interviews, class visits, and the written documents the participants submitted to me for this study allow me to understand the research context, which included not only the personal, professional, historical, institutional, and social situations but also the circumstances that instigated the participants to make meaningful self-initiated changes in their career trajectories. Besides class visits and interviews, I was getting to know the contextual situations in my casual conversations with them and their friends, by attending workshops together, enjoying festivals together, and exchanging feedback on written documents and email contact. I socialized with them if they allowed me to do so. The participants had already gone through administrative constraints and harsh realities. In that situation, tacit rules required teachers to work nearly midnight in order to discuss discipline problems, to take care of their students in sport-club activities on weekends, and to fill the parents’ roles of their students at school, what Kumazawa (2011) terms, “the three aspects of borderlessness in teaching,” that is, “work overload, de-professionalization, and self-sacrifice,” which “negatively influenced my participants motivation” (p. 261). My participants’ concern at the time I conducted this study was
about how to survive and pursue what mattered to them professionally in the harsh realities of their working conditions.

Participants

**Background.** This research started in 2005. I hoped to recruit those who were exploring their own professional lives independently. In my first attempt to recruit participants, I recruited three: two among my ex-colleagues from an MA program in 2005 and one doctoral student who volunteered from a doctoral program in 2006. Unfortunately two of them withdrew from the study in 2008. Their withdrawal made me reflect on myself and become aware of my underlying assumption that they participated in graduate schools of TESOL and education only because they were curious about teaching English to students throughout their career lives. However this might not have been the case. I might have imposed this unconscious belief on the two ex-participants, thus not allowing them to construct their own stories. It was a hard lesson for me.

To steer clear of such mistakes, I specified conditions for the subsequent recruitment. Besides interviews, I asked to visit classes and to collect the participants’ curriculum vitae, publications, syllabi and class handouts. I changed the title of the study and focused the topics on reflection, voluntary teacher change, L2 teacher identity formation, and negotiability.

In the second stage of recruitment, I added an American female and a Japanese male teacher. In December, 2009, I took on the third stage of recruitment (Appendix A) through my public and private connections. It worked so well that six more teachers
showed willingness to participate in the study by March, 2010. Eight teachers have become participants in total and all signed the informed consent (Appendix B). All of them seemed candid and curious about eliciting English from learners and trying something new. The participants in this study became awakened to their teaching qualities in three ways: at some points of their school days or undergraduate periods, after teaching SLA part-time as an undergraduate, or after being employed in a full-time job.

**Eight Participants.** Pseudonyms are used for the eight participants: Rui, Lena, Dan, Akira, Kyo, Una, Jutaro, and Leroy. Brief background information about each participant is listed below. The participants are described in further detail in Chapter 5.

The eight participants all have and had teaching experiences in secondary education, but they have a variety of backgrounds. They are from eight different learning and teaching contexts, have eight different experiences, and have two different nationalities (Japanese and American) and genders (three female and five male participants). The details are listed below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>M/F</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Past Academic Career</th>
<th>Present Academic Career</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rui</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Mid 40s</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>MA (USA) in Japan</td>
<td>Tenured High school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lena</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Mid 40s</td>
<td>Mid 40s American</td>
<td>MA (USA) in Japan</td>
<td>Tenured High school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Late 40s</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>MA (USA) in Japan</td>
<td>Tenured High school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Una</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Late 30s</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>MA (USA) in Japan</td>
<td>Tenured High school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Late 50s</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>MA (USA) in Japan</td>
<td>Tenured High school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leroy</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Late 40s</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>MA (USA) in Japan</td>
<td>Tenured High school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akira</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Early 70s</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>MA (USA) in Japan</td>
<td>Tenured High school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1. Background Information about the Eight Participants**
The participants’ ages ranged from the late 30s to the late 60s at the beginning of their participation. The two Americans, Lena and Leroy, had taught in Japan for more than twenty years. Seven of the eight teachers—two Americans, Lena and Leroy, and five Japanese, Rui, Dan, Akira, Kyo, Una, and Jutaro—were teaching English at high school, junior college, or university in Japan at the time of the study. One Japanese male, Kyo, was a tenured public high school teacher until the age of 48 during which time he was dispatched to teach Japanese to local students in Australia for a year. He then became an independent text writer and works for an English testing company as an advisor. Six teachers—two Americans, Lena and Leroy, and four Japanese, Rui, Dan, Una, and Jutaro—earned mid-career master’s degrees in TESOL. Among them, Rui had two master degrees in TESOL in Japan and general education in the United Kingdom, and a Japanese American male participant, Leroy, earned master’s degrees in library science and history in the United States, an MA in TESOL at an American graduate school in Japan, and he enrolled in a correspondence doctoral program in applied linguistics in the United Kingdom, which he terminated before completion. Two MA holders, Rui and Dan, were enrolled in doctoral programs at the time of this study. Akira earned a degree in general education after retirement. The two American teachers came to Japan as assistant language teachers (ALTs). One of them, Lena, taught English to speakers of other languages and computer literacy to blind and blind-deaf ESL students in her home country. Lena, Dan, Akira, Una, Jutaro, and Leroy have been teaching English in tertiary education in Japan. One Japanese male teacher, Jutaro, taught English to speakers of
other languages at high school in the United States. Further details are provided in Chapter 5, Participant Profiles.

**Procedure: Data Collection and Data**

I collected data in four ways in which participants can tell their stories and show changes and growth in their professional development: interviews, email exchange, class visits, and public documents, including curriculum vitae, syllabi or curriculum descriptions, class handouts, and published articles.

Interviews are the main source of data collection in this study. As Stake (1995) stated, “Each researcher is different; each has to work out methods that make him or her effective in understanding and portraying the case” (p. 57). In this particular case, I interviewed each participant at least twice, where possible three or four times at locations of their choice and spent between one and half an hour and two hours or more for each interview (see Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviews</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
<th>Fourth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dan</td>
<td>11/12/2009</td>
<td>3/18/2010</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Seidman (2006) recommended a series of three interviews, the three interviews per interviewee are likely to be insufficient to co-construct meanings and
understand the interviewees’ professional life stories and how teacher-selves evolve, as Atkinson (2001) argued. To complement these drawbacks, not only have I made the best use of emails between each interview and class visits, but also I attended their social gatherings and academic presentations, and studied their public documents that they had already handed to me. I recorded these activities in my field notes. This complementary work might help increase the trustworthiness of the interview data.

In this study the interviewees were asked to recollect and interpret the teaching and learning experiences they had in their lives, connect them with lived experience, and project themselves into the future. To help them fulfill this request, I provided an agenda for each interviewee, based on the list of themes about which I planned to ask questions, before an upcoming interview, especially for the first interview or a follow-up interview. In the first interviews I planned to ask questions based on their backgrounds, their Curricula Vitae (CVs), and my class visits. The second interview questions would be focused on the issues elicited in the previous interviews. I expected the participants would describe the evolutions of teacher-selves in the third interviews. However, the interview planning did not proceed as I had planned, so that I let them speak as much as they wanted. Consequently they provided more valuable information than planned. For the interviews, when we agreed that the conversations had attained the research purpose, I wrote each of their profiles and emailed it to each of the interviewees for member checking. It revealed that member checking not only might have increased credibility but also generated mutual trust between us. It made it easier for me to ask further questions by email.
The recording equipment I used for this study was SONY Stereo Cassette-recorder TCS-60. Once I used an IC recorder, but I found that it required one more step to copy from the recorder to a CD-ROM and that it took me more time and labor than a cassette recorder does. Therefore, I returned to a manual cassette tape recorder.

**Analysis**

The data analysis was grounded in Riessman's (2008) narrative analysis for identity evolution to explore what was happening at personal and professional negotiating spaces. The multiple interviews over time allowed me to check the stories against each other and to document current changes.

**Narrative Analysis: Thematic and Structural Analyses**

Narrative analysis refers to a method in which researchers interpret storied representations of experience in oral, written, and/or visual texts (Riessman, 2008). Visual texts include photographs and performances that participants and the researcher can see and feel together. I did not use any visual texts. Riessman presented four types of narrative analysis: thematic, structural, visual, and dialogic/performance analyses. I chose thematic and structural analyses to interpret the participants’ narratives. In brief, the thematic approach to analysis focuses on content and the structural approach on forms and the structures of interactions. In the following section, I discuss how the two analyses can contribute to this study.
**Thematic analysis vs. structural analysis.** Thematic and structural approaches view narrative from different angles. Thematic analysis serves best to seek commonalities/themes among participants in a case study. Narrative analysts, different from grounded theorists, do not break down sequences of stories to look for generalizability across cases. Instead, the priority is to determine the boundaries of stories by referential meaning with the sequences kept intact. The drawbacks are difficulties in identifying particularities of contextual meaning and in looking for investigators’ roles. The theme of this study is the identity evolution of eight mid-career and later-career L2 expert teachers in their professional life stories. The investigator’s role is to identify the commonalities of their identity evolution and the particularities that might help readers connect the details with what they know of other L2 teachers. In contrast, structural analysis focuses on narrative forms such as clauses and phrases, for instance the Labov and Waletzky model and Gee’s stanza approach (discussed in detail in Riessman, 2008, Chapter 4). This approach allows narrative analysts to investigate participants’ ways of speaking, go beyond referential meanings, and explore how they “construct themselves and their stories” (Riessman, 2008, p. 103). In sum, analyzing both content (thematic analysis, macro-approach) and form (structural analysis, micro-approach) allows researchers to approach to the entire picture of research.

In reality the interviews for this study did not always take place as I had planned for analysis. In terms of structural analysis, I found that Rui’s narratives formed narrative stanzas linearly: orientation, complicating actions, resolution, and coda. As for the past events she had already analyzed for herself, she told the stories fluently and linearly in
narrative forms. On the other hand, I was unable to form narrative stanzas about the events she had not analyzed yet. I understood how deeply involved she was in her professional and personal activities as a teacher, a scholar, and a mother and wife of her family in the current contesting situations and so might not have had a chance to reflect on her professional life stories fully. In the other participants’ stories, I found many sets of complicated actions, resolution, and evaluation stages. Many of these complications were not told in a linear holistic story form so could not be presented structurally as stanzas. Furthermore, I found in the other participants’ stories that the sets of narrative structural stages overlapped borderland-Discourse activities. Thus, I chose borderland Discourses to avoid redundancy for later interpretation.

As for thematic analysis, all the participants talked a great deal in the interviews cooperatively and explicated their events, past and present professional lives, and thoughts in the follow-up email exchanges. Accordingly such information greatly helped me engage in thematic analysis, which involved my compiling stories from the segments from multiple interviews rather than from monological tellings.
Issues on Transcription and Translation

I transcribed interview data verbatim and/or selectively after listening multiple times. The transcribed text of the first interview was sent to the participant for checking my accuracy. By listening to the recorded audiotapes, I transcribed each word that each of the Japanese participants articulated in the first interview. My transcription was emailed to the interviewee and then he or she checked it and sent it back to me. When the interviewee found mistakes, we negotiated the meanings and agreed upon the correction. From the second interview on, I did not send my transcriptions to the target Japanese participants for clarification. My transcriptions of each interview with the American participants were sent to them and the meanings were negotiated. Concerning the translation between English and Japanese, I could not translate word for word but I tried to concentrate on what a participant wanted to tell me and translate it into English. I did not employ any translation specialist but I often clarified the meanings with each of American participants. I did not ask a second person to check my translation, however, I relied on my dissertation advisor to check the English. When I decided where to divide the lines in Japanese and English for the stanza presentation of the data, I paid attention not only to the tempo, pauses, and order or presentation of ideas, but also to eye movement and to the way the speaker used his or her hands.

Analytic Procedures

I used the following analytic procedures: (a) listening several times to the recordings of interviews in order to transcribe them and document how the participants
told their stories; (b) triangulating interview data using all the data sources that include transcripts, my field notes of my class visits, participants’ written documents such as CVs, curriculum, syllabuses, and publications, and their emails; (c) looking for stories and events in the interview data with structural analysis and with thematic analysis in order to search for evidence of identity negotiation and evolution with the participants; (d) interpreting the narrative data based on the two analyses; and finally (e) writing the stories.

**Summary of Chapter 4**

I first introduced the major approaches to this case study that relied on qualitative and narrative inquiries. Narrative inquiry is focused on an interpretive approach and interpretive biography. Second, I explained the research site, context, and participants. Third, I described the procedures, including data collection. The fourth and final section was focused on analyses that included narrative analysis, issues concerning transcription and translation, and analyses.
CHAPTER 5

PARTICIPANTS’ PROFILES

Eight participants’ profiles are organized in the order of length of participation in this study: Rui, Lena, Dan, Kyo, Akira, Una, Jutaro, and Leroy. One of my colleagues in the doctoral program introduced Kyo and Dan to me as excellent high school teachers. Una was my co-presenter at a workshop of the private high school teachers’ association and we are alumnae in the MA program. Rui was also a colleague in the MA program and had been a research participant since my first preliminary study. Lena helped me with my MA project as a colleague and her close friend was also one of my colleagues. Akira was introduced to me as a committed teacher by another colleague of the doctoral program. Jutaro made a presentation about "bad" students at the JALT conference, then presented the same study at the study-group meeting run by Una, which attracted me most, and asked Una to let me talk with him about my study. In our talks, he got interested in the students I taught at a private sport-oriented high school and finally he agreed with the participation in this study. Leroy volunteered to participate in this study through public recruiting. The meeting with him reminded me that we had had a chat at an alumni reunion party. All names of people and places are pseudonyms.

Rui’s Profile

Rui has participated in this study since 2005. I have known her since 1994 when we met in Hudson University Graduate School Japan Campus; however, we did not see each
other in class often. She was not talkative, but she was self-possessed for her age. Rui was born and raised, and lives in Tokyo. As a teenager, Rui was interested in how the world was structured and wanted to see it from a scientific perspective but gave up majoring in science at university because Japanese high school students tend to spend an extra year to prepare for university entrance examinations after high school. She did not want her parents to spend extra expenditure for her, so she decided to see the world through linguistics and education and to choose English as a major in St. Ignatius University in Tokyo.

Right after graduation, Rui was employed in a private high school. Several years later, she was accepted by a master’s program in TESOL. Concurrently she transferred to a public high school run by Tokyo capital-city government. At first Rui was assigned to a difficult school. For the period of enrollment in the master’s program, she got a scholarship from the British Council that entitled her to obtain another master’s degree in general education at a British graduate school in London. As a result, she is a holder of two masters’ degrees. Back in Japan, finishing the master’s degree in TESOL, Rui was assigned to a higher-level school and enrolled in the doctoral program in her alma mater, St. Ignatius University. She got married and now has two sons. Rui was in her mid-forties at the time I conducted this study. She has participated in this study for more than ten years.
Lena’s Profile

Lena has participated in this study since 2008. She has a strong conviction in education that education empowers us to change our lives significantly and is interested in explorative learning and teaching with classroom practices interacting with real-life ones. She has rich experience in teaching English not only to those students who speak other languages and to blind students in an ESL setting in her home country of the United States but also mainly to Japanese high school students in Japan and in 2011 to junior college students as a full-time faculty member.

Lena is polylingual. She was particularly interested in foreign accents and languages in her childhood. English is her mother tongue. Japanese is her strongest foreign language. She communicates in German, and uses French. Lena leads a large part of her professional life in Sumpu City along the Pacific coast in Japan. She came here as one of the first assistant language teachers in 1987. For the first two years, she team-taught English with many Japanese teachers of English in various types of high schools in the city. She was then employed by one of the most prestigious private high schools for girls, Mother Teresa. At mid-career, Lena enrolled in a master’s program of an American graduate school’s Japan campus in Tokyo. The program gave her different insights and great stimulation. After getting the degree, Lena went back to her home country and taught ESL students and computer literacy to ESL blind and deaf-blind students. Then she returned to Japan and taught in the same high school. In 2011 she began her employment in tertiary education at a junior college.
Dan’s Profile

Dan has participated in this study since 2009. He loves teaching and is always exploring teaching practices that lead learners to have a sense of accomplishment. Dan was born, raised, and now lives with his family in a port city, Suka in K Prefecture, where the American navy was stationed after World War II. In childhood, he got used to foreign accents and had private lessons of communicative English. These experiences might have led him to choose St. Ignatius University, which is famous for its foreign languages. Due to such a choice, he could improve his English on campus. In his senior year, he decided to become a tenured public high school teacher in his home prefecture.

In his younger days, his goal was to be the best English teacher in the prefecture and he pursued this goal. In mid-career, he was expected to enter into administration in the prefectural government and worked at the Education Center for six years although his official affiliation was Suka High School for the first three years. During this period, Dan volunteered to enroll in a master’s program in TESOL in an American graduate school here in Japan. As soon as he obtained the master’s degree, he was offered a tenured position in the public junior college of foreign languages. The junior college was scheduled to be reorganized into the re-training center of in-service teachers in three years. He moved on to the doctoral program in the same graduate school. Dan has keen interest in becoming a proficient L2 user for himself and having students become L2 users. His professional conviction as an English-language educator is that “the way of learning English will empower our students or us, teachers, in the future. There are parallels between the ways of acquiring language and of teachers’ acquiring teaching
skills” (Interview 2, March 18, 2010). In 2013, Dan was assigned to transfer to a new prefectural graduate-school-level teacher-training center in an English-language faculty. Now he is a Professor in the new teacher-training center and has assumed responsibility for English teacher education in the prefecture.

**Kyo’s Profile**

Kyo has been a participant since 2010. He is good at attracting audiences by using sports metaphors when he explains newly introduced ideas and methods. In his career he displays his tenacity of purpose. Since 2002, Kyo has worked as advisor for the largest testing company of English proficiency in Japan. Additionally he has written books and teaching materials for several publishers since 1990. He was a public high school teacher for 25 years till the age of 48.

Kyo was born, raised, and lives in Tokyo. In his primary and secondary education, he enjoyed his school life with his teachers and friends but he was not interested in English in particular, simply dreaming of becoming an English-language user and an athlete. Kyo enrolled in St. Ignatius University on the recommendation of the principal of his high school. Although he might have been one of the best students in high school, he did not get used to the English-speaking environment of St. Ignatius. He had difficulty keeping up with classes in his first year, though the school was initially very comfortable for him. Kyo had a fortunate encounter with Professor Y, who was young and friendly enough to attract students. Kyo asked him to be the advisor of a sports club he initiated. At that moment he could not imagine that this student-advisor relationship would develop
into a professional one in several years. Even more than three decades after graduation, he has kept contact with the university as an important member of the alma mater’s association of teachers of English that Professor Y and his professor founded.

After graduating from university, he became a public high school teacher for the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. In mid-career, the government assigned him to Australia for a year to teach Japanese language to Australians in various educational institutions such as primary schools, high schools, and evening classes for adults. This experience encouraged him to reconsider and reinvestigate how L1 acquisition affects L2 learning in order to have students become L2 users.

At the age of 48, Kyo transitioned from high school to a testing company. At the time I drafted this chapter, he was conducting research on the effect of the L1 on L2 acquisition in a foreign language setting, especially exploring what fills the gap bridging the beginning and intermediate proficiency levels. Kyo has dedicated his career to helping L2 learners who have no chance to be immersed in target-language environments become L2 users.

Akira’s Profile

Akira is the oldest of the eight teachers, as he was in his late 60s at the start of his participation. He participated in this study since 2010. He was born in Tama Prefecture three years before the end of World War II, so he had postwar education. During the war, learning a foreign language other than German was prohibited, as the language were considered enemy languages. Immediately after the war, enthusiasm for learning
European languages blossomed especially among the youth. However, most young people could learn English only through missionaries and radio programs because most adults had never acquired the language. Akira was no exception. He wished to use English at high school. In those days the intellectual levels of high school graduates were much higher than today, equivalent to those of present university graduates, because there were fewer universities and a far larger population of applicants; this situation made enrollment extremely competitive. After high school, Akira became a tenured national government employee and part-time university student in law. Additionally he had an opportunity to take an English class taught by Professor K. The class inspired Akira to become an English teacher.

After obtaining an English teacher’s license, Akira became a tenured public high school teacher, assigned to R High School, where he taught the students who worked in the daytime and studied at high school in the evening. In the daytime Akira studied to pass the state examination for the license in tourist guide interpretation in English to take Japanese tourists abroad. In the mid 1900s, Akira’s zeal for publication broke out. Since then, he has published textbooks and essays. He retired from public high school at the age of 60, but continued teaching part-time till 2007. Then, Akira enrolled in a master’s program in social and cultural studies in a Japanese university. With his master’s degree, Akira taught English and issues in general education in several colleges and universities part-time until completely retiring from education at the age of 70 in 2012.
Una’s Profile

 Una began to participate in this study in 2010; she is the youngest participant. She was in her late 30s when the study began. Her main interest is in students and pedagogy, and in having the students appreciate how enjoyable it is to make themselves understood in English and how pleasurable it is to learn foreign languages. Like Akira, Dan, and Kyo, she has mainly learned and taught English inside Japan; she is also a proficient L2 user. Una was born, raised, and lives in Tokyo. While enrolled in a top girls’ private high school, Sakura, she decided that she would claim her student identity by excelling in English in this competitive school. She was thus geared up to commit herself to learning English. She went on to Ume University, one of the best schools for applied linguistics and English education. Una had already learned SLA theories, methods, and practica as an undergraduate. The professors encouraged students to attend various academic conferences held in Japan. Una followed their advice.

 Soon after the graduation, Una was employed and given tenure by her alma mater, Sakura High School, in 1994. In 1997 a new principal came to the school; this prompted Una to engage in academic activities outside of school. Between 1998 and 2010 she organized a study group named Fresh/Refresh Teachers Club together with her husband to provide a space for both private and public school teachers to meet and share ideas by conducting workshops and making presentations. The study group met once or twice a month. Further, between 1999 and 2008, she was also invited once a year by her alma mater, Ume University, to give lectures to third-year students who would become student
teachers the following year. Furthermore, she continues to make presentations in Japan every year.

In Sakura High School, Una experienced a clash between her assigned and claimed identities over whether she would become a homeroom teacher or not. This situation made her so angry that she was about to leave the school, but she found that she could not compete in the English teacher market. To increase her market value, she attended in-service training workshops more often, looked for opportunities to study abroad, and eventually flew to New York to see a friend at Hudson University Graduate School. The question the friend asked of her, “Where and to whom do you want to teach English?” made her aware that she had chosen this teaching profession to teach English to Japanese students in Japan. The friend suggested that she attend Hudson’s branch campus in Japan. Soon after that, she enrolled in the master’s program in TESOL in Hudson University Japan Campus and graduated in 2005. In the same year Una began teaching in Otowa Junior High School, which is attached to a national university. In 2008, she became a lecturer at Ume University to teach practica in English education once a week while she is also teaching with tenure at Otowa. In her reflection, the clash between her assigned and claimed identities she went through at Sakura stemmed from the feeling that she had been denied an identity as a teacher. The school administration did not deny her teacher identity but they did not tell their views to her because they came from one of the tacit understandings within the school. This tacit consideration might have encouraged this good teacher to transfer to a junior high school attached to a national university of education.
Jutaro’s Profile

Jutaro was in his early forties when he joined this study in 2010. I already had a keen interest in his presentation at a 2009 JALT conference. The flyer from Una’s study group, Fresh/Refresh Teachers Club, drew my attention, so I attended Jutaro’s workshop and talked to him about my study and invited him to participate. Jutaro is a Japanese, tenured high school teacher at DK Boys’ High School. He also teaches part-time at Pauline University, a Japanese institution originally established by a missionary in Tokyo.

Jutaro was born in Tokyo and raised in Senyo Prefecture, now living back in Tokyo. It seems that the experiences he has had since junior high school have been integrated into this stage of his life. Jutaro is the type of person who is sure to undertake to do what he has determined to do and who takes exploratory actions based on the information he has obtained. He is candid and full of intellectual curiosity. His junior high school days might have determined what type of teacher he would become. Like ordinary junior high school students, Jutaro began learning English and listened to English language programs on the radio every day. Unlike them, he continues to study English every day even though he is already a competent English user. A Japanese TV series, School Wars, that he watched regularly as a junior high school student might have led him to a career in education. These two experiences might be integrated into his burning quest, that is, having students delve into the bottom of their heart through the medium of English and see themselves and their worlds differently. Jutaro mainly studied
science in high school, he majored in economics as a university student, and he was employed by a natural gas company after graduating.

When studying English, he listened to radio English programs at home; he also studied English in a language school for nine years before enrolling in the master’s program in TESOL at Hudson Graduate School, New York. He also studied for a few months after returning to Japan with the MA degree. Jutaro earned the MA degree in two years, the shortest period possible. For one year after that, he worked full-time teaching Hispanic immigrant students at the high school level in the same city. The following year he returned to Japan and enrolled for two years in a university in Miyako to obtain a teacher’s license that entitled him to teach in Japan. Back in Tama Prefecture close to Senyo Prefecture and Tokyo in 2000, Jutaro started teaching at a preparatory school and then taught part-time at a university for a year. Again returning to Tokyo in 2003, he obtained a tenured position at DK Boys’ High School and since 2008 he has also taught part-time at Pauline University.

**Leroy’s Profile**

Leroy belongs to the second generation of Japanese Americans, and was in his late 40s when he joined this study in 2010. He was born and raised in a family that appreciated the value of education. He is frank and likely to view situations using systematic reasoning. Before landing in Japan as an ALT in 1987, he had earned two master’s degrees in library science and history from a university in Los Angeles. Hence, from the onset he was motivated to do research in history. However, his motivation has
been enormously changed by life and career experiences. The experiences he had as an adjunct professor of English at a five-year college in engineering in Shinano awakened his desire to assume an educative role. In his words, the experience made him “human.”

While teaching there, he enrolled in the master’s program in TESOL of Hudson University Graduate School Japan Campus and commuted between Shinano and Tokyo every weekend for more than two years. After graduating from the graduate school, he enrolled in the PhD correspondence program in L. University in the United Kingdom. At the same time he was determined to look for a full-time or tenured position in a university that would judge him by what he was, not by his appearance. It took him about ten years to obtain a full-time position. Finally he was employed as a full-time teacher and in 2014 became a tenured associate professor.
CHAPTER 6
FINDINGS: JAPANESE EFL TEACHERS DEFINING AND REDEFINING THEMSELVES AS TEACHERS/RESEARCHERS

The findings are organized into three chapters. All the participants evolved by defining and redefining themselves over time: as Japanese EFL teachers/researchers (Kyo, Dan, Rui, and Una) in Chapter 6; as American ESL teachers/researchers in the EFL context (Leroy and Lena) in Chapter 7; and as EFL teachers/researchers as a choice later in life (Akira and Jutaro) in Chapter 8. In each chapter, the teachers' stories are arranged according to how long they have been in their professions, from the longest to shortest time.

The teachers defined themselves as English language teachers early on, and chose the teaching profession through imagination and learning experiences. They were faced with realities and turning points they had not imagined before becoming English teachers or before graduating from universities. The difficult realities made them try to make other choices but they decided to continue working in the field of English education in search of their own professional ways of developing by redefining themselves. It took almost their entire professional lifetime to redefine themselves professionally. This chapter is focused on the stories of the four Japanese EFL teachers, Kyo, Dan, Rui, and Una, and the numerous turning points and overlapping professional activities they came to be engaged in over time.
Kyo

Defining Kyo’s Teacher-Self

Kyo was a high-achiever in all subjects in junior and senior high school. He saw English as a core subject that students must study hard in order to prepare for university entrance examinations. As a sixth grader in primary school, his grandfather encouraged him to go to an English class near his house probably because English was a new subject that students would have to study in junior high school, but he was unwilling to go there as he explained:

Rather than out of pure curiosity, I had to study English because it was required for [university] entrance examinations. I thought I had to study it. So, it is hard to say that I had a pure interest in English in junior and senior high school. When I was a sixth grader, my grandpa told me to attend an English class, which happened to be held in an apartment house near my house. I remember the class was on Sundays. So, I was never willing to go there. In high school, I always gained 5 or 4 [A or B] for English in my academic records though I could neither talk in English nor use it at all. Now that I got such higher grades, I wished I could speak and use English. This wish would occur to anybody [should he or she have higher grades in any subject at school]. …As for me, it happened to be English. (Interview 1, March 2010)

In high school English was the only subject through which Kyo felt he could form a future vision, that is, becoming and remaining an L2 user throughout his life.

In those days, English teachers stood up against the storm of public criticism that they could not speak English. In the late 1970s and early 80s, I had a particular interest in becoming and staying an English user. (Interview 1, March 2010)
With this future vision, Kyo decided to major in English language at the foreign languages department at St. Ignatius University because classes were conducted in English by a large number of native-English-speaker faculty. Kyo was surprised at the common practice in which some students went abroad to study. He also found it difficult to keep up with classes. He had not developed his listening and speaking skills in high school. His classmates sometimes made fun of him as he explained in the excerpt below:

My friend said, “Hey you, the teacher called your name and told you to read this.” Actually, I was not called but just I was made fun of by this friend. I started to read it aloud. Other classmates must have been startled and they chuckled at me. The teacher said to me, “You may be seated.” I realized I was entrapped and felt deeply embarrassed. This kind of teasing continued. The guy who entrapped me was very good at English because he had lived in England on his father’s business. After class, I treated him to coffee and confirmed the day’s assignments with him. (Interview 1, March 2010)

In order to be emancipated from such teasing, Kyo used a self-study language product, Linguaphone, to improve his listening and speaking abilities. As a result, he soon passed the highest level of Japan’s STEP test. He also established rapport with other students and faculty by initiating a sports club. Despite these efforts, he still felt lonely when he saw off his friends at an international airport when they left to study overseas. Such experiences instigated Kyo to begin to explore ways to become an L2 user in the EFL context in Japan. In the fourth year at St. Ignatius, he had to hunt for a job after
graduation. He delved into himself to determine what job would suit him in the future. He found that he was not good at making money and that teaching would be the best for him. He then took three kinds of prefectural examinations for teachers and passed them all. He decided to become a full-time permanent public high school English teacher in Tokyo. Kyo defined himself as an English teacher who could help students become L2 users in the Japanese EFL context.

Kyo began his teaching career at KN Public High School in 1977. At that time high school applicants were increasing because Japan’s economic growth enabled parents to give higher education to their sons and daughters. New public high schools were being built everywhere in Japan. KN public high school was one of them. Kyo’s teaching career began in a school under noisy construction. One of the tacit understandings was that “In reality, junior high school teachers saw newly built senior high schools as institutions for their students who would not be accepted after junior high school” (Interview 1, March 2010) [中学校の先生にしてみると、高校に行き場のない生徒を入れるための、いい、一つのね、それが現実でした]. Kyo was aware of this tacit understanding as soon as he started teaching there. Almost every day behavioral problems occurred and the teachers held meetings to address the relevant issues: “these obligations to teachers had been unpredictable to me as a high school student” (Interview 1, March 2010) [つまり、まあ、見えなかった部分ですよね、自分が生徒の時はね]. In the classroom, there were many students who could not stay in their chair during the lesson. Among those students, however, Kyo identified some who tried to work hard in English class. He made every effort to motivate them by using supplementary materials he made especially for them.
With the wisdom of hindsight, his five-year period in this high school was the most difficult time in his career but it enabled him later to explore his professional trajectories meaningfully.

Facing the unexpected realities of this newly established public high school, Kyo struggled within himself. He consulted about his own career with his professor in his alma mater. He considered how this consultation could work in his situation, put the ideas into practice, and he volunteered to become one of the founding members of a follow-up program for the graduates in his alma mater who chose to become English teachers. Kyo was situated in five different overlapping professional activities, including his three main teaching responsibilities: homeroom teacher, subject-matter expert, and student-behavioral guidance.

First, Kyo’s professional identity was beginning to meet, interact, and negotiate with an internal personal identity, a change that he described in Interview 1, March 2010. On one hand, he tried to persuade himself (Interview 1, March 2010): “In the beginning, my life as a teacher went that way” [最初は、こんなものなのか？]. He added, “I shouldn’t expect too much. Some teachers are assigned to part-time schools and others to more difficult schools” [定時制へ行ったりね、もっと大変な学校へ行く先生もいる…贅沢言うちゃいけない]. On the other hand, he kept asking himself, “Am I all right with what I am now? I feel like withering every day” [俺、このままでいいのか？毎日自分は枯れていくかどうか]. These psychological struggles continued even as he devised teaching materials for difficult students.
Second, Kyo went to his professor at his alma mater to consult with him about his career. The professor suggested that Kyo should continue to teach in the same school until his periodic teacher relocation was announced; if he still thought in the same way after he was transferred, it would not be too late to change jobs though he might be a little older. He followed the professor’s suggestion.

As part of a third type of professional activity, the consultation with the professor reminded Kyo of two determinations he had been clinging to since becoming a teacher. One was staying and demonstrating that he was an active English user inside and outside of school. The other was becoming what he called “a lesson professional,” or a professional practitioner in teaching English. These two determinations were derived from the public criticism against Japanese teachers of English between the late 1970s and the early 1980s, namely: “The tendency toward which Japanese teachers of English teach English even though they can’t use English.” (Interview 1, March 2010) [英語が使えない教員に習っているという風潮]. Against this tendency, Kyo was determined to stay as an English-language user and practitioner as long as possible, but he did not intend to study in graduate school or to become a scholar at a tertiary level institution.

In a fourth activity, to put the two determinations into practice, Kyo planned to obtain three qualifications and keep contact with his alumni association for English teachers in his alma mater. He began investing time, effort, and money into becoming qualified as a translator, an interpreter, and a teacher of Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) and/or Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL). Kyo obtained all those qualifications.
As part of a fifth important professional activity, in St. Ignatius University, Kyo volunteered to help with homestay programs and to become one of the founding members of the follow-up program for the graduates who chose to become English teachers. This English-teacher support program was initiated by Father N, in conjunction with Kyo’s professor.

In 1982, Kyo was transferred to M Public High School, the top school in the same school district, due to his tenacious efforts in his teaching difficult students, improving his expertise, and associating with people inside and outside the school. Students in M High School “were bright and bratty or smartalecky in a sense. They were challenging me in a way different from those in the previous high school” (Interview 1, March 2010) [頭が、ある意味で、よくて、こまっしゃくれたというかね。…違った意味で試されているな、って]. He felt more strongly that he should prepare well enough to be able to respond to their challenges. This transition was not a voluntary “IST” because of the ways Japanese public schools are organized, but he was assigned to an academic high school. He was able to “unearth” new abilities, interest and aspiration, thereby expanding his “selfhood” (Ben-Peretz, 2002).

**Redefining Kyo’s Teacher-Self**

Kyo was beginning to turn his eyes to work outside of school. He analyzed the educational administration based on his observations, he participated in two kinds of short-term study in the United States, he had a one-year official assignment in which he taught JSL in Australia, and he published his first book. Besides his main teaching and
homeroom responsibilities, Kyo was situated in four overlapping professional activities during this period.

First, in addition to English education in the high school, Kyo was still wondering whether he could stay as an active L2 user. To prepare for the worst, Kyo started to keep contact with those outside school who were from the Society for Testing English Proficiency (STEP) and a personnel placement agency. He registered his name with the agency and taught English to the employees. The testing company asked him to become an interview examiner for speaking tests, which was the beginning of his relationship with STEP. His regular contacts with them turned out to help him later in his career.

Second, around the fifth year in M high school, that is, about the tenth year after becoming a high school teacher, Kyo paid more attention to educational administration and the teachers in the administrative positions than to how he continued to stay as an active user of English. He was beginning to be aware that the teachers in administrative positions mentioned many facts or opinions that were not necessarily relevant. That was why their utterances were unclear to ordinary teachers. In this second type of professional activity, Kyo analyzed how the discursive treatments occurred. In teachers’ meetings those in the administrative position gave official reports to the ordinary teachers using an administrative person’s tone of voice. However, they actually wanted to add to their speeches something hidden within themselves, such as their personal opinions and feelings about the issues, their own professional and life experiences, and contested feelings from the middle-management standpoint. Thus, their speeches tended to be very vague with much implied and much left unsaid. Upon these observations and analyses,
Kyo concluded that he was no longer attracted to such an administrative position. The thread running through his arguments over Japan’s educational administration, military, and bureaucracy, the latter two of which Kyo referred to in the story of Cawra in Australia, was the theme of tacit understandings that drove its people into radical actions due to insufficient information.

As a third activity, in the mid 1980s, Kyo wanted to leave the current situation intact for a while and study outside of Japan: “About ten years passed. Probably in the mid-80s, I wished I could have left from school for a while if I had a block of time” (Interview 1, March 2010) [10年ぐらいだったときかな、80年代半ば、少しまとまった時間を、現場から離れたいという思いがあったんです].

In the summers of 1985 and 1986, which were the years before the JET (1987) and ALT (in 1986) programs started in Japan officially, Kyo obtained the scholarships that enabled him to study in UCLA and UC I ESL Extensions in the United States, for which he won essay writing competitions hosted by a journal company that encouraged their readers to study abroad. At that time, aspirants older than 32 who wanted to study abroad during the school year were not entitled to leave school for any reason except for a program officially planned by the Board of Education. However, he had no intention to use any study-abroad program officially endowed by the Board of Education, as he wanted to keep some distance from them. He understood that participation in the official study abroad program was a prerequisite to becoming a member of the Board of Education.
Fourth, more exciting for Kyo was the time around 1988 when he received a leaflet from the metropolitan Board of Education regarding a one-year teacher exchange program between Japan and Australia on a one-on-one basis. In the program, one Japanese teacher of English taught Japanese in Australia as an assistant language teacher (ALT) whereas one Australian teacher taught English as an ALT in Japan. Kyo thought that the program was perfectly to suit to him. Soon he filed the application not only because he would be able to make the best use of his qualification of JSL/JFL teaching, but also because officially he would be able to take a one-year leave from school. While waiting for the result, he felt a bad outcome was looming upon him because he did not negotiate politically with anyone on the board. However, luckily his application was accepted; he expressed his joy like this: “I felt as if I won the first prize in a lottery. A blessing! I appreciated it” (Interview 1, March 2010) [これは本当に宝くじでした。ありがたい、感謝しています。].

Although this program should have been on a one-on-one basis, in that year Japan dispatched two teachers to Australia and one Australian teacher was sent to Japan. Kyo surmised that there must have been a sort of prearrangement with the other Japanese teacher before the recruiting announcement was made public. The board must not have imagined that an English teacher who was qualified as a JSL/JFL teacher would apply to that exchange program. In fact, Kyo did not see the other teacher in Australia or know what the teacher was doing. There must have been tacit situated practice between the teacher concerned and the board. On the side of the administration, the Kyo’s case was exceptional, as described below:
[My case] could be a rare one. Probably they [the board] had not yet chosen any [English] teachers who completed Japanese language teacher training courses. I thought there were very few English teachers with such training. (Interview 1, March 2010)

ひょっとすると、今まであんまりないヤツだった。日本語教員養成コースをちゃんとやって、そういう訓練を受けて送ったことはたぶんなかったんでしょう。そういう先生も少なかったんでしょう。

In Australia, Kyo put his JSL/JFL training curriculum into practice to teach various levels of students in various educational settings including adults in Cawra in South Wales (his base teaching place), and other places. The Australian Ministry of Education also invited him to teach various levels of students including those in tertiary education in Sydney.

In Cawra, people seemed to enjoy a peaceful country life when he arrived there.

Another aspect of Kyo’s life in Cawra reminded him of the Australian movie Cawra Break or the book he had read. There was a huge and beautifully arranged graveyard constructed for Japanese prisoners of war by the Australian government. On each tomb the names of all the Japanese POWs of World War II were engraved, but they were all pseudonyms. Nobody knew their real names. Kyo visited each of them.

The Japanese POWs committed a suicidal mutiny with knives and forks in the Cawra camp. Their purpose was to get themselves killed by the Australian army, in accordance with the wartime education they had received in Japan. They were driven by the axiom: 「生きて虜囚の辱めを受けていけない」“not to be humiliated by staying alive in prison” (Interview 1, March 2010). The axiom was taught at school and in the military. This phrase was derived from a samurai code. Samurai interpreted the phrase to mean that being caught was a disgrace that required them to kill themselves and not disclose their real names to their surviving family members.
When Kyo returned to Japan in 1990, he became involved in two professional activities besides teaching. On one hand he was beginning to ask clarifying questions at teachers’ meetings when situated requirements diverged from educational practices at school. He saw the divergence requiring tacit understandings. Such requirements are still alive in many institutions. Although he did not expect anything of the administration and Board of Education, he continued to voice his ideas at teachers’ meetings. On the other hand, Kyo started work on publications in the same year. He published two co-authored textbooks in Japanese, *Body English* and a book on listening. Kyo concluded that he had spent a happy professional life for nearly ten years (1982-1991). At the same time, his interest and main job were slowly shifting toward English-language research, proficiency, testing, and publications outside school.

Kyo was assigned to his third school, K Public High School in 1991, a year before their reform plan had become feasible. In 1992, the number of students increased and behavioral problems decreased. Eventually, he spent a rather peaceful life in the school. He observed and gave voice to another kind of tacit situated practice in school administration. Those in administrative positions requested that ordinary teachers do more jobs but they did not give them specific information necessary to succeed in the jobs. Kyo often asked the administrators to show teachers the necessary steps to succeed and how the administration planned to support ordinary teachers’ efforts to accomplish the tasks. The teachers in administrative positions replied, “We don’t have such a [plan], nothing in particular.” (Interview 1, March 2010) [そういった、特にない]. As a result of this experience, he identified the huge divergence between the purpose and the
feasibility of a plan. Eventually such a plan fails as a natural consequence. Kyo had witnessed no positive change at all in the educational administration since WWII.

In this way, his professional identity situated in English-language education was diverging from the one in public high school. In parallel, another professional identity of his began converging on developing English proficiency testing and publishing.

In addition to professional activities at school, Kyo engaged in two other overlapping professional activities to maintain his status as an English user, publishing advising at STEP. He published three authored and co-authored reading material books for high school students and edited two high school oral communication textbooks authorized by the Ministry of Education. STEP commissioned him to be an external member of the group that made their English proficiency tests.

In parallel to his full-time permanent professional activities at the high school, Kyo was becoming part of STEP. Kyo had kept in contact with the organization as an oral test examiner since the early or middle 1980s. During this time, he had been aware of the huge gap between Grades 3 (easier) and 2 (more difficult). As an English high teacher and a STEP examiner, Kyo had been analyzing the gap and studying how to fill the gap. On the other hand, STEP regularly sent marketing persons to every junior and senior high school to get feedback on their test from English teachers.

One day, a marketing person from STEP visited Kyo in K High School and introduced the topic of the huge gap between Grades 3 and 2. It was what he had long studied. The person asked Kyo the following: “There is something like a very high wall between Grades 3 and 2. Do you think we need one more grade between the two?”
Kyo replied, “Yes. It’s a good idea” (Interview 1, March 2010) [いいですね]. Then the person asked Kyo again, “Do you have any ideas?” (Interview 1, March 2010)[どんな風に？]. Kyo told the person about the plan that had been maturing in his mind for a long time. The person was astonished at Kyo’s carefully polished plan, took notes, promised to contact Kyo again, and left the school. After a while, the STEP office called and asked him whether or not he could come to the office and talk more about his elaborate plan. In the office Kyo made a suggestion:

I talked with those in the STEP office as follows. Then, our partnership deepened. “In 1990s [the focus of English education in Japan has been] shifting onto communicative language teaching. If you use something [communicative], on your test you can reflect what and how teachers are actually teaching in the classroom, which leads to washback. … In speaking, you should prepare the tasks that combine display and referential questions, I think. However, you should be careful: referential questions tend to deviate from what you have expected test takers to respond to. To avoid such deviation, you should make clear criteria for evaluation. By doing so, you will be able to minimize the deviation.” (Interview 1, March 2010)

Finally the new pre-second grade test was introduced. Kyo found that they used his comment on part of the speaking test:

Uh-uh, that was what I had suggested. Of course, they must have had that sort of idea inside the office. But most of the ideas that appeared in that [new pre-second grade test] corresponded to what I had suggested. … In this way, their partnership with me has deepened. (Interview 1, March 2010)
う～ん、あれは僕の出した、当然ね、向こうも考えていましたよ、けど、あそこに出したアイディアのほとんどの、私が出したものと合致しますね。…そんな具合で関わりが深くなりました。

In 1996 Kyo was assigned to the fourth public high school A, which was newly established and focused on English education. The government continued to trickle new educational policies down to boards of education without suggesting any specific means for their implementation, then the boards passed down policies to every school in the region, with teachers in the administrative position trickling those policies to every teacher. Nothing had changed in school administration. Kyo was thoroughly disgusted with such administrative routines or vicious circles in which policies were rarely implemented.

Meanwhile, Kyo kept working on publications. He published two authored and coauthored readings for high school students; two authored books on English grammar and on English expressions; one authorized textbook; and one English-Japanese and Japanese-English dictionary for high school students with other editorial committee members. Also in this period, STEP asked Kyo to become a member of their visiting-lecturer institution, Koushi Haken Seido, in which STEP sent one of the members as a lecturer at the request of English language and teaching associations. Kyo accepted their offer and registered as a member in the institution.

Then in 1998, the top in the management requested that Kyo work together with them. He appreciated their request and was willing to accept it. However, he requested that STEP wait for his employment plan until the students in his homeroom class
graduated from high school. From then on, every year STEP asked him, “Are you ready to move this year?”

Since 1998 Kyo kept asking himself whether or not it was good timing to transfer from his secure position as a Tokyo government employee to a nongovernmental one and calculated his lifelong income. He did not want a tenured position because he needed a substantial amount of time for writing each week. If he became tenured, he would invest almost all his time in the company work. He wanted to set one day aside for publication work. For these conditions, he would have to renew his employment contract every year. Taking all these considerations into account, he decided to transfer to STEP and redefined himself as a production advisor at the age of 48 in 2002. In 2010 when the interview for this research began with Kyo, I surmised that he had been already engaged in research for the first Japan-made English proficiency tests for academic purposes he initiated. In 2014 the test was used throughout Japan.

**Dan**

As I learned from my contacts with him, Dan is a type of person who negotiates problems in various ways to find a solution by reflecting on himself, analyzing and making the best use of situations, and narrowing down the problems. He wished to achieve two visions in the process of defining himself as an English teacher. One was leading a happy life with his students by teaching English, and the other was pursuing how to acquire skills to improve English language competency. These two visions were sometimes vying with each other in his career in English education as he was growing
older. He might have nurtured the first vision during the time he spent in senior high school and at university. The second vision might have stemmed from two opposing forces pulled by two kinds of learning experiences: those experiences he had as a schoolchild and an undergraduate as well as those he had in his junior and senior high school days.

**Defining Dan’s Teacher-Self**

Dan’s earliest turning point was his first encounter with the English language when he was a third-grade schoolchild in his hometown, Suka City, in eastern Japan. In the late 1960s Japan was beginning to emerge from postwar poverty and to look outside the country due to the success of the Tokyo Olympics. One day Dan became interested in an advertising leaflet one of his parents showed him. The leaflet was about a new private English conversation school. As a result of his interest, he attended the school until he finished his primary school education. The classes were team-taught to several same-aged students by a female Japanese teacher and an native English speaker. The classes and seasonal events the school held for the students fascinated him a great deal. He learned English by listening. He described the excitement of his first encounter with English as follows:

[I went there] once a week. [The class size consisted of] five or six students. [We were] team taught, surprisingly in Showa 30s or 40s [between 1955 and 1974], by a Japanese woman teacher named S. Sensei. Oh, I remember her name. And by a foreign teacher whose name I did not recall because foreign teachers were changeable because [we were able to employ foreign teachers because Port City was a garrison town] of the U.S. Navy. Um, I don’t remember what was taught to us, but I sang a lot such as “Jingle Bells.” [We sang] “Dashin’ through the snow”
and “Twinkle, twinkle” without knowing the meanings. In this way I must have learned how to pronounce [English words]. One of my sweet memories was a Christmas party when I sat next to a blonde girl, with my heart pounding. [We also enjoyed] magic shows during the time when the life of Japanese people was rather poor. It was astonishing to see a walking cane suddenly turning into an umbrella. 

(Interview 1, November 2009)

週一なんですけど、5, 6 人ぐらいで、相手は、日本人の先生と、当時 port city ですから、米軍もありましたから、日本人の先生と、志村先生っていう女の先生、まだ名前だけ憶えているんですよ。外国人の先生の方は、名前は全然覚えていないですけど。何回か変わりましたね、外国人の先生は。お二人で team-teaching なんですよ。当時、昭和 30 年代ですよ。40 年ぐらいかな、う～ん。やっていたことは、あまり覚えていないんですよ。歌を歌ったりね。Jingle Bell を歌ってましたね。Dashin’ through the snow とかって、やるわけですよ。でも、それが何の意味か全然分からないんですよ。Twinkle, twinkle とかって。発音はそういう時に学んだのかなって思う。懐かしい思い出、クリスマス会に言ったりね。初めてその、女の子の、金髪の女の子の隣に座って、ドキドキ。当時、magic show なんていうものね、あんな貧乏な時代にね。そういうのを見せてもらって、びっくりしましたね。ステッキが急に傘になったりね。

Because of his experiences in this conversation school, Dan did not have any difficulties in English classes in junior high school. At the same time, he was beginning to question how to teach English, that is, if teachers had taught students the language differently, they could have made themselves understood in English. He discussed this idea in the second interview in March 2010:

When I was a junior and senior high school as well as a university student, I kept asking myself: Eh? Why didn’t they teach English a little more differently? If they had done so, I might have become a better speaker of English.

For example, Dan was dissatisfied with the way English pronunciation was taught in junior high school. To fill the niche, he asked his parents to buy phono sheets, a sort of plastic phonographic disc, in which native English speakers read each lesson in junior high school English textbooks. It was a good material for him to learn native-like English
pronunciation. To accommodate the learning situation at junior high school, he went to a small cram school for three years. He was taught to read phonetic symbols, translate Japanese into English, and analyze English sentences grammatically in the cram school. His attendance at the cram school enabled him to go on to Y high school, a top school in the city.

Dan enjoyed the high school, an experience that would later influence his choice to enter the teaching profession. He showed interest in other subjects, participated in sport club activities, and socialized with other students. On the other hand, several trial examinations helped him confirm that his strongest subject was English. Additionally, he watched the teachers look happy while teaching and paid special attention to how individual teachers behaved in class as a person and teacher. He dreamed that he would be able to lead this kind of life in the future. He described one of the most impressive teachers:

One person [whom I would like to mention] … That teacher taught us comparative culture, if I remember correctly. He came in the classroom casually with the textbook rolled in his hand without any notes, but he taught us for a period, 70 minutes. In those days one period was 70 minutes in high school. While teaching, he wrote a lot on the blackboard, er-r-r, swiftly, whatever he got into his head, which was not written in the textbook. At the end of class, he made sure with us who was absent, and went away. He had a clear grasp of the attendance during the lesson. Yeah, he was excellent and stylish… Even now I cannot catch up with him. I cannot conduct such teaching as he did, teaching without any textbooks. On top of that, he had been a French major [as an undergraduate]. I wondered what type of person he used to be. There used to be an International Division on I-campus of St. Ignatius. I hear he had been enrolled there. That means that he must have been an excellent English-language user. That encounter with him may have been enormous to me. (Interview 1, November 2009)
Thus, Dan’s high school life was highly suggestive of his future major in the university and career choice.

After high school, Dan enrolled in St. Ignatius University and became an English language major. His campus life enormously changed his perspectives on what English language proficiency is and what teachers look like. English was used as a second language in the university classes. Dan, however, had studied English in a foreign language context throughout his primary and secondary school education. At that time he was considered an excellent student in English class. In terms of language use, not until Dan was placed in the lowest-level class of English proficiency in the first year at St. Ignatius, did he realize the big difference between a second language and a foreign language. To accommodate this situation, he was motivated to get to the highest level of Japan’s Standardized Test of English Proficiency (STEP) and succeeded in doing this. At the same time, Dan began to have doubts about what and how he had been taught in English classes in junior and senior high school, which he explained as follows:

Since I was enrolled in that university, I thought there must be more information about language use. My English grammar was corrected in many ways. My native teachers of English said, “We don’t use English in such a way,” and corrected my written English. In speaking, the English we had learned “on the desk” [which I surmise “in a context-free situation”] didn’t work so much in discussion and conversation, did it? These undeniable facts made me ask myself, “What was that English education? What was the meaning of all the English education given by
junior and senior high schools?” So, since I became a teacher, I have invested all my energy into teaching English far beyond what and how I had been taught in my secondary education. I have never taught now as I had been taught in my adolescence. This is because the way of teaching I had in my junior and senior high school days did not enable me to talk and speak in English. [Instead of being discouraged, I had something to make up for this context-free English teaching.] [I recalled what I had done instead, that is,] I have been trying the opposite. [After becoming an English teacher] I have kept trying the opposite and then decide what and how to teach [today]. (Interview 2, March 2010)

At St. Ignatius, Dan was surprised at two ways in which his university teachers differed from his high school teachers. First, they came to class before the scheduled time and waited for the students to arrive. In high school students had waited for the teacher to arrive. Second, a hospitalized teacher returned his English composition that he had commented on while in the hospital. These dedicated teachers impressed him a great deal. What made him decide ultimately to become a teacher was the life of Father N, Department Chair, at St. Ignatius. He might have been one of Dan’s role models. Dan observed that Father N led a peaceful life and had an unassertive personality, always surrounded by students. Dan wished he could lead such a life. Father N once told him, “Teachers were poor but it was a good job, if I remembered correctly” (Interview 1, November 2009).
First and foremost, Dan wanted to become a high school English teacher after graduation, so in his senior year he first took examinations for public high school teachers in the prefecture where he lived. What was annoying to the applicants in these kinds of examinations was that it normally took several months for them to see the results, during which other job-hunting opportunities had come to an end. If he failed the examinations for public high school teachers, he needed to take part in the job-hunting race during this waiting period so as not to lose the opportunity to get a tenured or full-time position. Dan started to look for the kind of non-teaching job that would best suit him. He took an examination for a newspaper company, visited a graduate at a trading company, and was about to be employed by a pharmaceutical company, but then the acceptance letter came from the prefectural Board of Education. He turned down the offer from the pharmaceutical company and decided to become a public school English teacher. Dan defined himself as a permanent full-time high school English teacher who would keep trying as many new approaches as possible. In this period, he kept displaying what type of English teacher he was and was not and what he wanted to do, since becoming a public high school English teacher. His story is highly suggestive of the way the prefectural Board of Education had kept attention on him as a high school teacher.

In 1984, Dan was first assigned to H High School, which was newly built. New schools tended to become difficult ones in general, and H High School fit this pattern. Novice teachers are generally assigned to difficult public schools in Japan, and Dan was no exception. Dan described the way he was employed by H High School in the first interview in November, 2009:
Hmm, I wonder whether or not I was headhunted, however… If that is the case, it might have happened since I was young. I was first assigned to H High School. The principal had happened to be an interview examiner for employment when I took the test….So, I might say he pulled me up or employed me. He was an English teacher as well…actually he supported me (at school). So, … when I was in the teachers’ room, he walked toward me with a note in his hand and asked me what this English meant in Japanese. It might have annoyed the other teachers but he treated me well in many ways.

Public high school candidates who pass written examinations are entitled to take interview tests given by principals. The interview is an opportunity for the principals to select good teachers for their high schools. Based on his own learning experience, Dan believed that learning English was a lot of fun and he wanted to pass this excitement on to his students, an idea he expressed as follows: At any rate, learning English is a lot of fun. I feel like: Let’s play together in English. Isn’t it a lot of fun? [とにかく、英語って楽しいから、自分でやってて、楽しいし、皆一緒に遊ぼう、みたいな感じ。楽しいでしょ。] (Interview 1, November 2009).

In fact, the students did not like learning in general. For the first three years, Dan made desperate efforts to attract the students’ attention in constantly noisy classes by devising learning activities that would interest his students in English and allow them to feel that studying English was fun. In addition to subject-matter guidance, he had a
difficult time managing students in behavioral guidance. Some students were violent and some smoked cigarettes.

This starting point showed that Dan was a highly ambitious person in that he tended to look upward and make strategically tenacious efforts to achieve his goals. Facing the reality at school on daily basis, however, Dan could not use the imagined teachers’ world he had drawn on when an undergraduate. Rather, consciously and subconsciously he negotiated between himself and the classroom reality by asking himself what type of teacher he wanted to become. At this point, the gap between the reality and his wishes spurred Dan to take the Interpretation Guide Examination, a national qualification he passed, but he ended up not using. His wife, who was also an English teacher in the same school, had stopped him from using this qualification because she believed that interpretation guides generally had unstable incomes. He therefore continued to teach in the same school for three years. However, he “had to file an application for a job relocation because he was married to a co-teacher.”

Hence, by following a working regulation in this prefectural Board of Education, Dan was able to apply for a transfer: “As I was married to a co-teacher, it was I who had to file the application to the office” (Email communication, December 2013) [職場結婚をしたので、私が出なければなりませんでした]. Thus, Dan realized and then demonstrated that his professional disposition was suitable to academic guidance.

In 1987, Dan was then transferred to the second school, S High School, a little quieter than H High School. Dan spent five years in S High School, where his teaching got off to a favorable start. In the late 1980s, the nation-wide team-teaching project with
native English speakers had just begun. Dan’s English language competence was brought into play in English education in the prefecture. He was engaged in various professional activities as an English teacher inside and outside school, to which the Board of Education kept paying attention.

The highlights at this stage of Dan’s career were his involvement in *Eigo Bukai* (i.e., a prefectural association for English language teachers) and in competing over conducting better English lessons and gaining more popularity from students with a friendly rival at school. *Eigo Bukai* disseminated practice lessons throughout the prefecture. Dan also presented his first practice lesson in the prefecture and in 1988 for the first time wrote a co-authored book in Japanese on English conversation with ALTs. He surmised that his contribution to *Eigo Bukai* might be retained in the memory of those who were involved in the prefectural Board of Education as follows:

At that time I participated in activities of *Eigo Bukai*. It was quite popular among English teachers to observe practice lessons. *Eigo Bukai* promoted this tendency. I showed my practice lesson once. My name appeared everywhere once I presented my practice lessons. So, the name spread out over the prefecture, “Oh, that’s Dan-san, isn’t it?” It might have happened that people from the Board of Education might have remembered my name, “Dan, isn’t it? That’s Dan, again!” Besides that, I had friendly rivalry with an English teacher of the same age at school. He was very popular among students and even in class. So, [in every demonstration lesson, he made tenacious efforts,] “I put pressure upon myself, talking to myself, “I should become No. 1.” But in the world many teachers conduct far better lessons than I do, don’t they? It was stimulating to work with him. It was also encouraging that I was determined to conduct better lessons than he. (Interview 1, November, 2009)
Both his stimulating professional life and peaceful marriage life boosted his English-language competence and teaching ability inside and outside the school. Dan displayed his ability as a practitioner of English language education.

In 1992, in the fifth year, Dan was assigned to Suka High School, his alma mater. In public schools in Japan, voluntary inter-school transition (IST) (Ben-Peretz, 2002) is not allowed and the prefectural or municipal Board of Education has the right of inter-school transition. Dan’s transition to the top high school in the region was not done voluntarily; it was an assigned inter-school transition. However, he felt honored because it was the top high school and his alma mater. In fact, he was able to expand his “selfhood,” which led to the transition to the Board of Education later.

This assignment was a stunning and dreamlike event for Dan. With the wisdom of hindsight, he said, “This transfer must have been made by someone who had known I used to be a graduate of Suka High School and who had made a suggestion to the principal, and in turn the principal contacted the Board of Education” (Email communication, December, 2013).おそらくは、私がSuka高校の卒業生と知るかどうか、当時の校長に推薦し、教育委員会と連絡をとったものと思います。

Dan was afraid that it would turn out to be too ambitious a plan in terms of his current abilities and insight into the English language. He did not think that he would be able to compete with the teachers who had taught him in high school. All he could do was
prepare thoroughly in order to cope with this difficult situation. To do so, he became strategic. At that time, he and his wife had a baby, so they could not use their time as they planned to. He “made it a rule to wake and sit up at three in the morning to prepare for classes: ”[[朝 3 時ぐらいに起きてね、授業準備をしていたよ。] (Interview 1, November, 2009). In this situation, not only did he choose “ad hoc” strategies to study linguistics, language usage, and phraseology (Interview 1, November, 2009) but he also said, “I made thorough preparation for lessons. I never gave up any questions I had in mind. I studied hard till I could figure it out. However, when some were kept in mind, I solved them with native speakers of English” (Email communication, December, 2013).

「特に文法語法で少しでも納得いかない部分は調べました。それでもだめなら、ネイティブに聞いてみました。」 He reflected on his professional life, saying “In those days I made desperate efforts to catch up with [the other teachers and difficult situations]” 「当時は必死だった。ついていくのに。」 (Interview 1, November, 2009).

In addition the family was very important to Dan and his wife. He decided to leave Eigo Bukai and concentrate on teaching, preparation at work, and his family. He felt happy in such a life.

**Redefining Dan’s Teacher-Self**

As soon as he became 40 years old, Dan had a call about a teacher study abroad program from the Prefectural Education Center at the Board of Education. This call was a sign that he was one of the candidates eligible for this program in the view of the board. Dan explained the recruiting process:
This type of call was made suddenly by the principal. Before making a decision of candidate members, the board does interview research about the candidates with those who are trustworthy. They select candidates, study their personal and professional histories, fix an order of priority, contact them from the first priority, and confirms them their decisions (some candidates turn down the offer due to their families). That is the decision-making process. (Email communication, December, 2013)

The Center sent Dan and six other teachers to a university in New Orleans to study in an intensive ESL course for two months. One purpose for the study abroad program was: “Such a teacher study abroad program is hosted by Ministry of Education for the purposes of having the teachers experience the life in English as a first language context as well as giving opportunities to share their experiences with the leaders sent from the other prefectures” (Email communication, December, 2013). At this point Dan redefined himself as a practitioner of English language education in secondary education. With his high English language proficiency and negotiability with those related to the Board of Education, he kept showing his English teacher identity as a practitioner in every aspect of teaching in the prefecture. Ultimately his work attracted the attention of the Board of Education.

Up until now, I have explained how Dan tended to follow his school administration and the policies of the Board of Education. Now, however, we will see how he began to analyze the situation where he was assigned and how he implicitly and explicitly asserted his own positionality through action in the world of English education within the
In the following stories, he redefines himself as an English teacher and researcher.

In April 2001, Dan was appointed as one of the education experts, *kyoiku-senmon-in*, in what was called The Center in the prefectural Board of Education. He began to assert his professional identity. Dan contested and negotiated his projected self with his ought-to self—the self he felt others expected him to become. Finally he contrived to produce an originally feasible plan to survive in the Center. It had just begun to be reorganized into a decision-making organization instead of the previous research and in-service advising organization for administrative teachers such as *soukatsu-kyoyu*, *Kyotou*, and *fuku-koucho*. Such administrative changes were unknown to the public at that time.

“On that very first day of appointment” (Interview 1, November 2009) [すぐにその日に], Dan sensed that such a top-down management never suited him. Soon he reflected on himself, and concluded, “after all, the only thing I can do is survive as an English teacher” [自分はやっぱり、英語の教員として生きていくしかないんだな] (Interview 1, November 2009). In order to survive in the Center, he mapped out a strategy that he should be first and foremost armed with scholarly attainment, write documents quickly, and talk eloquently. He believed that this strategy would differentiate him from others in the Center. Dan put it into practice in the four-year period between 2003 and 2007.

In this period, four professional events overlapped, each one helping Dan redefine himself. First, he enrolled in the master’s program in TESOL in an American graduate school, Philadelphia University Japan Campus in 2003. Second, he became a study supervisor for English teachers at the Center in 2004. Third he was appointed as lecturer
in the prefectural junior college for foreign languages in April 2007. Fourth, he obtained the MA degree in TESOL in June of the same year.

Two kinds of professional and learning events were going on simultaneously in his daily life for the four years. During weekdays, he worked for the Center Mondays through Fridays as if he were an ordinary prefectural employee. Especially on the day when a prefectural assembly was held, Dan had to attend it on standby in case any assembly person asked questions about teacher education. No mistakes were allowed in his replies. On Friday evenings and Saturday late afternoons and evenings, he attended the master’s program. On Sundays he had to wrap up everything he had done or left undone for the week.

While negotiating with institutional discourses in the Center, Dan realized that he could not stay as part of the Board of Education, so he looked for where he might belong on his own: “Oh, no. No longer would I find myself here” [もうだめだと、もうここは、私のいる場所ではない] (Interview 1, November 2009). After a while, he got the news that the prefectural junior college was looking for faculty: “I didn’t know the news but happened to get it, really! I happened to know that the vice president [of the junior college], who used to be principal at Suka high school, came here [to my office]” [このことは全然知らなかった。たまたまですね。本当に。ココで、副校長っていう方が、Y高校の元校長だったの!] (Interview 1, November 2009). The vice president said, “We need you for our new organization” [新組織のために必要だから] (Interview 1, November 2009). In fact, the Board of Education planned to close the junior college and transform it into a teacher education center in a different location in the prefecture. Dan
concluded this transition explaining that “… [among the applicants who applied for the public recruitment] there were those who were researchers for tertiary educational institutions. It was difficult even for them to obtain the [tenured] position here. So, I should continue to commit myself to [English education] here for them”. (Interview 1, November 2009)

Although Dan was sympathetic with those who failed in the recruitment, he also even fought for his professional identity over the position of lecturer. His professional identity existed in teaching, more specifically, how to have students learn English and how their individual learning would empower them for their later lives. This teaching applied not only to students but also to English teachers. In his words,

Now I am interested in how to teach. It reminds me now of the key word empowerment. I am interested in the way we can enrich our lives by learning something. More specifically the way of learning English will empower our students or us, teachers, in the future. There are parallels between the ways of acquiring language and of teachers’ acquiring teaching skills, I think. (Interview 1, November 2009)

Between 1988 and 2004, Dan was highly productive in writing, making oral presentations, and producing teaching materials, which included not only two authored and co-authored monographs written in English, but also in Japanese 10 co-authored monographs, books,
a dictionary, teaching materials, and oral presentations. At the Center, he wrote a report on educational reforms in Japanese and two essays on syllabus design and one on discourse community in English, each in 2003, 2004, and 2005. Later, in the junior college, he wrote a monograph on strategy-awareness instruction in English in 2007.

In 2008 Dan was appointed as associate professor in the junior college and enrolled in the doctoral program in Philadelphia University, Japan Campus. In 2013, Dan was transferred to a new prefectural graduate-school-level teacher-training center as English-language faculty. Now he is a Professor and has responsibility for English teacher education in the prefecture.

**Rui**

Like other Japanese high school students, Rui was taught English by decoding English grammar and translating English into Japanese. She was good at English but learning it in this way did not attract her attention. She believed that language learning was not a matter of studying in tertiary education but rather in language schools (Interview 1, January 2005). In those days, it was said that those who made a living by using the English language were viewed as language/English retailers or *gogaku-ya* or *eigo-ya* (Rui, Interview 1, January, 2005 and Kyo, Interview 1, March, 2010). The wording might have implied some contempt for those people who did not express their own voices in English but were just employed to speak for someone else. I surmise that it might have reflected people’s yearnings for communication in English as well.
Defining Rui’s Teacher-Self

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Rui’s strong curiosity rested on 世の中の仕組み or “how the world is structured” and she wished to “explore [this curiosity] in law” in tertiary education, as she noted in our first interview: わたしねー、法律がやりたかったんですね。で、まあ、世の中の仕組みがわかると思って (Interview 1, January 2005). To explore her curiosity about the world, she wanted to choose science but had to give it up, as noted in the previous chapter. She then applied for law as the second choice to learn how the world was structured but failed to pass the entrance examinations at her target university. At last, she was accepted by St. Ignatius University where she enrolled as an education major in the Literature Department (Interview 1, January 2005).

Rui choose education as a major based on her intellectual desire to conceptualize phenomena happening when she was a high school student. In reality, her intellectual desire could not be fulfilled. She enrolled in one of the higher-level academic public high schools; however, while in high school, she wondered why students were forced to concentrate only on the rote memorization of packaged knowledge in academic subjects for university entrance examinations. Despite their persistent efforts, 70-80% of the students failed the university entrance examinations and had to go to preparatory schools and spend time and money for another year or more. Rui wondered why examinees went to university and thought that there must be something wrong or unhealthy in Japan’s educational system. She added that it was the students taking the entrance examinations
who went through such harsh realities. She chose to become an education major because
she was conscious of and curious about such issues.

While studying for university entrance examinations, I also thought something was
wrong with education. I became most conscious of such issues. Although the 16-, 17-, and 18-year-old adolescents become interested in and begin experience various
matters in every social scene, they were actually all packed in [classrooms] and
encouraged to go to cram schools [after school] where they were forced to study
too many things disconnected from [real worlds]. Additionally, most of them had to
spend a year [or more in preparatory schools as a ronin after graduating from high
school] in the period when they were interested in and could experience various
things happening outside school … I think there was something wrong in education.
For what would they go to universities? … I felt it unhealthy in education systems
that created such phenomena … There was something wrong in education, I
thought. So, I applied for an education major only. (Interview 2, August 2005)

The campus life at St. Ignatius, however, surprised and exhilarated Rui beyond
imagination. Ordinary students made themselves understood in English in class as well as
on campus, and it was common practice that students studied abroad without difficulties,
which is shown in the narrative stanza excerpt on orientation below. She first became a
member of the English Speaking Society (ESS) to improve her speaking ability, but she
found that she could not improve her listening ability, which is shown in the stanza on
complicating action. However, she turned her eyes to the curriculum of the foreign
language department, seen in the narrative stanza on resolution below, which also
expresses Rui’s new imagined world of linguistics. In the evaluation stanza, she gradually
dispelled her negative notion of the language retailer, become aware of the richness of L2 acquisition, and narrowed her interest to L2 education. In the coda stanza, she expressed her decision to become an English teacher to see what the world is like. This narrative is from Interview 1, January, 2005.

ORIENTATION

Returnees were seen here and there,
One-year exchange students here and there,
All the students were fluent English speakers there.
Studying abroad was a normal practice there.

COMPLICATING ACTION

Surprised at great many members in the ESS club,
Neither too seriously minded nor too happy-go-lucky.
I might be able to stay longer with the members.
Periodic discussion, speech and debate events
Empowered me to speak without faltering.
My listening ability could not be improved, though,
‘Cause all the members were Japanese.

RESOLUTION

Studying the curriculum of the foreign languages department
Allowed me to look at linguistics.
I learned that word is not a matter of vocabulary and grammar but
Behind that exists human life such as
Culture, history and socio-economic activities.
I imagined that linguistics might involve all that.
What a spectacular world would be seen!
Sounded exciting!

外国語学部の内容を調べた時に
言語っていう学部に目をむけたっていうか、
言葉ってただ単に、単語とか文法じゃなくて、
その裏に人間の活動っていうか、
文化があって、歴史があって、社会、経済があって、
そういうの全部含めて言語学になるのかなと思って、
なんかもっと広い世界が見れるのがわかって、面白いかな

EVALUATION
I took teacher education courses.
That made me aware
Of routes in language acquisition
What a deep area of studies!
I wished I could chase something interesting
That could lead to my profession.

教職取ったんですね
初めて言語習得に道筋があるんだって
なんかすごく奥深くて学問の分野なんだってわかって
自分で何か興味のあることを追っかけながら
仕事につなげられればいいなと思って、

CODA
After all becoming a language teacher
Would allow me to pursue something I like.
Try that!

やっぱ語学の教員になった方が、
好きなことができるかなと思って、
やってみようかなって

Campus life provided Rui a different world of second language acquisition. Before she
enrolled as an education major, she could not have imagined the world of second
language acquisition. Her surprise was so great that she could not apply her learning and
socializing experiences to align herself with campus life at St. Ignatius. To accommodate
herself to it, she sought opportunities to improve her English speaking competence with
motivated Japanese students in extra-curricular activities. Through these activities, she reflected on herself and found that her listening comprehension was the weakest skill. She studied the curriculum of the department specializing in foreign language acquisition. Again, she was surprised at the richness of language itself and at the acquisition process. Finally by integrating her major and the study she wished to pursue, she found that teaching English at high school would be the best job after graduation.

The narrative stanzas reflect a place of transformative identity as well as her turning point. Campus life was the place and moment Rui could transform her learner identity and move into her career life. She engaged in activities and aligned herself with the context and situation, and self-reflect between each activity by monitoring herself and her situations at St. Ignatius. In Denzin’s (1989) terms, the narrative stanzas also reflect Rui’s turning point. Her surprise shown in the orientation stanza refers to minor but symbolically problematic events. Her campus life in the complicating action and resolution stanzas displays the cumulative small events. In the evaluation and coda stanzas, her English learning at junior and senior high school as well as at St. Ignatius can be integrated into the revived events. In other words, these learning experiences were primed to enter her imagination of second language acquisition and develop her vision to become a high school English teacher. At last, Rui chose the teaching profession and was determined to become a high school English teacher. After graduation, she took a tenured position in a private high school and so began her long career. She defined herself as a high school English teacher. The period of 14 years between 1989 and 2003 was very
important for Rui to evolve her professional identity as an L2 teacher by juggling this identity with her personal identity.

**Redefining Rui’s Teacher-Self**

Right after her graduation from St. Ignatius University, Rui became a tenured L2 teacher of a private high school that was located in the outskirts of Tokyo. She spent five years there. The academic level of the private high school was rather high but Rui found that the teachers were too busy to develop their expertise. They taught six days a week and helped students do extracurricular activities on Sundays. She was beginning to tire of the tight schedules and the uninspiring routine work.

Rui first aligned herself with her work as a novice teacher by coordinating energies, actions, and practices in order to become an expert in English language education as well as part of the school institution as a tenured teacher who should be familiar with situated practices, that is, Discourses (Gee, 2000-2001). Gradually she realized that the school required teachers to submit themselves to the institution and its Discourses without questioning its policies and practices. This requirement prevented teachers from expanding their vision of what might be possible for them in the future, which might squelch their professional identities. By alignment with situated practice, Rui could discern her professional disposition as a high school teacher: The development of her expertise in English education parallels her responsibilities to guide students’ behavior. Personally she was disposed to make an effort to conceptualize what was facing her and to pursue it tenaciously until she figured it out and then to make a decision about what to
do next. The following overlapping professional activities led Rui to make new choices in her professional life.

To avoid squelching her professional identity in her uninspiring environment, Rui began to delve into her multiple overlapping spaces in her professional and personal life. She engaged in a series of transformative activities in her first private institution. Rui began associating with teachers who participated in workshops, lectures, and study groups held outside the school. This participation also helped her associate the new dimension of identity with her reality through imagination—she was able to envision possibilities that she had not seen before. However, Rui was not satisfied with such fragmentary pieces of knowledge and methodology. The tiresome routinization made her reflect deeply on what had made her into what she became later. This reflection made her fully exercise agency to prepare for change. It reminded Rui of her wishes to study abroad and learn more about SLA. To realize these wishes, she believed that public high school teachers should have more time to study. She also expected that instead of studying abroad she would be able to study SLA in an English as a second language context in an American graduate school in Japan. To combine the two expectations, she prepared for and passed both examinations to become a public high school teacher and to become a graduate student in the MA TESOL program of Hudson graduate school. Both applications were accepted in 1994, so Rui became a public high school teacher and a graduate student in TESOL. The following narrative stanzas briefly tell the story in her words.
ORIENTATION
Well, I started off by teaching tenured
At a private high school with high academic level,
Situated in a tremendously remote area.
I was preoccupied with classes
Mondays through Saturdays
With extracurricular activities on Sundays.
I was too busy to see anything foreseeable.
At any rate I wanted to study.

一番最初に、私立の学校につとめたんですね
学校のレベルは結構いいとこだったんですけどもすごく辺境で、
なんか、すごいいそがかったんですよ
あの、月曜から土曜まで授業があって、で、日曜日も部活なんですよ、
これだと、先々よくないなと思って、勉強したいなと思ったんです。

COMPLICATING ACTIONS
Now that I became a language teacher,
I believed it would be meaningful for me to attend any lectures and workshops.
Actually I did that, but later I found it another question
Whether or not something about how-to was actually useful to my classes.
So, I had to learn more about the background [of L2 teaching].
It was the motive that I should move on to graduate school.

[研修に]行かなかったら、せっかく、
語学の教員になった意味がないなあって。
[ただ、]いろんなのに出たんですけれども。
How-to ものとか、自分のところへ持ち帰って、
使えるかどうかは別の問題で。
もうちょっと、background みたいなこと学ばないと、思ったし。
それが大学院への動機。

It [the high school] was a private school, so we had very limited freedom.
I thought I would quit that teaching job and go abroad to study.

私立なんで、そういう自由もきかなくて、
一回やめて、外国へ行こうと思ったんです。

RESOLUTION
But I got to know that there was a campus of Hudson graduate school here.
I decided that I would make another try to stay here
and continue to study on that campus.

HU の存在を知って、まあ、もうちょっと日本でやってみようと思った。
CODA
After all, however, I quit the job at that private high school. [I worked for] five years there. Transferred to a public high school which was Under the direct control of the metropolitan government.

結局そこは、やめちゃったんです。
そこはね、5年間
都に移ったんですね。
(Rui, Interview 1, January 2005)

In 1994 Rui became a tenured public high school English teacher at K technical high school of the metropolitan Board of Education. She was assigned first to a difficult public high school like other teachers who were newly employed. The assignment continued for seven years (1994-2001). For this seven-year period, Rui was deeply involved in four overlapping professional activities: her professional life at the public high school; her studies in an American graduate school in Japan; publications and roundtable talks; and the scholarship for a graduate school study in the United Kingdom.

Rui’s life in the public high school was different from the one she had imagined in the previous private high school: “However, I had never seen such a world” (Rui, Interview 2, August, 2005) [今まで知らなかった世界っていうか]. The public high school was a technical high school whose students were supposed to work in manufacturing industries after graduation. Again and against her expectation, Rui had to work harder for the students in terms of managing behavioral problems as well as needing to devise teaching methods and materials for unmotivated students, which she had never experienced in the private high school. The students did not try to engage in extracurricular activities, so she had no responsibility for the summer training camps like
in the private high school. Instead, the students often had behavioral problems. Every time such problems occurred, the teachers stayed at school until 9:00 or 10:00 pm and attended teachers’ meetings to solve the problems. After a teachers’ meeting, those homeroom teachers concerned with particular students had to stay at school and contact the parents of the problematic students until 11 pm or midnight.

Even in this difficult situation, Rui kept learning little by little in the graduate school: “For the past five years, I had been working only” (Interview 1, January 2005) [5年間仕事しかしてませんでしたし]. At the beginning of her graduate school life, she felt that she could not keep up with other students and that she “was weak in comprehending spoken English in particular” [特に聞いててついていけなかったんですよ]. This negative feeling reminded her of the aspiration to study abroad that she had kept in her mind before becoming a public-school teacher. However, she continued to take MA courses at Hudson, and persisted until she graduated. Long afterwards her negative view of her own listening ability might have inspired her study on listening automaticity in the doctoral program at St. Ignatius.

The publications and round-table talks were how Rui manifested the integration of her personal and professional identities. While she was grappling with students’ behavioral problems, she was exploring better English teaching for the unmotivated learners through many kinds of professional activities. Finally she found a niche that depicts “a point of integration” toward which “disparate personal and professional” identities “are put into contact” (Alsup, 2006, p. 205). Rui’s focus on ways to motivate unmotivated EFL high school students led to publications in three academic journals,

Because of the students’ low motivation for learning and their behavioral problems, Rui was beginning to ask herself, “What’s wrong in education?” [教育のどこが悪いんだろう] (Interview 1, January 2005). This question encouraged her to apply for a scholarship sponsored by the British Council to study comparative education in the United Kingdom, together with realizing her own ambition to become a good English language user in first language contexts, which she had cherished since she was an undergraduate. Rui’s application for the scholarship was accepted. In fact, she had applied several times for the scholarships that the metropolitan Board of Education endowed to high school teachers who wanted to study abroad, but unfortunately those applications had been rejected (personal communication, June 2013). This outcome suggests that there were some tacit situated practice inside the Board of Education, as described above in Kyo’s story and in Lena’s story described in the next chapter.

Rui went to Britain to study comparative education for a year at University of London and obtained an MA degree. However, being immersed in the authentic English-language context reinforced her interest in SLA but diminished her interest in comparative education while studying in London between 1999 and 2000.

The Coda stanza of the following narrative refers to the epilogue of this stage of narrative and the prologue to the next stage.
ORIENTATION
My application for the scholarship [given by the British Council] was accepted. It was to be only provided for those engaged in education. At that time as I was assigned to a difficult high school, My pressing question concerned what was wrong in education. [My application was accepted] in the academic area of comparative education. I was sent to the U.K. to study it for a year [at the Institute of Education, University of London].

COMPLICATING ACTION
Actually I didn’t learn how to teach, but I became a little more consciously aware of language use. It can’t be helped if we can’t use the language Even if we have good knowledge of its vocabulary and grammar. We can write English but we cannot speak it out. When I looked at what European students wrote, I found it messy. But when it came to discussion, they talked a lot like a chatterbox. They threw their questions and opinions at each other To see how the other students would react. Through this interaction they built up to Their own opinions and developed them By looking at the topic in many different ways. I learned it in class discussions. It would be useless if we couldn’t use the target language we were learning.

教え方を学んだんではないんですけども、英語を使うっていうことに対してはちょっと意識が変わりましたね。文法とか語彙を知ってても使えないとしょうがない。書けるけれども、なんかゆえない。だけども他のヨーロッパの人たちは書いてあるものを見ると結構間違って、グシャグシャなんだけど、もうすごいじゃ لأنه、discussionするし、で、いろんな考えをぶつけ合いながら、それなりに自分なりの考えを育てていって、すごく授業から得ていたんですよ
授業に出て discussion をしながら、
自分の考えをこうなどあだだって
いろんな方向から考えて育っていくのを見て
やっぱり使えないとしょうがない

EVALUATION
I’d like to continue to stay a little more involved in English education.
This participation [in the graduate studies in London]
may have stirred up yet again
My interest in language acquisition.

英語教育は、もうちょっと、やりたい
言語習得自体は、逆に興味は出たかもしれませんが

CODA
And I was back home. I had been absent from Hudson graduate school.
I did not want to lose time resuming it, and finally graduated from it.
I decided to continue to study language acquisition.
Although I would be busier at school, I had to keep exploring
What questions I asked myself and what I was interested in.
If I stopped this exploration, I would be more scared.
If so, I wouldn’t do anything.
So, I would like to apply for the doctoral program
at St. Ignatius, [my alma mater].
And now I stay there as a doctoral student.

それで、で、帰ってきて Hudson graduate school
しばらく休んでいたんですけれども、
で、まあ、とりあえず続けて、やっと終わって、
まあ、言語習得っていうの、続けたいって言うのと、
まあ、今結構、職場忙しいと思うんですけども、でもなんか、
自分の疑問とか興味のあることを続けていかないと、
なんかどうだんだん何もしないなくなるなあと思って、
で、またもう一回大学院へ行こうかなと
それで今また St. Ignatius でお世話になって
(Rui, Interview 1, January 2005)

In the following year after Rui returned from the United Kingdom in 2000, she was
assigned to a high-academic level high school in 2001. In this period, Rui focused on
three kinds of overlapping professional and personal activities. First, in 2003, she
enrolled in the doctoral program at her alma mater St. Ignatius to do research on listening
comprehension and its automaticity in SLA. In this academic high school, she began to pay attention to students’ academic-ability stratification in public senior high schools for an SLA research project. She surmised that she would be able to collect more interesting data from the high school students in this high school in order to look at her teaching effects than from those in primary and tertiary education. This motivation would lead to her enrollment in a doctoral program in her alma mater St. Ignatius in 2003.

Second, in 2004, Rui graduated from Hudson graduate school with her second MA in TESOL, while she was simultaneously beginning doctoral studies at St. Ignatius. Her MA study at Hudson was not easy; however, Rui often talked her difficult academic situation at Hudson (personal communication, September 2013), but not in front of the tape recorder nor in our email communication. In her reflection, she said that she did not invest enough time and energy to finish her MA earlier at Hudson. Although she took the elective course for MA writing, her final draft of her MA project was rejected in New York and she was required to rewrite. At the final stage of rewriting, she submitted the second final draft to the program director in Tokyo, which he sent to New York again, and finally it was accepted by the main campus. It took a half a year to finish her MA. She redefined herself as a teacher-researcher of English in secondary education.

Third, in Rui’s personal and professional life, she married and had a son during the six-year period between April 2001 and March 2007. Somewhere around 2007, she took maternity leave and submitted a notice of absence to the graduate school. In 2008, Rui was transferred to a commercial public high school because she had a baby. This transfer made her stop collecting more data in that high school for her study on listening
comprehension and its automaticity. Thus, her doctoral study was postponed without a time limit. Now Rui is still teaching at that commercial public high school. A few years later she recollected what she said to me at the time she had the second son. She had thought she had been transferred to the commercial high school from that top competitive school because she was married; however, several years later she realized that the transfer was made by the thoughtfulness of the board because of the baby: “I used to think that I was made to transfer to this commercial high school due to my baby, but now I see that what was happening was due to having me protect my motherhood. I appreciate it.” Restorying her own life made her aware of revising meanings of past experiences, which indicates that the events of change reverse temporal and episodic orderings and meanings re-cohere because those changes of events lead to self-discovery and a reinterpretation of the past (Mishler, 2006). Every year Rui sends me a New Year’s card with her family’s photo on, with her beloved husband and two cute sons. This year, in 2016, she wrote that she had been transferred to another high school. This message allows me to surmise that she would never give up her research in the doctoral program.

**Una**

**Defining Una’s Teacher-Self**

Una is a type of English teacher who contrives to improve her teaching so that students can enjoy learning English. Her vision in English began at the age of 12 when she was accepted by Sakura Girls’ Junior and Senior High School, the top-ranking private girls’ secondary school in academic performance throughout Japan. She analyzed her
situation to survive there: It would be difficult to maintain a high performance in all
subjects except for English, which all of the students started to study at junior high school,
then she surmised,

I did my best to study English not only because all of us got off the mark in this
academic race, but because I might catch up with others if I were high-spirited in
English and continued to show better performance. I was quite aware that everyone
excelled me in all the subjects but English. (Interview 1, February 2010)

中学校で初めて英語が始まって、英語は皆ゼロからスタートなので、これだけは
真面目にやれば、今から出来るかもしれないと思って、英語は気合を入れてやっ
て。絶対他の教科は人に叶わない。

At home as well as at school, Una was always keen on whatever was relevant to English.
In private, she used to read picture stories in English and listen to the Basic English
Program on the radio every day as her older brother did, but during the summer vacation
Una listened to it three times a day.

Una remembered two unforgettable teaching events: songs taught in class and a
teacher’s oral introduction in class. The school had each student buy a songbook but the
songs in the book were not recorded nor were they used in class. However, one of the
English teachers recorded all of them on audio-tape and gave a tape to each student. Una
found at home that far more songs had been recorded when she listened to them. Since
then, she has been fascinated by the songs.

Una recollected that a novice teacher conducted English lessons with oral
introductions. With the benefit of hindsight, Una admired the teacher’s lessons, but in
those days, “we, little devils, looked down on her [in class] only because she was young”
[お若いので、我々ガキどもは先生をバカにしていました] but “now that I have learned
and experienced a great variety of teaching, I highly appreciate such ways that she often
taught us so young” [いろいろな教え方を知った今では、あの若さでよくぞあの授業をしてくださったと思います。] (Added in June 2010 by Una to Original Interview 1 when she reviewed my interview transcript). The teacher still teaches at Sakura.

After graduating from Sakura, Una went on to Ume University and majored in English literature. At Ume, she received an all-around education in teacher training courses to become an English teacher. Not until she became a senior and was sent to a high school for practice teaching and communicated with the other practice teachers sent by their universities, did she realize the thoroughness of English teacher education and the all-around teacher training. Ume University has produced a great number of excellent female English teachers throughout Japan since Meiji Era. The commitment of the founding mother, Umeko T., to English teacher education is still alive in the university. Umeko T. was one of the first three female students, the youngest at the age of six, sent by Japan’s Meiji Government to the United States in 1871.

In Interview 1, 2010, Una reported how she had been educated in the English teacher education program in Ume University. They had a well-organized curriculum that enabled the students to succeed in practice teaching and then to contact with academic worlds outside in order to grow professionally after graduation. The following paragraphs are summarized based on Una’s email message added in June 2010 in email by Una to Original Interview 1 February 2010 after she reviewed my interview transcript.

First, Ume University put a high value on teaching and four-skill training in small classes so that after graduation the students can utilize the four skills as tools for professional and academic purposes. As far as Una remembered, they had an upper limit
of 30 students in reading classes and 15-20 in speaking and writing classes. When she was a junior, Una remembered that all the classes led to their graduation theses.

Second, as for the curriculum, English grammar was taught using grammar books. Phonetics was compulsory. They had teaching methodology and a practicum for two credits throughout a year. In the methodology classes they learned about the theoretical backgrounds and concentrated on simulated classes in the practicum where they had thorough teacher training through activities and lively discussion on simulated classes. There were fewer than 40 students in one class. It was as large as the one in junior and senior high school. It meant that they were supposed to learn methodology and practicum in the same environment as a real classroom. The students’ desks and chairs were not fixed to the floor but were movable. She thought they would have anticipated teacher education in times to come. In the practicum, each student was videotaped and they discussed how to observe each of their classes with other students.

When Una visited a school for practice teaching with other students sent by other universities, she was taken aback when she was asked by a practice teacher from T University how to write a teaching plan. Then Una asked herself, “Eh? What? You weren’t taught!?” She thought she had learned it as a junior. Some practice teachers had been taught it with tens of other students. She understood that Ume University would never leave their educational purposes half done. For the period of teaching practice she agreed with her classmates that they should manage the classes all in English. In this campus life, she felt that her English was definitely improving. (Interview 1 February 2010)
In Una’s senior year, the students were given a course assignment that required them to attend several academic conferences held in autumn and submit reports. This type of assignment continues now. It was the beginning of Una’s participation in several conferences in autumn and her participation continues now too though she does not belong to any academic conference groups.

In April 1994, Una became a tenured teacher at Sakura Girls’ High School, her alma mater. She made a happy start as a junior high school homeroom teacher. Private high schools in Japan tend to see their students grow gradually for six years while public schools divide secondary school education into junior and senior high schools because it is stipulated that junior high school is compulsory but senior high school is not. In private high schools, homeroom teachers usually take responsibility for their own classes for three years. It means that private schools reshuffle their homeroom teachers every three years. However, some experienced homeroom teachers remain with the same group for six years and take responsibility for their students’ education from the students’ enrollment to their graduation. Furthermore, those experienced teachers also have responsibilities to pass what they have done on to the following group of homeroom teachers. They observe their students’ gradual growth and guide them through their entire secondary school education.

Una suddenly began overlapping professional activities at the end of her third year without explaining the reason (April 1997-March 1998). These activities were triggered by her conjecture or anger about why she was assigned to the first-year junior high school
students the following year. These feelings stirred her up and pushed her to choose various professional activities.

Additionally a new principal facilitated Una’s professional activities outside the school. The principal changed the school atmosphere. The teachers were beginning to love her because she was by nature a placid individual and tended to think positively. The principal began to encourage and support the teachers to continue to study further and to make presentations outside of school.

Una believed that in the following 1998 school year she would continue to have the same responsibility for the same students in the senior high school. However, it turned out that she would not be able to move on to senior high school with some other teachers and her students. She felt that she was pushed out of the teacher group. Her discouragement then turned into anger. She thought that the school might not consider her as suitable for a high school homeroom teacher. This anger drove her to rethink her life goals and to fly to New York. She visited a friend’s acquaintance in Hudson’s main campus to search for a way to enroll in the school there. The acquaintance asked Una, “Say, what do you want to do in the end?” (Interview 1, February 2010) あんた、最終的に何がやりたいの？]. This question made her aware that the target students she had in mind were Japanese students in Japan. Then, her acquaintance informed her that the graduate school had a branch campus in Japan, saying:

Oh well, the TESOL here [New York] is advanced, indeed. But the English language education focuses on immigrant children and ESL, etc., in the U.S. So, you will hardly make the best use of it for university entrance examinations even though you learn in this TESOL program. If you want to teach in Japan, I’d like to suggest that you go to Hudson, Tokyo Campus, where you could find many major teachers [in TESOL] (Interview 1, February 2010).
じゃあ、ココの TESOL は、確かに進んでいるけれども、アメリカで移民の子とかに、ESL を教えるためのものだから、受験英語の受の字も出てこない。で、日本で教えたいのだったら、Hudson 東京校があるんだから、で、その主だった先生も随分いるんだから、そっちに行けば。

Back in Japan, Una told the new principal that she planned to apply to the graduate school, that she would be unavailable for the school summer camps because she would have to take summer courses in the graduate school, and that she would be unable to be a homeroom teacher while she was in the TESOL program. The principal said that she planned for Una to be assigned to a teacher who would teach in the junior high school in the following year so as to allow Una to concentrate on her studies. Una greatly appreciated the principal’s thoughtfulness and support. She felt herself again as part of the school. At this stage of her teacher development, Una defined herself as a teaching practitioner of English language who belonged to the secondary education in Japan.

Redefining Una’s Teacher-Self

The new awareness of her target students led Una to be determined to teach English to Japanese students. The determination and the support from Sakura’s new principal encouraged her to exercise her agency fully to move on to the next stage of overlapping professional activities at Sakura: (a) participating in the MA program of the Hudson graduate school, Japan Campus (1998-2005), (b) hosting voluntary study group meetings (1998-2010), and (3) lecturing once a year on the present teaching situations and giving advice to those junior students in Ume University who were ready to start their first practice teaching in a secondary school (1999-2008). In sum, Una became involved in
four overlapping professional activities in the seven years between 1998 and 2005, including teaching in a full-time permanent high school position.

Una finished coursework at Hudson as scheduled by the graduate school, but she spent a long and difficult time writing up her MA project. She analyzed her weaknesses: scheduling the research stages and having no knowledge of academic writing. The graduate school provided two courses: MA project A concerned the research topic and research questions whereas in MA project B the graduate students learned other processes needed to finish their own projects. Particularly beneficial was the coursework concerning scheduling how many pages to write every day, how to write and how to connect each chapter. Especially in the academic writing coursework, the students formed small study groups in which they shared and discussed the procedures for finishing their projects. It was a great joy when she was asked, “Please write a peer review on my project!” (Interview 1, February 2010) [Peer review, 書いて！]. Una learned a great deal from her peers. She obtained the MA in TESOL in 2005.

Concurrently Una was given a suggestion by some veteran teachers whom she had met and worked with in academic meetings and conferences since she was an undergraduate. The suggestion was that she should form a voluntary study meeting that would allow pre-service, novice, and experienced English teachers from public and private schools to meet and discuss English education by presenting their own ideas about teaching. The voluntary study-group meetings continued for 12 years and finished in 2010 when fewer and fewer teachers were attending academic meetings and conferences because of increasingly busy workload at school. In those days and even now
Una continued to attend academic meetings and conferences of English education held in Japan.

Professor T of Ume University, who had been observing Una since her undergraduate years and who perceived Una’s quality as an English language educator, requested that Una give a lecture every year to the students who were going to junior and senior high schools for practice teaching. The lecture series continued for 10 years up to 2008.

In my observation of Una’s classes on February 9, 2010, I noted that Una quickly perceived not only how her students were feeling on that day as well as what they did and did not learn, but also she spontaneously modified her teaching methods so that they were able to make sense of the language and its context. In this way she forged ahead and redefined herself as a teaching practitioner.

In 2005, Una resigned from Sakura Girls’ High School and began to teach in a tenured position in Otowa National Junior High School attached to Otowa National University of Education. This junior high school was designated as a research school, a model school in Japan. For this reason, teachers always “verbalized anything what was kept in mind” (Interview 3, August 2) [とにかく全部言葉にする], and discussed and shared information on teaching, planning, and events. Every year they opened their lessons to every public and private school throughout Japan. More than ten years ago the faculty adopted the image of their student they hoped to educate: “The image of students that they have attained to bring up is those who make themselves understood in their real-life language and can make tenacious efforts even in difficult situations” (Interview 3,
To put this student image into practice, the faculty agreed upon three practices: The research project should be conducted not by individual teachers but by the entire group of English-education teachers; the research goal should be shared with all the English teachers even if some of them were replaced, and; the research should be a long-term project with some modification in order to avoid hasty conclusions. (Interview 3, August 2010)

Verbalizing and sharing anything about educational matters in any subject-matter department was Otowa’s school culture whereas in a large majority of public and private schools, tacit understandings about educational matters are more prevalent, as described in Kyo’s story. This group of English teachers must have a sense of mission that they should lead the nation’s education. They prided themselves on educating students who would lead the next generation. Otowa junior high school made tacit understandings public in the following ways: (a) verbalizing anything that was in mind; (b) regularly discussing and sharing information about teaching, planning, and events; and (c) making a feasible plan with the other teachers in the English department and putting it into practice. The school administration seemed to trust the decisions made by their English department.
The following example shows how much their decisions were respected by the school administration. Before Una was employed, three veteran teachers (two female and one male teacher) came to see Una one after another, saying one by one “Una, why don’t you take our employment examination?” [Una さん、私たちの教員採用試験受けてみない？] (Interview 3, August 2010). In fact they had been long observing Una’s performance as a teacher. Then Una wondered, “Are they entitled to recruit new teachers? Could it happen?” (Interview 3, August 2010) [選べるというか、それもあるのかな～と]. This was how Una came to be employed by Otowa National Junior High School.

Since 2008, Una has taught part-time as a lecturer at Ume University once a week. At Ume she was given a full responsibility for teaching methodology and managing the practicum with the second- and third-year students in her class. She also continued to teach in her tenured position in Otowa. Her involvement in both types of education produced synergy effects for Una. The junior high school students’ feedback in class could turn into realia for her teacher education class at Ume. In turn, the reactions of the English-teacher aspirants at Ume in her methodology and practicum courses could help improve her teaching at Otowa. Thus Una updates her teaching by connecting her experiences with secondary education with the work she does in tertiary education.

In Una’s methodology and practicum class at Ume University, she put more importance on practice than theory. She believes that first and foremost students should figure out how practice links to methodology, not vice versa. For this purpose, she has developed multiple ways in which she helps her students contrive to elicit their beliefs.
about teaching and have them develop their own approach to teaching. In this way, Una redefined herself as English language practitioner in secondary school education and teacher educator in a tertiary education and seemed to reach a pinnacle of career satisfaction.

Summary of Chapter 6

Before becoming English teachers, the four Japanese EFL teachers described in this chapter had kept monitoring their own learning processes of English language since childhood. Kyo and Dan began to study English privately in primary school, Rui since adolescence, and Una since junior high school. This monitoring allowed them to choose teaching in the secondary education as undergraduates, and then proceed through various turning points in their professional careers. With the onset of tenured teaching at school, they encountered the situated practice for the first time in their lives. The situated practice first surprised them and they found they were unable to utilize their life and learning experiences. They realized they had to overcome these predicaments on their own. Second they deeply reflected on what had made them choose teaching as profession. Third, they confronted dichotomous choices: quitting or continuing. Fourth they all, however, could not make a negative choice. Instead, they decided to survive in this field. At this moment, fifth, they began negotiating with surroundings and prepared for the next stage of teacher growth. To negotiate with their situations, sixth, they all concentrated on improving their expertise. At every stage of improving expertise, seventh, they continued to negotiate their expertise and their teacher-selves with surroundings in one way or another without missing any chance by overlapping professional activities. The cluster of
overlapping professional activities is called *borderland Discourses* (Gee, 1990; Tsui, 2007) in this study. The participants experienced several types of professional borderland Discourses to develop their expertise. In redefining their teacher-selves, finally each of them found their own professional niche, that is, as an academic English proficiency text developer; an English teacher educator on a graduate school level; an English teacher researcher in the secondary education; an English teacher in the secondary education and English teacher educator on the tertiary level. In a nutshell, teacher change happened in these teachers’ lives through reflection as they explored their professional identities, and through simultaneous actions to improve expertise and to learn from several kinds of borderland Discourses.
CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS: AMERICAN EFL TEACHERS DEFINING AND REDEFINING THEMSELVES AS TEACHERS/RESEARCHERS

This chapter focuses on how two teachers, Lena and Leroy, both native speakers of English who came to Japan from the United States as assistant English teachers (ALTs) at the dawn of team-teaching in secondary education in Japan defined and then redefined themselves as English teachers over many years. Lena had been interested in foreign sounds since childhood and became an applied linguistics undergraduate and chose Japanese language as a non-Indo-European language. She also part-time taught ESL students. Leroy is a bilingual Japanese American. He came to Japan for his doctoral research in Japanese history with two masters’ degrees as a university librarian and in history. Additionally he chose to become an ALT in order to make a living for his research here in Japan. For both teachers, it has been more difficult to make a living between two cultures and languages than they imagined. I hope this chapter suggests how to better understand the development of language teachers in future multilingual societies.

Lena

In her childhood in the United States, Lena showed some signs of her future involvement in language and education. Especially the age of ten in elementary school was a marked year for her in order to understand her future professional life. As a preschool child, Lena was particularly fascinated by “silly” or nonsense word games of foreign sounds featured on TV. The foreign sounds were made up from paired consonants
and vowels such as *jabanabafaba* (Interview 1, October 2009). She guessed that this fascination helped her become interested in foreign languages in high school.

**Defining Lena’s Teacher-Self**

Lena’s mother was very influential in shaping her reading and learning habits in her childhood. Her mother was a bookworm and used to take her to a public library. It opened up the first opportunities for her not only to be immersed in “the world of books” (Follow-up email, March 2011), but also to have access to a conceptual world. She might have appreciated differences between a conceptual world and a real one. Second, rich reading habits with her mother contributed to putting her in “advanced reading classes” at the age of ten in elementary school as well as engaging in the library work “with other high-level readers” (Follow-up email, March 2011). Third, these library friends urged her “to write about books I had read” (Follow-up email, March 2011). Lena happened to learn what to write and how to write it by writing about books she had read. This practice was encouraged by her peers, who were also higher-level readers. Fourth, Ms. B’s introductory “narrative writing, exploratory writing, or persuasive writing” class (Interview 2, November, 2009) let Lena also open her eyes to a writing world. Fifth, Ms. B, whom she called “a reading specialist” and met in the advanced reading classes, was the most influential person in her entire professional life (mentioned in three interviews: October and November, 2009, and December, 2010; two follow-up emails, March and April, 2011). Sixth, on numerous occasions Ms. B intended her students to understand from what she had told them: “Your education is your own responsibility” (Follow-up
email, April 2011). The statement rang true to Lena. Even at the age of ten, she was aware that people “couldn’t help me act upon the knowledge I got after all” and “that people were not going to go out of their way to help me succeed in life” (Follow-up email, April 2011). This realization is the major force that has kept driving her to carve out a vision of life for herself.

These overlapping reading, writing, and educational events with teachers, and reading and writing colleagues empowered her to envision and sustain her professional life later. In her words:

By learning that “my education was my responsibility,” I meant that I realized that even though my mother and teachers and Ms. B could introduce me to knowledge/books/ideas, I realized they could only do so in a limited way, or for a limited time. Also, I realized that they couldn’t help me act upon the knowledge I got, after all, my sisters and brothers had been exposed to largely the same books, ideas, etc., and yet made very different choices in life. … even at that young age I could understand that people were not going to go out of their way to help me succeed in life. (Follow-up email, April, 2011)

Lena’s fourth grade at elementary school was a landmark year in which she changed from a passive learner to an active learner. Lena experienced this turning point at the age of “eight or nine” though she was only a schoolchild. She became consciously aware that no other people could help to enrich her life and that education would sustain her if she had purposes and exercised her agency. She was determined to be an independent goal-oriented learner.

Lena’s determination to become an independent learner was reinforced by maximizing her education, which she believed would empower her to depart from her family’s present way of living, that is, being poor. She said in an email:
I think one of the earliest “driving forces” I had centered around being poor. That is, when I became old enough to understand that my family was poor! I went from being embarrassed about it at first to being defensive about it later, and finally turned it in to a driving force in my life about how not to live my life. (Follow-up email, March 2011)

Such reinforcement spurred her toward studying hard and enrolling in a “good” university (Follow-up email, March 2011). At university Lena decided to pursue her interest in languages and be an applied linguistics major. In order to finish her requirements for her degree, she had to study a non-Indo-European language. Out of curiosity, Lena decided to study Japanese, which the university started to offer as a regular class for the first time. At that moment she did not know that this decision would lead to another major turning point. She had been interested in Asia because she had some Chinese and Japanese friends through whom she thought that Asia seemed so different linguistically from America and Europe. She “wanted something very different” at university (Interview 1, October 2009). The university offered Japanese culture and literature classes in English taught by the same teacher. Not only did she have good rapport and communicated with the teacher inside and outside of class, but also she could practice more often in Japanese outside the classroom. In addition to undergraduate studies, Lena had to earn the university tuition. As she taught ESL students part time, the undergraduate studies took her six years to earn her BA degree. In that job, she taught Hispanic “high school and junior high school students who were failing in English” in “a special after-school ESL program” in City S (Interview 2, November 2009). This teaching background would lead her to a successful ALT teacher later in Japan, that is, being of great value to the dawn of team-teaching in Japan. It was supposed that neither
teaching experiences nor teachers’ licenses would require of native speakers of English. As an undergraduate Lena had been ready to enter into the field of English education by the time she arrived in Japan.

In 1987, when Lena finished undergraduate work and earned degrees in applied linguistics and ESL, the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program first recruited assistant English teachers. The program seemed to offer a good chance to young people who wanted to travel with little money. For Lena, it would be “good experience for ESL teaching” and allow her to “go somewhere different” (Interview 1, October 2009). Finally, her application was accepted and then she was assigned to teach at various high schools in Sumpu. It happened to have some similarities to S City in Washington in terms of geographical features, climate, and the city size, not so small or large. Lena started her career life as an assistant L2 teacher in Sumpu, Japan. Perhaps at that time she could not imagine that she would spend 21 years in total in Sumpu by teaching English. In between she returned to the United States to recover from illness and teach ESL there for six years. These years can be considered as her self-probation period. Lena re-entered Japan not only with determination to become an ESL teacher in the EFL context, but also with improved negotiability with her situation.

The teachers in the program were initially called JETs, but later ALTs. At that time “there was no real definition” for the term (Interview 1, October 2009). The JETs were “supposed to be doing team teaching” (Interview 1, October 2009). The JET program did not require the candidates to have teaching experience, so that “many of the first people were NOT teachers” on the side of English native speakers (Interview 1, October 2009).
There was no clear definition on the approach to the team-teaching program for both native speakers of English hired by Japan’s ministry of education and Japanese tenured teachers of English. A teacher’s license and teaching experience were not required of native speakers of English. However, Lena had had a lot of teaching experiences before becoming a JET. Additionally, speaking in English was a powerful longing but intimidating to ordinary Japanese as well as Japanese teachers of English. These paradoxical feelings reflected the times. Like Lena, young and experienced ESL teachers could demonstrate their abilities in their own sphere whereas they had to fight against the paradoxical feelings and attitudes Japanese held toward spoken English and people from overseas. Even under these contesting situations, within only two years, Lena won the trust of the people around her at school and in the community where she lived. In this community of practice, she became a member by identifying and negotiating with the situations that were meaningful to her.

Let us look at some realities in team-teaching. Lena was assigned to team-teach at junior and senior high schools. She talked about three different episodes she actually experienced while teaching with Japanese male teachers of English. She also team-taught townspeople on weekends in the city hall. As an ALT, Lena generally taught “two or three days” a week at a so-called “base school,” and for the rest of the days she “would travel to many other schools” to give a lesson with a Japanese English teacher in a school in the prefecture, called a “one-shot” lesson at that time. Actually she “went to probably, I don’t know, fifteen or twenty [schools] in the first year” (Interview 1, October 2009). Japanese teachers of English as teaching partners showed their reactions to the program
differently. In the episodes in which she taught with Japanese teachers of English in junior and senior high schools and the city hall, Lena chose to tell three different stories of team-teaching with each of the three Japanese male teachers in Interview 1 in October, 2009. The first and second stories were stories of misery and the third was rewarding and unforgettable.

In Episode 1, Lena taught with a male teacher whose English was not bad but who kept shaking in class. He did not seem to have much confidence. Probably he “hated” standing with her in front of students and kept some distance from her. Lena surmised that because he was smaller than she was, he might have felt intimidated. She supposed that he wanted to divide their class work. Gradually he stayed in the teachers’ room while she was teaching or vice versa. In Episode 2, Lena had a very miserable experience in class. Every time Lena came to the classroom, another male teacher would tell the students to “make a wide aisle in the middle of the classroom so that he could put a chair in the front of that wide aisle and sit back in his chair with his arms folded and just watch me. He did that every time and he wasn’t very cooperative with any ideas and he avoided me in the teachers’ room so many times.” He “had pretty good English,” though. After she told the story to the head English teacher, she was no longer required to work with him. Episode 3 was a lot of fun and rewarding for Lena at Y Technical High School, in which there were a thousand boys and eleven girls. They “hated English” whereas their main English teacher loved English. His students respected him and listened to him whether or not they hated English. In class, he used textbooks and played the guitar, to which they just sang two or three classic popular songs every time. “They would try to
speak in, oh, sing in English.” Toward the end of the school year, the teacher invited Lena to his “special class,” where two boys, university candidates, were awaiting her visit. Together with the teacher, she “taught them a lot.” It was fun, she explained in this first interview. They were members of the ham radio club. “That’s why they wanted English more. After they learned more English for the ham radio club, then they decided ‘we can go to university.’” Lena was not sure whether or not the two boys would be able to go on to tertiary education. She was unable to confirm their future after their graduating from high school because she could only teach in the same school for a very short time. Lena taught in the JET program for two years in total. During that period, she team-taught in a great variety of teaching situations, such as “very high-level academic schools and very low-level technical schools and everything in between” … a high school “famous for its art department, music and art” (Interview 1, October 2009).

Additionally, upon the request of the Sumpu City, Lena team-taught English to two classes of city employees with a Japanese female high school teacher on Saturdays. Both of the teachers also taught “an open community class for anyone who wanted to visit and take English on Saturday” (Interview 1, October 2009). Even about 22 years later, four or five members came to her private adult classes at home from the community class. In terms of identification with her community, the townspeople helped Lena get a chance directly to communicate with them on a daily basis and over time it helped her become a part of the city community. Then, this communication encouraged her later to be employed by the most prestigious girls’ junior and senior high school. She also opened her private lessons at home and rented a big house after her reentry to Japan. In short, the
communication with townspeople underpinned her professional growth and provided a haven or home for her as well.

The success as an ALT in Japan was underpinned by the teaching experiences she had in the United States and Japan. Only in her early twenties, Lena thus taught English to a great variety of students in various contexts, such as solo-and/or-team teaching ESL and EFL to junior and senior high school students as well as college students and adults in formal and informal settings. In the following description of her turning point, all her teaching and learning experiences before and after becoming an ALT are integrated into her professional and private life in Japan. In this respect, she made a happy start in her initial two years in Japan.

Completing the two-year term as an ALT, Lena began teaching full time at St. Teresa Girls’ Junior and Senior High School in 1989, which was the top private high school in Sumpu. She got the position on the introduction of the chairperson of the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA), who was one of her students at the open community class at City Hall on Saturday afternoons as well as her private classes at home. The transition to St. Teresa was a chance-occurring turning point.

At St. Teresa, Lena taught English conversation to junior and senior high school students, i.e., from the seventh through the twelfth graders, once a week and she ran an English club. This curriculum “required so much preparation because you only have an hour in a week” (Interview 1, October 2009). She really enjoyed teaching the seventh graders because “they had zero English to start with” and “by twelfth grade, they had a lot of conversations” (Interview 1, October 2009).
In her “first five or six years” in Japan, Lena was attracted by “Japanese people, country and culture,” which was “always the challenge” but in which “they were as generous as they could be” (Interview 3, December 2010). She “traveled a lot”, “was learning the language,” and had “a very good job at St. Teresa” (Interview 3, December 2010). Gradually, however, she was beginning to feel a tension that as her familiarity with Japanese culture increased, the Japanese perception of her value as an American declined and the less desirable (Johnston et. al., 2005), as she articulated: “The longer I was there—usually they didn’t keep foreign teachers very long,” whereas she was happy in that “they increased my salary which was so nice” (Interview 3, December 2010).

As mentioned above, St. Teresa’s repeated and continued requirement of the same kind of job, that is, instructing English conversation, squelched Lena’s professional identities. This assignment continued for about five years without any other assignments, such as reading and writing. It bored her—she called conversation boredom—and led to feelings of being ostracized. The school might not have listened to her:

I think I felt ostracized for several reasons; 1) the school and/or English department did not take foreign teachers’ work very seriously; 2) The reality of living in a non-English speaking country where I couldn’t even speak or read fluently led to feelings of frustration and sometimes inferiority; 3) I had a few foreign friends but not a very good support group of people who understood my background, my culture, my country, etc. And 4) my illness was invading very part of my life---making me extremely emotional and sad even over small things that I may have overlooked or interpreted differently had I been healthy. (Email communication, April 2011)

Such feelings exacerbated her physical illness. In fact she had various ideas about how to teach reading and writing because she had taught ESL students in her home country. However, she became nervous about her future. Luckily, however, she had some
Japanese colleagues at school to share the same English education philosophy with and they had already begun to participate in the TESOL master’s program on Hudson’s Japan campus. When she recovered from illness, she began to participate in the graduate studies.

Lena was convinced that it was very unlikely that the chances would arise for her to teach reading and writing in English. As for four skills, Japanese teachers had a long tradition of learning and teaching English in the Grammar Translation Method (GTM) but most of them did not know how to teach English otherwise. Additionally they had few experiences of learning and teaching English through listening and speaking. Hence, it was likely that they stubbornly hung on to reading and writing as if their English teacher identities were there whereas paradoxically they wished they could have spoken and written English freely. That was why they became more stubborn. On the other hand, Lena was able to teach English in many different ways and insisted that the GTM was one of the methods and not the only way of teaching foreign languages, where her English teacher identity seemed to exist. However, the Japanese counterparts, except for the teacher who shared learning experiences in an American graduate school, had no experience of learning and teaching English in any other ways than the GTM. There seemed no common ground between them. These turning points and overlapping professional activities were the spaces where these two kinds of English teacher identities clashed during these years in which she defined herself as an English teacher.

**Redefining Lena’s Teacher-Self**

In 1996, Lena’s English conversation boredom and her argument over the GTM led her to enroll in Hudson’s MA program in TESOL, Japan. Professional boredom, meaning
conversation boredom for Lena here, can potentially energize people to take actions for
the next professional stages as happened to Kyo, Dan, Rui, later Akira and Jutaro
described in the previous and subsequent chapters. Gradually Lena found that she was
more interested in learning from her Japanese colleagues, and then realized that she
“wanted to improve” her “own teaching” (Interview 1, October 2009). Some of her
Japanese colleagues had already enrolled in the MA program in TESOL at Hudson
graduate school, Japan campus. Lena saved energy and money for the program she
wanted to participate in because she was very ill at that time. She described her
anticipations about the program (Interview 1, October 2009):

I wanted to go to the next step, a bachelor’s degree to a master’s degree. Also for
me as an American from S City, which is only an opposite coast from New York,
Hudson. I thought this is a wonderful chance to attend this world-class university in
Japan much closer to my city Sumpu. Then I’d probably never have the chance in
the United States to do that unless I completely changed my life … I was in the
right frame of mind to really learn more about teaching theories, ESL theories.

Lena added her further excitement in class at Hudson (Interview 2, November 2009):

… enrolling at Hudson’s and meeting so many wonderful professors, especially Dr.
Frederick Johnson, … but also meeting so many other people in small class, class
sizes. Talking about what I did every day in depth was really a first for me. So,
really it was the first time I felt huge support … in a language teaching and how,
how I could continue improve throughout my career. Not just for one type of class
or not just one recipe how to, how to teach listening better but how to analyze
myself in my teaching to be better teacher.

The year 1998 was a marked year to Lena for teacher and personal change. Three kinds
of professional and personal events and activities were overlapped. Lena completed the
MA program in TESOL, a major turning point in her professional life. She found herself
emancipated from preconceived notions and to have become brave enough to explore
educational possibilities in various contexts.
I think I might not have … have the courage to teach blind and low-vision or deaf students if I hadn’t done that program, I think it made me braver as a teacher than I had been before. I think it allowed me to give up some of my, some ideas of, some ways of thinking that this is how a teacher should be. I don’t know why I developed those ideas. But the MA program allowed me to give them up and try new things. So, *HUGELY* important for me… (Interview 1, October 2009).

In the MA program, Lena recognized that language was learned and acquired through not only the brain but also all the media, i.e., seeing, hearing, listening, feeling, touching, talking, telling, and kinesthetic movements. In instruction, she realized that there were not any fixed methods and that teachers should contrive ways of teaching their students as the situations were changing. This analysis came from my observing her classes and through casual talks with her when I visited at St. Teresa in May, 2009. This realization and recognition showed that in these overlapping activities she was empowered by the MA program and her learning and teaching experiences.

After the MA, Lena was beginning to contrive new ways to reach and read students better.

…just after I graduated from that program I was really full of *ENERGY* and inspiration about trying new ways to reach students. And really observing what they can teach me as a teacher. Of course I did that before but I didn’t realize how important that was and how to do it so well. The MA program taught me how to read my students better (Interview 1, October 2009).

Such overlapping activities allowed Lena to get out of her conversation boredom and to identify herself in the MA program in TESOL. It greatly energized and empowered her to enrich her later professional life.

After the MA in 1998, Lena went back to the United States to undergo surgery in her mother-tongue context. After recovering she resumed teaching and exploring her new area of teaching blind students with computer assisted ESL and ABE (Adult Basic
Education), work that continued for five years and five months before she returned to Japan to teach in the same private high school, St. Teresa, in 2004. For about six years between 1998 and 2004 in the United States, she was also involved in other overlapping teaching activities, including teaching ESL at a community college for three months (January-April, 1999) and teaching as an ESL instructor at another community college for a year (2000-2001). The following explains two kinds of stories about the main reasons she returned to her home in the United States and about how she chanced upon the computer-assisted teaching job.

In 1998, right after she graduated from the MA program in TESOL, Lena returned to City S in the United States, where she was born and raised, “To be honest, I really missed the beauty of City S … My family and beauty. And I knew I wanted to live there again. So I decided to go back to City S” (Interview 1, October 2009). Moreover, not only did Lena want to use her mother tongue as freely as she could, but also she wanted to recover from her illness in her more familiar environment.

I didn’t “know” that being back in the US would solve any problem I had here. I did know that I needed to use and hear English with all of the doctors, nurses, pharmacists, etc. while dealing with my health problems. Not only was my Japanese not good enough or reliable enough to deal with it in Japan...I simply trusted doctors in the US more to know the most modern treatments at the time. I knew that being near my family and US friends would make me feel better in general because it is always easier to live where life is more predictable (living in a foreign country is never as predictable as when you live at home). (Email communication, April 2011)

In the same year of 1998, one day, an interesting but unclear job advertisement drew Lena’s attention. They wanted an ESL teacher who had computer skills and they would offer a chance for learning a new “assistive” technology. Not until she had a job
interview, did Lena realize what type of school or company it was. In fact it was a company that offered a computer-assisted ESL program to vision-impaired or deaf students. Although she “didn’t have a big reason to go into blindness teaching per se or assistive technology, I DID want to learn more about computers” (Interview 1, October 2009). Finally she made a decision: “I can teach ESL AND learn more about computers and AGAIN BE PAID to do that” (Interview 1, October 2009). She taught there “for a little over five years” (Interview 1, October 2009). During that period, the company and the department she worked for needed to reorganize. In addition to education, it had some other departments such as manufacturing and running military base stores. In her department, three teachers left, and she and the other teacher were supposed to be transferred to another position unrelated to teaching or English within the company.

Such a change situated Lena in a challenging professional space: teaching computer-assisted ESL to vision-impaired or deaf students in the United States. Lena later realized that Hudson’s education turned out to be what she had been craving. The learning experiences there empowered her to become brave enough to jump into new and difficult teaching contexts in which she taught ESL by using computers to handicapped students in the United States. Such teaching experiences then empowered her to liberate herself from her health problem about which she had been worried for ten years and to gain confidence to prepare for unexpected situations and to give voice to her ideas and opinions. The MA program and teaching handicapped ESL students served as the boundary where she shifted her teacher identity from identifying to negotiating with the academic and institutional discourses.
The challenge was boosted by not only the education she had received in the MA program at Hudson in Japan but also the comfortable life with her family and her familiar L1 environment. Furthermore, it triggered her re-challenge of the English education of St. Teresa High School after her re-entry to Japan.

By the time of our third interview, Lena perceived the time when she should make a change. In terms of making a living, she recollected her life change: from Sumpu back to City S in the United States and then to Sumpu again.

Anyway, after I did return home once, I had a fine job but my family is getting older and I needed to help my family, and I wasn’t making enough money to do that. So, I decided to try to come back to Japan and luckily was hired at the same place. (Interview 3, December 2010)

Opportunely Lena received a letter from a woman teacher, saying that she was leaving from St. Teresa and adding a joke, “Do you want your old job back?” (Interview 1, October 2009). She was the teacher who had been replaced by Lena, when Lena had been ready to go back to her home country. She went back to Japan again and became employed full time in the same school, St. Teresa.

No longer was Lena an English teacher only specialized in conversation at St. Teresa in that she came back as a more experienced teacher. Thus, she began to coordinate her efforts to disseminate more variety of teaching methods of English education with some of the colleagues who shared ways to look at languages, learning, and teaching, in the following five ways.

First, Lena could make her own “niche” more easily by making “suggestions about projects that we can do as a department or just a couple teachers together” and “about changing the things that I felt were ostracizing me before” (Interview 2, November 2009).
Second, she was also appointed as “a member of the committee for foreign trips and study” (Interview 3, December 2010). Third, Lena could try something new more easily because she had richer life and teaching experiences, improved teaching knowledge and methods, and the confidence built up among different types of people she had worked with. Fourth in teaching, she was able to negotiate what to teach and how to teach it. No longer had she been assigned to teach conversation. Fifth, in the faculty, Lena and some Japanese colleagues initiated communicative language learning and teaching through the alignment with the proponents. I witnessed this in my observations of her classes, in the English teachers’ room, and in the larger room for all teachers (May 2009). A series of those overlapping professional activities turns out to be a sign for professional change.

However, Lena’s argument over the GTM flared up again in her new position at St. Teresa. It meant that this argument was unsolved. It might have derived from the tacit institutional discourses in Japan for how English was traditionally taught. In spite of the arguments, Lena taught full time for six years between April 2004 and March 2011.

In April 2011, Lena transferred to Evergreen Junior College nearby as a full-time teacher and was supposed to become tenured after the two-year probation period. She began to get involved in energetic activity inside and outside the junior college that included a workshop by Dr. Fredrick Johnson.

To summarize, Lena redefined herself an ESL teacher in the EFL context. As an English-language practitioner at the tertiary education level, she taught English through various media and sense such as the brain, eyes, ears, feelings, and kinetic movement in an EFL context. Additionally, she maintained with a stronger voice than ever that English
education that was solely reliant on the GTM would impede students from acquiring the target language. Behind her stronger voice, I suppose that Lena might not have been involved fully in “identity negotiation that” she “engaged in both in professional and in private spheres as” an American professional “living long term in Japan” (Kusaka, p. 241).

**Leroy**

The impression Leroy gave me in his contact with me is that he has kept evolving through experience to discover what is important to him in his career. The evolving stages have made him what he is now, as well. He first wanted to become a researcher in library science or history in the United States in the future after earning the master’s degrees. At that time he did not imagine that he would become an L2 teacher even though he landed in Japan as an ALT for a research purpose in history in order to earn a doctoral degree in history. His family and life at school in the United States reveal what made him become an L2 teacher.

**Leroy’s Background**

At primary, junior, and senior high school, class hours were only a haven for Leroy where he was free from being teased and enjoyed studying. He was “an Asian in a largely white school,” seen differently because of his appearance (Interview 1, June 2010). Further, due to the difference, people teased him outside the classroom and he “took it wrongly, which made it fun for them and let them continue teasing” and made him go “home as soon as possible” (Interview 1, June 2010). On the other hand, his parents, the
first generation of Japanese Americans, seemed to have prepared a safe, secure, and comfortable home for their children and raised them with the greatest care, warmth, and affection. His mother played a central role in making such a home and supported her children’s careers even after they grew up.

In the 1960s, his mother had gone to the United States to have an arranged marriage with his father who had already landed in California from Shinano in Japan to seek better opportunities. She loved learning, especially reading and English language in particular, and aspired to have higher education. For socio-economic reasons, however, few chances allowed women to move on to university in Japan. His mother must have been no exception. Her desire for higher education might have been geared toward to becoming an education-minded mother and respecting those who were graduated from prestigious universities. In fact, her three children were graduated from one of the prestigious universities in California. She also cherished her home country, Shinano, and showed great hospitality toward and kept contact with people who visited California as exchange teachers from her home country while she worked for the municipal Board of Education as a bookkeeper. They did not forget her hospitality even after returning to Shinano.

While earning a master’s degree in library science, Leroy was confident of success in becoming a career university librarian. As a part-time student librarian in the university, however, he ran “into some problems” with his job advisor (Interview 2, June 2011). His problem with her was that he did not follow the plan she drew up as a labor union negotiator. It was supposed that the library budget was going to be reduced around personnel expenses paid for service hours and reference hours. Librarians normally had
given the reference help or library consultation to even those who only came in in the evening. Leroy understood that the consultations would not be compensated by the budget and that the normal practice would become “illegal” (Interview 3, October 2011). Despite this understanding, Leroy continued to help students with that kind of service because he “wanted to continue improving his skills” in consultation (Interview 3, October 2011). One evening, the job advisor stayed late in the library and watched him continue that kind of consulting service. Then she said to him, “You chose to break my rule. So, you don’t have a future as a university librarian” (Interview 3, October 2011). Neither did he see any future for himself in this field because that university library was so famous in this field that he would not be approved to get that kind of job anywhere in the West.

Leroy was beginning to prepare for qualifying as university librarian or a researcher in history. In those days, Leroy was enrolled in two master's programs in library science and history in one of the prestigious California state universities. In June 1987, he earned the two master degrees in library science and history. Due to the trouble with his job advisor in the library, he had to give up his future as a university librarian though he believed he was more gifted in library science than history. However, Leroy had another look at the other master’s degree in history he was about to obtain. His professor in history advised Leroy to choose Japanese history for his doctorate and that he should do research in Japan while teaching English as an ALT in order to make a living. This suggestion reminded him that teaching would make him more human than becoming a university librarian because he preferred talking to people face to face to giving
directions as a librarian. The history professor’s suggestion was appropriate in that not only was Leroy bilingual in English and Japanese but also his first consideration was communication and interaction with other people. In this way, he happened to have a chance to start to teach his first language, English, in Japan. He landed in Japan on the JET program in summer 1987 at the age of 25.

**Defining Leroy’s Teacher-Self**

Leroy started his teaching career in Japan with an extrinsic motivation for making a living whereas his intrinsic one was research for a PhD in Japanese history. “If I was thinking of going on to do a PhD in Japanese history, then this program that hired native speakers of English to teach in Japan might be a good way to make money while doing research” (Interview 1, June 2010). His covert motivations were learning to speak Japanese better and living by himself. His parents were also supportive of his decision.

Leroy participated in the ALT program in 1987, after “the Monbusho English Fellows” ended in 1986. The new ALT program he was in was a joint-ministry project: *Monbu Sho* or the Ministry of Education, *Jichisho* or the Ministry of Home Affairs, and *Gaimu Sho* or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, all three programs together. …but these three offices did not directly oversee the program. They worked through another organization or another agency. I don’t know what it is in Japanese. But the head office was in Kojimachi. (Interview 1, June 2010)

Leroy was first assigned to Kairaku City Board of Education and team-taught in a couple of junior high schools for two years. The city is located in western Idura. He did not tell me any stories of his early ALT life in Kairaku, but he recalled those days: “If I was doing teaching, then it was only a connection to support my research” but “after coming
to Japan, that teaching was a job that would make me more of human being” (Interview 2, June 2011).

Unknown to Leroy at the time, however, a covert arrangement worked out something for the next stage of his professional transfer. This special arrangement must have been secretly prepared for him by the inter-prefectural arrangement between Idura and Shinano boards of education as he explained:

I spent my first two years in Idura and then transferred to Shinano. That was definitely a turning point. … I think it is still probably true in this program I was in… Assistant language teachers cannot transfer between prefectures except in the case of getting married. I was not going to get married at the time when I transferred. It was, probably remained a secret deal, secret arrangement between the shido-ka, Idura shido-ka and Shinano. And this head office in Kojimachi was quite upset to be found out … it was a very strong example of who really controls the program. … It’s to-do-fu-ken. … they really control who gets hired. … But it so happened … a teacher that my parents knew. He came to work in Shinano … his friend, classmate at college was in the shido-ka in Idura. … When I said I must have seen him [the person in shido-ka in Idura] during the New Year’s winter vacation, he [the person in shido-ka in Shinano] asked me, “Do you like teaching in Japan?” “Yeah.” “Would you like to work in Shinano?” I said, “Sure!” I mean it would be nice [but], you know, “friends are here but it’s impossible because I’m not getting married.” He said, “Don’t worry! Just leave it to me.” And then, within a month later, I was told, “Oh, you are gonna get to transfer to Shinano.” “Really?” I was surprised. … The head office in Kojimachi said, “We got information that you are going to transfer from Idura to Shinano … No, we didn’t know. … This is not allowed. … But you were going already.” (Interview 1, June 2010)

Then Leroy transferred to Shinano as an ALT in 1987. This arrangement must have been made by the person on the Shinano Board of Education who showed his thankfulness for and returned the favor that he had received from his mother at the city office during the official stay in the United States. This tacit arrangement helped Leroy demonstrate what he could accomplish as a teacher. Even now Leroy has a great affinity for the Shinano
officials who met his mother in the city hall in the United States and whom she took care of as if they were her family members.

In consequence Leroy was assigned to two junior high schools in Shinano and served as an ALT for four years between 1989 and 1993. This unusual relocation from prefecture to prefecture helped him contribute to English education and develop his identity as an English teacher. Since coming to Japan, Leroy has kept contact with them and meets them every year in Shinano. These experiences awakened Leroy’s intrinsic motivation for education rather than research for a PhD in Japanese history, an idea he had once thought to pursue.

Leroy was gearing up for English education when he began to give voice to English education especially to students’ narrow mindedness and stereotypical views of English native speakers. At that time, those in Japanese educational institutions still believed that native speakers of English were all Caucasians and that they were judged not by use of the language but by appearance, phenotypes, as Kusaka (2014) argued as follows: “Most Japanese Americans share similar phenotypes with the majority of Japanese nationals, creating many misconceptions about our linguistic competence in Japanese and English and ability to act appropriately within Japanese cultural norms” (p. iv).

Leroy kept making tenacious efforts to have them look at him differently:

I think students in junior high school had difficulty in accepting me, the idea that native English speakers were not brown-hair and blue-eye people. But they needed native English speakers and could also use Japanese. So, I always answer, “You, kikoku shijo,” “No. I was born and raised in the States,” “How could you be? ’Cause you look like Japanese,” “So, maybe your English is not 100% native speaker.” (Interview 1, June 2010)
Toward the end of this turning point, Leroy felt he was also beginning to become an English teacher, saying,

by 1992 I was pretty sure that I wanted to be an English teacher. …I realized that I could not spend the rest of my life as an assistant English teacher and should be a PROPER English teacher. …But if I wanted to get a permanent position, teaching, I thought getting a master’s was important. (Interview 1, June 2010)

For the purpose of searching for a full-time, a tenured position, or “a permanent position” or “a contract position” in his phrase before becoming 50 years old, Leroy was determined to obtain an MA in TESOL. The ALT contract ended in 1993. For the following period of the two years between 1993 and 1995, Leroy taught in various educational settings and working styles such as “part time, full time, private lessons, private women’s junior college in Shinano” (Interview 1, June 2010).

In 1995 Leroy obtained a five-year contract position as a full-time English teacher at Shinano’s five-year engineering college. He often called the college kosen, which is an abbreviation of koto senmon gakko. This school has two kinds of departments: professional departments and general studies. He belonged to general studies. The first- and second-year students mainly learned “general studies” and later they “began to focus on their engineering majors” (Interview 1, June 2010).

For the first time in his teaching life, Leroy became a full-time teacher. His commitment in education and students’ guidance allowed him to be identified as a member of the school. He explained how he identified himself as a part of the school through full-time engagement in education:

… I was only committed to one school and certain grades, taught the same, if I was teaching, yeah, I think it was the time of teaching first year, students who would be the first year high school, second year students, second year high school and then
fourth and fifth students would like first and second junior college, I taught them every week. And not only did I teach them, I was also engaged in school events like a campus festival, or a speech contest, or I had office hours. So I felt that or I believed I was integral part of the faculty and I was not just a person who came in to teach and after teaching went home. (Interview 2, June 2011)

It is clear that being full-time or being tenured helps teachers grow professionally and is a primary condition for teacher development and healthy education. By immersing himself in this type of life as a full time teacher, Leroy realized that he had become a part of the school and was beginning to get interested in something more educational than teaching English in class only.

In terms of his employment status, the kosen is a national engineering college and Leroy was employed with the five-year contract as one of foreign teachers, gaikoku-jin kyoushi. This position was not fixed in a sense, but what he called “a rotating position.” It meant that his status as gaikoku-jin kyoushi was stable in a sense, but unstable in where he would be made to teach. There were about 50 kosens throughout Japan from Hokkaido through Okinawa. If he wanted to teach at kosen for more than five years, he could not choose where he would be sent next after the initial five-year service in Shinano. He might have been assigned to Hokkaido or Okinawa, for example, if he had wished to stay in the same position for more than five years. Leroy did not want to choose such a life. For his future stable status, he enrolled in the MA program in TESOL on the Japan campus of Hudson while teaching at kosen. He had realized that being full-time and tenured led teachers to genuine professional development and that learning in the MA program and obtaining its qualification would facilitate his entry to the professional
world. As was the case with several other participants, joining an MA program was a major turning point in his development as an English teacher.

At the site of the entry interview of Hudson’s MA program, Leroy admired the sincerity that the director Dr. Frederick Johnson showed to contribute to the field of TESOL. Then he decided to enroll in the MA program. An anecdote connected to his initial interview with Dr. Johnson relates how Leroy's changes began in how he viewed teaching. Back in the middle of the 1990s, Dr. Frederick Johnson was invited as a keynote speaker at a conference of the assistant language teachers program and planned to make a speech on his philosophy written in his authored book. On the following day at the conference, Leroy planned to hold a workshop on communication skills. At the conference, Dr. Johnson “said, ‘Challenge or question every situation you are in and to see if you can see it from a different perspective’” (Interview 1, June 2010). On the following day, some of his ALT audience who “probably had been out drinking the night before” came to Leroy’s workshop, “so they were not on the best behavior” (Interview 1, June 2010). One of them said, “Oh, what does commu-, we want to, we wanna challenge you, can you break rules about communication skills?” (Interview 1, June 2010). Leroy wondered who and what Dr. Johnson was, and thought, “Basically he ruined my workshop because these people walked out so” (Interview 1, June 2010).

Later, at the site of the MA program entry interview, Dr. Johnson started out to ask Leroy a regular question: “Oh, what do you hope to do while you do your master’s degree program at Hudson?” Leroy did not reply directly to this question. Instead, he asked to Dr. Johnson, “Well, I would like to know ‘what do you really mean by breaking
rules?’ because you broke my workshop” (Interview 1, June 2010). Then Dr. Johnson made apologetic remarks on the destructive actions some of Leroy's audience took based on their superficial understandings of his philosophy, which Leroy explained as follows:

I think he apologized, I think. “I’m sorry that those people took on themselves to be disruptive because that’s not my intention. I do not create revolutions. I create small changes.” When he was very apologetic and explained his philosophy, then I thought ok. He is a nice man, I thought. This is a program that I can do my MA, so I took many workshops under him and eventually you can say that my MA project is inspired by him too. (Interview 1, June 2010)

Leroy wrote up his MA project and it was accepted in 1998, entitled *The Hidden Visage of Learner Interviews: Conversation Revealed*. To look at parallel interaction, he used Vygotskian principles to see how much to try to establish rapport partly using scaffolding and negotiating for meaning. He also used other analytic tools such as functional grammar and a systematic observation scheme devised by Johnson. In the same year, he wrote another academic paper, *The Paired Learner Interview: A Preliminary Investigation Applying Vygotskian Insights* for an academic journal *Language, Culture and Curriculum*.

After the MA degree, Leroy enrolled in a distance education doctoral program in England and continued in it for nearly ten years. But in the 2nd interview of June 2011 said “enrolled is a nice way of putting in it. … indefinite suspension is more like it. …I was ready to give up.” He reflected as follows:

I thought I did not have conceptual skills to analyze to carry out research. My data was ten years old. So, I had to really make cross sectional longitudinal studies between two very different student populations and try to find some kind of connection between the two. (Interview 2, June 2011)
Although he said that he was not good at conceptualizing phenomena, he must have needed colleagues and advisors to discuss how to analyze and conceptualize data because interaction or communication is his major personal disposition. Despite this personal trait, he chose solitude in his doctoral studies, i.e., a long-distance doctoral program in the U.K. It was likely not because of his poor conceptual skills but because of his wrong choice of the doctoral program, too far from Japan.

Indeed, Leroy valued something interactive in learning and teaching in academic worlds as well as communication in his daily life. Without interaction, he tended to retreat from professional and academic commitments, for instance, his part-time library work as a graduate student in library science; the solitary Japanese-history doctoral research work in Japan for the degree of the United States; and the correspondence doctoral program in applied linguistics in the United Kingdom. Instead, interaction within educational and academic fields helped energize him and move him up to the next professional stages: (a) the second assignment as an ALT in Shinano, where he decided to choose English education instead of Japanese history; (b) the full-time assignment at kosen, where he recognized himself as part of school by becoming a full-time teacher; and (c) the enrollment in an MA TESOL program with the aspirations for expertise in TESOL by conducting a study on interactive interviews. Additionally while teaching at kosen (December 1993 to March 1999), he already started a part-time teaching position in tertiary education at S Women’s Junior College (April 1994-September 1995). Consequently, Leroy finally committed to English language education and was beginning
to teach full time and part time in tertiary education contexts such as kosen and a junior college.

Redefining Leroy’s Teacher-Self

In the period of ten years (April 1999-March 2009) and also in the years that followed, Leroy redefined himself as an EFL teacher. The ten-year period can be called his part-time teaching period after he resigned from kosen in March 1999 before he got a full-time position at Oka-no-ue Women’s University in 2009. Leroy made a tacit positional change in his job interviews. On the interview site, it was he that was determined to select a university, not to be selected by the university. He wanted to avoid being judged by appearance but to be judged by what he was. As a result, Leroy chose the three universities in which he would be able to teach English as a native speaker of English. Then, he renewed his contracts several times with F women’s University, Pauline University and BK University. They did not select him by phenotype, as often happened, which he explained as follows:

You’re Japanese. You have Japanese first name. Yeah. But I was born in the States. This is for a native speaker, not Japanese speaker of English. I am a native speaker. So, I thought when they happened in the interview stage, they judged by appearance. So, I thought even if they wouldn’t accept me I would turn them down. (Interview 1, June 2010)

Leroy emailed me his resume for the first time in June 2014. It was clear that suddenly he became productive in writing and making presentations in academic journals and conferences since 1997 after his enrollment in the MA TESOL program while teaching at kosen. From his resume I saw that between 1999 and 2009, he taught part time at F
Women’s University for 12 years (1999-2011); Pauline University for nine years (2001-2010); and BK University for a year and five months (October 2007-March 2009).

At some point in this ten-year period, Leroy’s beloved mother passed away while he was teaching at Pauline University. She had always supported his decisions and encouraged him to achieve them. Like other parents, his father believed that the eldest son should take care of his parents whereas his mother believed that it was she who should persuade her husband. Leroy recounted his mother’s view: “Leroy is the cho-nan [the eldest son], but his life is the most important. And if he is working, if he’s teaching, then his work is more important than his personal life.” (Interview 1, June 2010)

Leroy told the story of his mother’s last hours. On the phone, before leaving Japan for the United States, he said to her “I’m going to come to see you!” but she told him: “Don’t take a vacation. You should stay and teach. You shouldn’t come to see me. I’ll be OK. You, it’s more important you continue to teach.” (Interview 1, June 2010)

Then Leroy continued, “She died three hours later. I think she would know about this, this institution I was teaching at Pauline.” (Interview 1, June 2010). Her good personal relations with Shinano people continue to be followed up by Leroy.

In 2009 Leroy became a full-time assistant professor at Oka-no-ue Women’s University. Before the employment, he had a job interview. They never asked him any phenotypical questions, but rather they elicited his thoughts in the following way:

When it was time for me to, they said, “Do you have questions?” I said, “Yes. How come you are considering me who looks Japanese to be for this position? I think the question they ask me during the job interview. This question everybody thinks “How did you think about teaching women students?” And I said, “I don’t look at women from the outside, look at the inside.” So, they said to me, “Well, we don’t
look at you from the outside, look at your inside, too.” So, I said, “Great.”
(Interview 1, June 2010)

In the third interview in 2011 with me, Leroy explained that he was assigned to be the homeroom teacher, so he had to provide some of the students with educational guidance. As he had no experience in this role, he was greatly confused. He tried hard to push himself into recognizing himself as an educator. Three years later, when I asked him about what he told me in the third interview, he wrote, “it is not a heady enterprise” about the role of homeroom teacher though he had continued as a homeroom teacher (Email communication, August 2014). Apparently he had gotten used to his role as a homeroom teacher.

After he had been accepted as a full-time faculty member at Oka-no-ue, Leroy continued to teach part time at Pauline U. till 2010 and F Women’s university till 2011. He also continued academic activities at JALT. In 2014 Leroy finally became a tenured associate professor. He also had the following obligations at Oka-no-ue:

1. A homeroom teacher to about 60 students for 4 years;
2. Holding a seminar for the 3rd and 4th year students and supervising graduation theses (20 pages written in English);
3. Responsibilities for a number of committees, mainly to do with study abroad and entrance exams; and
4. Concurrently serving as a graduate school faculty. (Email Communication, August 2014)

Outside the university, Leroy co-edited a textbook on CNN student news by A Press and belonged to the special interest group on learner development in JALT.

To summarize, Leroy redefined himself as a teacher researcher in tertiary education in the EFL context. He reached the peak of his career by facing his realities and exerting himself in his professional future life. Finally he was employed by a university that
recognized him as a genuine native-speaker and full-time faculty member of an English language department who can help students grow without their being misled by appearances. After a diverse professional trajectory, Leroy became a member of the tenured faculty of an English language department, even though he had missed chances to obtain a doctorate in history or applied linguistics. His professional life trajectories, however, have demonstrated that Leroy is accomplished enough to be honored in several fields. Were she alive, his mother would be no doubt be delighted to hear that he had become tenured.

Summary of Chapter 7

As Americans working in Japan for much of their adult lives, Lena and Leroy worked on the borderlands where they could negotiate between their tensions and allegiances in their professional lives (Johnston, Pawan, & Mohan-Taylor, 2005). Particularly their tensions in Japan differed from those of many non-native English teachers of Japanese. They always kept exploring the reasons they kept staying in Japan, i.e., reasons for being. Their reasons were becoming tenured educators and/or marrying a Japanese. Both took many years to define, and then redefine themselves as English teachers in Japan. In Lena’s school, tensions existed between the proponents (Lena and some others) of SLA and those of GTM when communicative language teaching was introduced. The tug of war between them continued even after the SLA proponents graduated from the American graduate school. Then Lena went back to the United States and stayed there for several years. When she returned from the United States, she had
already acquired the ability to negotiate with the others in the same high school. Then she was recognized as part of the school but she left the school and transferred to the junior college nearby.

Leroy liked learning in general since childhood. As an undergraduate and then a graduate student in several master’s programs, his expertise shifted from library science, history, and applied linguistics to TESOL. As a result he obtained three kinds of MA degrees in library science, history and TESOL. Among them he made the best use of TESOL for his career. Once he made a decision to live as an English teacher in Japan, he became strategic and coordinated all his efforts to accomplish his purpose, that is, teaching in a university that did not judge teachers and students by appearance. Finally he found a university that would employ him as full-time faculty. Now he is a tenured associate professor.
CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS: JAPANESE MID-CAREER EMPLOYEES BECOMING EFL TEACHERS/RESEARCHERS AND THEIR SELF-DEFINING AND REDEFINING STAGES

This chapter reports on two Japanese EFL teachers of English, Akira and Jutaro, whose first career choices differed from their understated motivation for English language and education. Both of them became interested in the English language in childhood or adolescence, but Akira initially chose to work as a government employee whereas Jutaro initially worked as a non-government employee. As soon as they began working, they realized that their first jobs did not suit them. It took them more than a decade to become qualified as English teachers and to find tenured teaching jobs. They spent their teaching careers mainly as tenured high school teachers and part-time university teachers. What differentiated them from the other participants was that they became tenured teachers after they were immersed in the way an institution worked. Moreover, in the interviews they did not talk about institutional discourses after becoming teachers. In a sense, when they became teachers, they had already acquired the ability to negotiate with institutions because of their previous employment.
Akira

When I got to know Akira, I learned that he had long been interested in human rights and English language as means of communication. The two interests have been closely knitted throughout his professional life. I present his early life story first.

Akira’s Background

Akira was born in the year after World War II had begun; his education thus started under American occupation. As a school child, he observed the segregation on a major city railway called Yamanote Line. The train cars were classified into first-class, second-class, and third-class. Only a few American soldiers were occupying a second-class car and enjoyed luxury while a great number of ordinary Japanese people were jam-packed in the third-class cars. He asked his father why the Japanese were treated differently. His father replied, “(Japan is) a defeated nation. Might is right. Discrimination exists.” 敗戦国だ。勝てば官軍だ。差別はあるんだよ。（Interview 1, March, 2010).

Akira could not forget these words. In informal settings, eight-or-nine-year-old Akira was fascinated by English pronunciation and word order that differed greatly from Japanese. In his childhood, his nine-year-older brother often told him how wonderful English was while they were bathing together in the Japanese-style bathtub:

[In those days he] might have been a high school student. I remember he taught me, “He likes studying English.” I got interested in pronunciation and word order such as subject and verb. English language is quite different from Japanese. It has different word order and pronunciation. They never leave a subject out. Ah, English is such a language! (Interview 1, March 2010)

[兄はあの頃、]高校かな。”He likes studying English,”とか、教えてくれるんですよ。発音とか語の順序に興味を持ったんですね。SVとか。ああ、英語は日本語と違っ
This experience might have motivated Akira not only to listen to an English radio program at home as a junior high school student, but also to attend an English conversation class once a week in high school that he found in a church near his high school. The conversation class was open to local people without tuition to propagate Christianity:

In high school, which was a high school of commerce, I found a church near the school. To propagate Christianity, they taught English conversation without tuition to the local people. It may have been Protestant. The missionary’s wife, who was beautiful, taught us in the evening on Fridays. It was exciting when I joined the class. (Interview 1, March 2010)

These experiences learning in informal settings instigated Akira to actively develop his English. Communication with native English speakers enormously affected his language output. He seized the opportunity when he could. In addition to the missionary teacher’s class, he tried out his English with American soldiers stationed on Camp Ohta in Gunma Prefecture. It was another source of excitement in communication in English.

One of my club members took me to Camp Ohta, Gunma, of the U.S. forces. I talked in English with the soldiers. Ah, it was fabulous and real excitement. (Interview 1, March 2010)

仲間の紹介で、群馬県太田にある進駐軍の基地があったんですね。そこへ行って、そのこの基地の軍人と話したりして。ああ、これは面白いと思いました。刺激だったですね。
In high school Akira not only joined an English club but also set up a club called the English Conversation Club and he featured in dramas done in English.

Generally, high schools of commerce offered fewer English classes than academic high schools.

We had fewer English classes than those in academic high schools. I set up English Conversation Club, joined English Club, and performed a play. In those days it was a boys’ school. I played a female role as Cosette in Les Misérables. I was made a fool of by other students. Only girls’ audience said, “Pretty.” They came to see the play from a nearby girls’ high school. Only on that occasion did I gain popularity.

(Interview 1, March 2010)

英語は普通高校より時間数が少なかったです。会話クラブ[English Conversation Club]を作って、英語クラブにも入って、劇をやりたり、当時は男子校だったので、私がジャンバルジャンのコレット女役をやったんですよね。周りの生徒から馬鹿にされました。嘲笑されたというか。可愛いと言ってくれたのは、近くに女子高があって、見ていても、人気はその時だけです。

Thus, the English language fascinated Akira from an early age. The three exciting events of receptive learning and two events of English language production formed a series of cumulative turning points that led to a major turning point later, becoming an English teacher. However, between the cumulative events and the major one, there were a series of other events that highlighted the choice of becoming an English teacher. These events were connected to his interest in human rights.

As a logical job choice, however, because he was a student in commerce in high school in a high-growth period of the Japanese economy, Akira was supposed to work for a bank, but instead he became a government employee. However, he soon realized that he had been integrated into a hierarchical chain of command. In this chain of command, a high school graduate had to stay as a rank-and-file employee throughout his career.

However hard he worked, he could neither move up to higher ranks nor give voice to the
authorities, which he learned was stipulated by law. He also found that top-ranking
officers were recruited from T University. Hence, Akira found that everything went
against him.

To move up to a higher rank, high-school-graduate government employees were
generally encouraged and welcomed by government offices to major in law at a
university after work and to pass the National Bar Examination. Akira enrolled as a law
major at a four-year university in 1965. He studied there for two years for the purpose of
taking the examination. However, he realized that the bar examination was too difficult
for him and gave it up after two years.

**Defining Akira’s Teacher-Self**

After giving up his study of law, Akira changed his major to English literature in
1965 and took English teacher education courses to obtain a high school teacher’s license.
In fact, the law major was encouraged by the office; it was not Akira’s own choice.
Instead, he decided to become a teacher because teachers had far more freedom than
government employees and could express their opinions in teachers’ meetings on equal
terms, which is what he has been pursuing throughout his career. Finally he passed the
examination for public high school teachers and was accepted by R high school. At the
moment when he managed to become a teacher, neither could Akira define his teacher
identity nor could he think of others because he was so filled with the emotion to give
voice, but he came to define himself as a tenured public high school teacher of English.
After becoming a homeroom teacher, he was supposed to learn what listening to others would mean.

In 1971 at the age of 29, Akira began his teaching career as a tenured public high school teacher in R public high school where he taught English to those who worked in the daytime and studied at school in the evenings. He taught there for 11 years. He talked about the reason why he changed from his work as a government employee to that of a public high school teacher:

I had two reasons that I entered the world of teachers: ordinary teachers except for those in the administrative position were all equal and were acknowledged to have discretionary powers to some extent concerning what we wanted to do. (Interview 2, June 2010)

教員の世界は、管理職以外は、一般教員は平等だということで、なおかつ自分の行動でも、ある程度自由裁量が効くであろうと、その二つの理由で教員の世界に入りました。

Redefining Akira’s Teacher-Self

A problem with Akira’s classroom management arose from his students and eventually helped him to redefine his teacher-self and develop his identity as both a teacher and a human rights advocate. In the first year Akira’s students complained to the school about him, saying, “Remove that homeroom teacher!” (Interview 2, June 2010)

[あの担任を外せ！]:

Although I became a teacher [after being a government employee], I spontaneously showed both good and bad students the attitudinal habit of treating citizens the way I had acquired during my time as a government employee. I mean, the habit was “governing classes above the people.” I showed this habit even in the classroom: you should follow me because I have decided you should do this and that. Before long, I could not get along well with my students. Experienced teachers helped me with classroom management. With their help, I managed to bounce back from the setback. (Interview 1, March 2010)
In Interview 2 in June 2010, Akira explained how he explored ways to solve this problem. He laid his true feelings bare among his colleagues and “the education section of the teachers’ labor union” [組合の教研], and asked for advice in “the student behavior guidance association” [生活指導研究会]. The struggle continued about five years.

During the long struggle, he said that “I had a good break to attend the other study group meetings that took place outside the school” (Interview 2, June 2010) [外へ行ってほかの研究会に出て、発散してきた]. In the study meetings, the advice given by the director of the teachers’ labor union rang true to him:

I was persuaded: “First of all you should love your students,” “Do not blame your students for not understanding your lessons,” and “You should free yourself of bureaucratic attitudes and the habit of treating citizens as though they exist for the sake of the bureaucracy.” In his words I felt as if I were rescued from the hell and had a welcome sense of relief. Then I have kept trying to put it into action to stand by my students. Even afterwards I sometimes forgot the valuable lesson for a moment, though. (Akira Email Communication, March 2014)

This subconscious top-down manner had already become Akira’s second nature during the past 11.5 years in the government office. However, this incident made him aware of
how deeply this attitude was rooted in his sub-conscious. Although he did not give a full account of the way to solve this prolonged five-year problem with his students, he reflected on himself and analyzed the cause of his students’ defiance, saying in a follow-up email, “Even when it comes to talking about great figures who have protected human rights, I have to keep it in mind to give thoughtful attention to those of my students” [偉人の人権擁護の業績を話す際も、生徒の人権に配慮していかなければならない] (Akira email Communication, March 2014).

In terms of human rights, this incident with his students might have made Akira aware of a double-edged sword: Those who were proponents for human rights might turn into those who are against human rights when their situation is reversed. For example, after Akira was employed by the government as a rank and file worker, he claimed his human rights. In turn, when he became a teacher and taught students, he was told by his students, “Remove that homeroom teacher!” The students’ dissatisfaction can be rephrased as Look at me as human. This time his students claimed their human rights against Akira. At some points in his teaching career, he might have realized this double-edged-sword role of human rights but he did not articulate this realization. However, his subsequent actions often indicated his exploration of this issue.

Those overlapping professional activities with his students represented the restructuring stage in which Akira’s two passions were once separated. In the first assigned high school, Akira’s belief that he was a proponent of human rights was destroyed by his students, who demanded that he be removed as a homeroom teacher. This claim made Akira realize not only that he had guided his students in a top-down
manner that oppressed them, but also that they claimed their identities as humans. To settle this problem, he had consultations with colleagues inside and outside of school. After solving the problem, he turned his attention to English and obtained two qualifications related to English at the end of his term in the high school. At this stage, his two passions underpinning his professional identity, human rights and English education, were separate, but he kept exploring ways to integrate them.

In 1982, Akira was transferred to MMH Public High School and taught there for 12 years. He was appointed as a “teacher in charge of all the classes for a whole year” (Interview 2, June 2010) i.e., 学年主任. Thus, his hard work was recognized and his position was secure at school. In his further life history accounts from this period, he mainly reported English-related activities outside of school in summers in which he utilized his qualifications of the STEP and Interpretation Guide. In the long summer vacations he escorted Japanese tourists to overseas whereas he attended the Japan Congress against A-bombs and H-Bombs as a volunteer interpreter and translator. He confided, “The reason I became a teacher, now I can tell you, was that they have long vacations [every year]! That attracted me [a great deal to the world of teachers]” (Interview 3, September 2010). [教員になったっていうのは、今だから言うけど、長期の vacation があるでしょ。あれが魅力だったんですよ。] Those qualifications greatly helped him be immersed in a real world of English language use.

In 1994, Akira was assigned to the third high school, KN Public High School. His interest was geared toward teaching English because he began worrying about the growing gap between high-proficiency and low-proficiency students. More and more
students could not succeed in the English classes. Akira analyzed this tendency as due to the shifting focus of English education policy from grammatical analysis of reading texts requiring receptive skills to productive speaking and writing. He further believed that those who had not had time to acquire receptive skills would not acquire productive skills. Hence, Akira maintained that more and more dropouts in English education were being produced. He also deplored the recent tendency of the proficiency-test oriented English language education. Instead, Akira proposed English language education for character building:

> English education focusing on communication was important, but we should not look away from the reality in which English education as media has been contributing to part of students’ own character building. By way of English language we have learned not only a variety of cultures of other countries but also what situations those in the cultures are currently involved in. Such knowledge and experiences we gained have helped us build our own characters. (Interview 1, March 2010)

Communication 重視の英語、それも大事だったけど、プラス、やっぱり英語を通じて、他国の文化を学び、他国の事情について学び、それによって他国の人たちと英語について交流して、自分の人格形成に役立てる。

These ideas were also a part of the theme of an English teachers’ association he was a member of at that time.

Under these circumstances, Akira began writing supplementary English readers for high school students. The topics concerned individuals who had fought for human rights: Ryuhei, a victim of AIDS from HIV-tainted blood supplies, Chris Moon, a land mine victim and an English runner, and Dream Chaser, a marathon runner. Akira kept exploring what type of teacher he wanted to become and finally integrated his two passions, English language and human rights, which took shape in his professional and
personal identities. He also became an English-language practitioner and small storybook writer who concerned himself with humanism and holism. He retired from his tenured position in 2002.

After his retirement, Akira continued to redefine himself as an English educator. In the period of ten years after retirement he concentrated on various kinds of English related part-time professional activities (2002-2007), graduate study (2007-2009), and other part-time professional activities with the MA (2009-2012). He taught part-time for five years in another public high school. This position had been offered by the metropolitan Board of Education to any retired teacher as a token of gratitude for their long contribution to public high school education (2002-2007). Concurrently, he resumed part-time English-related work for a Japan weekly press (2002-2006), in which he summarized news on politics in English with native English speakers. He learned how to translate Japanese news into English. In the second year while doing such work, he reflected on his life:

Huh? Am I getting along well with my life? Is it coming to an end? At the age of 65, will my [professional] life be over? For the rest of my life, should I spend my life working in the field in good weather and reading at home when it rains? No, no. I don’t like it. (Interview 2, June 2010)

あれー？俺、これでいいのかな？これで終わっちゃうのかな？これで 65 になって、もう、私の人生、もう終わり？とは、晴耕雨読の生活。嫌、それは嫌だ！

His friend, Professor T at SU University pushed him into enrolling in the master’s program by encouraging him, “With a master’s degree, you will be able to teach in universities” (Interview 2, June 2010) [修士課程を取れば、大学の教員にもなれますよ].

Akira decided that at graduate school he should learn theories that underlay teaching
practices from which he had ignored during his busy teaching career. He finished the part-time work, enrolled in a master’s program, was qualified as school psychologist in WK University, and concentrated on the graduate-school study (2007-2009).

After the MA degree, Akira began part-time teaching in a university and evening classes in a junior high school. For the first time, he resumed teaching English part-time at two universities at SU and HS in 2009, and then in 2010, he added TT University. In the same year, he also began to teach evening classes at M public junior high school though he had never previously taught junior high school students. A majority of them came from foreign countries and did not understand Japanese, so English was used as a medium for teaching, learning, and communication.

In this way, Akira’s two passions for English language and human rights were finally integrated into his approach to education in a creative way. He was originally a proponent of English learning for communication. He was also good at inventing something new in teaching. In 2011, the earthquake that occurred on March 11 and the subsequent Fukushima Nuclear Disaster inspired him to create ways to teach communicative English in which he combined English-language learning with human rights for all levels of English learners. SU University faculty also helped him. In class in May 2011 Akira had his university students first understand the messages written in English from overseas, then write supporting and encouraging messages. Finally he took his students to the disaster-stricken schools with those messages translated in Japanese in May and July, 2011 (paraphrased from email communication, March 2014). Additionally, in the same year Akira used the same strategy for the earthquake victims in Turkey in
November and visited there with his students at the end of March 2012. After coming home, Akira retired from teaching at the age of 70.

To summarize, after leaving government work, Akira first defined himself as a homeroom teacher and English teacher who subconsciously tried to control his students in the top-down manner as he had been treated in the government offices. He compartmentalized his identities, never letting his professional identity learned in the government job encroach upon his personal identity in favor of human rights. His defiant students and his colleagues, however, made him recall that teachers should help their students grow as humans. In the redefining stage of his professional identity in his English-language education, Akira made several attempts to integrate his human rights education into his English education in his secondary and tertiary education, engaging in many human rights activities before his final retirement.

**Jutaro**

Jutaro has always been an autonomous person who continues to work on whatever he once decides to pursue. As a junior high school student, he began to show this learner autonomy in English language learning in addition to a sign of his interest in education for the whole person. Not until the age of 34 when he became a tenured high school and part-time university teacher, had his learner autonomy been integrated into his whole-person education. His learner, teacher, and researcher autonomy continued in the later stages of his professional development.
Jutaro’s Background

Like the other students, Jutaro began to study English in junior high school and privately continued to study it from radio programs since junior high school. Even now Jutaro regularly listens to English conversation and English education radio programs even when he goes overseas by carrying a special radio antenna with him. Furthermore, the Japanese TV drama series *School Wars*, which appeared around 1984, fascinated Jutaro. In the drama, a teacher exerted all his powers on having his students become independent persons in the club activities. Jutaro seemed to believe that the job of teachers is to help vulnerable adolescent students grow into self-reliant young adults. This stance is also evident in three kinds of newsletters he wrote late in his career for his homeroom class (29 newsletters entitled *School Wars* issued in June 2010 through April 2014), his and other teachers’ English classes (36 newsletters *We are the World* issued in October 2010 through February 2013), and the students who participated in a homestay program (nine newsletters *John Manjiro* in April through September 2010).

His mother, who discovered his autonomous approach to studying English through radio programs, suggested to him that he should go to an English conversation school when he enrolled in university (Interviews 1 & 2, February and June, 2010). He found studying English at the conversation school to be so fascinating that he continued studying there for about 13 years, before he was enrolled in Hudson graduate school in New York and after returning to Japan to become an English teacher. As an undergraduate, the English he learned at the English conversation school motivated him to travel overseas, which included “about 40 countries such as Southeast Asia, Australia,
and Africa” (Interview 1, February 2010 and JALT Omiya Presentation, January 2012). In East Africa, he joined other travelers who were non-native English speakers, including Japanese, Germans, Italians, and Koreans. He felt that the Japanese travelers had low English proficiency and that “the other non-native speakers of English were superior to the Japanese travelers” [non-native でも、皆、日本人よりうまい] (Interview 1, February 2010). This perception encouraged him to keep up at least with the other non-native speakers of English in terms of communicative competence. This experience might have led to his academic interest in second language acquisition later at Hudson graduate school, New York. However, Jutaro’s interest in English had been private before he enrolled in graduate school, whereas in public his focus was on science in high school and in economics as an undergraduate.

Jutaro did not begin his career as an English teacher. He had a job interview at Nihonbashi Gas Company in his senior year of university and they promised him to send him to the United States. However, in the following year the bubble economy collapsed and the company sent him to Texas only for two months and for the rest of his five-year career in the company he was obligated to sit in front of a computer in the accounting section, which bored him. At the same time this economic crisis empowered him to improve his English in order to obtain the highest levels and scores in major English proficiency examinations, such as Japan’s First-Grade STEP test, a score of 633 on the TOEFL, 970 on the TOEIC, and the United Nations Association’s Test of English the Special A. In that period, he was passionate about English tests even while working for the company. At that time, he had no clear purposes for which he intended to use the
qualifications though he said in his interview that he wanted to become a textbook writer. It became clear that he desired to study English for academic purposes. This desire empowered him to save money to study at Hudson graduate school in New York in June 1997 after working for the company for five years and five months (April 1992-June 1997). Even when he enrolled at Hudson, he had not yet pictured his career trajectory after the MA and was still exploring how to use the qualification. On the other hand, his main interest was in second language acquisition, bilingual speech perception, and interlanguage, areas he has continued to investigate as a researcher even after graduation.

**Defining Jutaro’s Teacher-Self**

At Hudson, Jutaro was supposed to engage in his graduate studies for four semesters, but in fact he finished them in three semesters. At that time, the native speakers of English who wanted to obtain U.S. teachers’ licenses usually engaged in practice teaching at an elementary or junior high school whereas international graduating students were only supposed to teach adults at a language school or university (Interview 1, February 2010). However, when Jutaro volunteered to teach children in his fourth semester, this idea was accepted, and he was sent to a junior high school as a practice teacher. One new aspect of teaching children was that behavioral issues, such as having students sit properly and giving them right directions, was far more important in primary and secondary education than the linguistics or grammar instruction he had learned at graduate school. Now that he invested all his efforts in behavioral guidance, he was rewarded by his students on the very final day with the words “We love you, Jutaro,”
which moved him to tears. He came to the conclusion that children were the best students

(Interview 1, February 2010):

I was allowed to stay there for four semesters but in fact I finished [all the courses] within three semesters. Then, I just asked [the office] whether or not I would be allowed to teach children for practice teaching in my fourth semester. Eventually they allowed me to teach them at junior high school. What a great impact on me! It was where I had long been wishing to teach! Elements of classroom management were added [to practice teaching]! Until then, I had been engaged in linguistics, grammar instruction, etc. Such kinds of instruction were all out of question now. All I taught was how to give directions to and how to instruct those who, for instance, could not sit properly on their chairs in class. When it came to the very end of practice training, they said to me, “We love you, Jutaro.” It made me weep. I was certain that I’d prefer children to adults if I teach. Without this experience, I might have become an instructor at a language institute or university faculty. That experience did make me aware that it would be my dream to teach junior and senior high school students.

This excitement reminded him of his favorite TV drama series School Wars (Interview 1, February 2010). At that point he wanted to continue to teach junior or senior high school students in New York before returning to Japan and becoming an English teacher.

Hudson graduate school in New York provided one-year working visas for international graduate students. Jutaro was one of them. He obtained an informal assurance of employment on graduation as a teacher of Japanese from FDA High School in New York, which had a Japanese language program. A high ratio of these students went on to universities. However, the Board of Education rejected his employment
because his major was TESOL, a major that had not earned him enough credits in teaching Japanese. In spite of this rejection, he did not give up job hunting. He had a hunch that he would fall into difficulties because he did not have a green card, but that one of the schools in New York would accept his application. He sent his CVs to almost 50 schools in the Bronx. At the last moment, TR High School accepted his application though the new school year had already begun: “I had been unemployed at the end of September, though the new school year had already begun” (Interview 1, February 2010) [9月に学校始まるけど、9月1日まで、失業していました]．

In September 2000, Jutaro became a one-year contract ESL high school teacher at TR High School in the Bronx. He defined himself at that point as a full-time ESL high school teacher. It was “a public high school where many of the students were children of illegal immigrants who had no working visas.” (Interview 1, 2010) [公立です。不法移住の、就労とかの子が多いんじゃないですかね]．He taught ESL to Hispanic students.

Jutaro had a very difficult time with his students in TR High School. Despite the difficulties in subject-matter and behavioral guidance, he never ran away from the difficulties. The students neither sat at their desks nor listened to what he told them. Moreover, they prevented him from carrying out what he planned to do by throwing trash at him and causing other disturbances. He made sharp retorts to their wrong doings by shouting at them. Jutaro continued the story as follows: [For a long time] I had been thinking that I could have knocked them down unless the Board of Education made any annoying comments. (email communication, January 11, 2012) [教育委員会がうるさいことと言わなければ、ぶっとばしてやるのに、とずっと思っていました。]
In fact, not only were his students continually watching him react against their misbehavior, but also analyzing his reactions. They probably sensed that Jutaro never gave up on them. They might have known that he always stayed late at school to comment on their assignments and prepare for the next day’s lessons. The birthday cake present from them at the end of the school year was a sign of his students’ recognition of his efforts as a teacher.

[One day], when I had served out nearly a year, in front of the classroom I saw my good-for-nothing students were grinningly waiting for me to come, saying “Don’t get into the classroom” to prevent me from entering. “Blocking my way means,” I guessed, “they have been up to something no good again!” Then I said to them, “Don’t play games with me. Get away!” Then, I opened the door. I was surprised to see a cake on my desk! They sang, “Happy birthday to you.” Then I said to them, “Don’t get into the classroom.” Then I said to them, “Don’t play games with me. Get away!” Then, I opened the door. I was surprised to see a cake on my desk! They sang, “Happy birthday to you.” Then I said to them, “Don’t play games with me. Get away!” Then, I opened the door. I was surprised to see a cake on my desk! They sang, “Happy birthday to you.” Then I said to them, “Don’t play games with me. Get away!” Then, I opened the door. I was surprised to see a cake on my desk! They sang, “Happy birthday to you.”

Surprisingly, however, it was those awful students who prepared a birthday cake for me [on my birthday]. They were the first who opened up to me. Then they made me open up to them. … I was delighted all the more. (Email communication, January 11, 2012)

In the first interview in 2010 he told that story in a former quote but in a 2012 email communication, he added his reflection that they first opened their hearts to him and then that he was allowed to show them something deep inside him.
**Redefining Jutaro’s Teacher-Self**

This was the moment when Jutaro was able to look at the students quite differently; this birthday cake episode helped him redefine his teacher-self. His students made him aware that obstinacy must have been built into himself and that it was those so-called “bad” students who helped Jutaro give up the obstinacy, see his students in new ways, and grow as a teacher. This story is different from ordinary hero-teacher stories such as the one from the TV drama, *School Wars*, which had fascinated adolescent Jutaro. Ordinary hero teachers are supposed to be endowed with excellent qualities from the beginning and turn bad students into good ones. They are ideal, larger than life, and far from real-life teachers. In reality, teachers are made to become teachers by students. More important is whether or not teachers have the capability of learning from all that surrounds them.

The head teacher subsequently thought more highly of Jutaro’s teaching performance and negotiated with those in the Board of Education to try to have him remain in the school another year:

... the head teacher thought more highly of me as a hard worker, well, because I stayed late almost every day at school after class to make comments on the homework my students had turned in and some of the other work for my students whereas many other teachers left school right after their classes. (Interview 2, June 2010)

But the negotiation with the Board of Education turned out to be unsuccessful in the end.
Jutaro could not forget that feeling of excitement teaching at TR High School, however. If he wanted to work in the United States another year, then he had to apply for another working visa, and this required a sponsor. He wanted to make the best use of this chance that he had come all the way to the United States for, so he decided to travel around the United States until his present working visa expired. He left New York for San Diego by rent-a-car to visit several Boards of Education to look for employment as an ESL teacher as well as to enjoy baseball games and to visit parks. Finally he landed in Japan just one day before his working visa expired. Although he could not get a teaching job on his return journey, he recollected that he had nothing more to lose. It meant that Jutaro had lived life to the fullest in America between 1998 and 2000 and that he would be starting a new life as a teacher in Japan.

In Japan, in the period of two years and five months (October 2000-March 2003), Jutaro was situated more deeply in different overlapping professional activities in multiple borderland spaces: (a) the enrollment in the correspondence courses of B University to obtain secondary school teacher certification of English-language teaching, (b) a tutoring school, (c) a support school run by EK Corporation, and (d) part-time teaching at HK University.

First, Jutaro planned to become a tenured high school English teacher because he had found in the United States that teaching in secondary school suited him best. To prepare for this in Japan, he first needed to obtain the teaching certification for secondary school teachers. For this reason, he had to become an undergraduate student again in
order to complete teacher-training courses in Japan. He chose the correspondence courses of B University in Kyoto.

Second, at the same time Jutaro had to make a living so that he could enroll in the undergraduate studies, complete the two-year training period, obtain the certification, and become a tenured high school teacher. He began job hunting in the fields of education by sending his CVs to many educational institutions. Although he was already a holder of an MA in TESOL, the MA degree was not necessarily taken into account in Japan.

Third, in November 2000, Jutaro was employed as an English teacher at a school run by EK corporation. He taught there for two years and five months until he became a tenured teacher at DK Boys’ High School. This corporation ran tutoring schools for university aspirants and a support school or [サポート校], both of which were Japanese. The two kinds of schools run by this corporation were not under the Ministry of Education.

Two kinds of students enrolled in the tutoring school: “aspirants for university” and “support school” in Japanese (Interview 1, February 2010). The latter was for “non-attending students or dropouts” from ordinary high schools (Interview 2, June 2010). Jutaro taught both kinds of students.

In the former classes for university aspirants, the students concentrated on passing university entrance examinations. He was first assigned to analyze major university entrance examinations by the older teachers. While analyzing those examinations, he found some patterns in rephrasing and measuring discourse competence. When Jutaro taught the students how to read English textbooks aloud, the students resisted by not
attending the class. He recollected, “they didn’t come next time on” [生徒、やめろし] (Interview 2, June 2010). Some female students also resisted learning English for communication, saying, “Whoever that teacher can be, soon he won’t come back!” [何なの、あの先生、すぐ止めちゃうから] (Interview 2, June 2010). They seemed to accept only the grammar-translation method.

The school that the dropout students attended was called a support school, which is a term in Japanese English or [サポート校] in Japanese (Email communication with Jutaro, April 11, 2014). The support school was not authorized by the government; it was part of the SS correspondence-course high school, so the students officially belonged to the SS high school. Jutaro reported how he related to the students in the support school:

Generally the students did not like studying. They could not submit any assignments. They skipped schooling. They didn’t have any opportunities to come into contact with their classmates. So, our main job was to support such students by facilitating schooling and helping them write their reports. [As for the assignment of writing reports] those who hardly appeared in class could not turn in their reports. Once a month we put aside an early evening class for them to complete their accumulated assignments of writing [which were called “reports”]. The [writing marathon] event was called “the day for writing up without stopping.” [As for schooling, the teachers of SS high school and those of support school divided their responsibilities.] On the day of schooling, the teachers of the SS correspondence high school officially visited the tutoring school under the EK corporation to give lessons to the students. They could earn the credits if they attended the lessons. On the previous day of schooling, support school teachers particularly urged the chronic hangover students who regularly appeared in class in the afternoon, “Don’t be late, tomorrow at least” and “[For tomorrow] you should go to bed earlier tonight.” (Email communication with Johan, April 11, 2014)
Jutaro noted that there were two types of support school students:

The students were divided into two types, belonging to Class A or Class B. The former was for naughty students including hot-rod losers and the latter was for those who were wounded emotionally. In between the classrooms was there a teachers’ room. Class B students were allowed to go to the Class A but the reverse was prohibited. It was amazing that they never broke the rule. I sometimes saw some students from both classes sitting in the teachers’ room and talking together. It was a strange place indeed. (Email communication with Jutaro, April 11, 2014)

The third type of motivated students had a clear goal of becoming high school graduates.

Jutaro related an example:

There were many students [in the support school] who had a sense of purpose: “I want a high school diploma though I once dropped out.” I cannot forget a male student who had a sense of achievement. He enrolled in this support school when he was over 20 and graduated at the age of 24. [At the graduation ceremony] he attended with his daughter. While teaching, I recognized that he had genuine motivation for learning. So far as I have experienced, it seems that Japanese people are far more concerned about being qualified as high school graduates than Americans. (Email communication with Johan, April 30, 2014)
To summarize Jutaro’s teaching in the EK corporation, there were two kinds of schools: tutoring school and a support school. Jutaro taught English at a tutoring school and support school and he gave out-of-curricular behavioral guidance to the students in the support school. Because the EK corporation linked up with the SS correspondence high school, the students in the support school were qualified as high school students because they received the education given by the SS correspondence high school teachers. In the English classes in the tutoring school, Jutaro found that lessons using TESOL or SLA techniques did not work, whereas they were effective in the support school. In this turning point, Jutaro worked hard for the students who lived their lives on the border between formal and non-formal education. In contrast to the troubled students in TR high school in New York, the students in the support school lived on the margins where stronger consciousness of becoming high school graduates resided in the students’ or their parents’ minds. Working in these two educational settings—these borderland spaces—allowed Jutaro to become an English teacher in Japan who was able to give behavioral guidance to Japanese students.

In 2002, another overlapping professional activity began in parallel with Jutaro’s studying to obtain a teacher’s certificate of secondary education and teaching at the EK Corporation. One of Jutaro’s colleagues at Hudson, Japan Campus, offered him a part-time lecturer position in the university where she taught, HK University. He was delighted with this offer. He taught there for a year (April 2002-March 2003) until he became a tenured high school teacher in April, 2003. Jutaro wrote an article titled Bilingual Speech Perception for the university’s academic journal.
While teaching at EK Corporation and HK University, Jutaro took the employment examination for the year 2003 given by the private school organization. Apart from this examination, a friend of his let him know that a private high school, DK Boys’ High School, announced the employment plan to the public. He applied for and passed it, and was qualified as a tenured teacher of English by that school, which was the position he had long wished for. He was to begin teaching there in spring 2003.

To summarize, during these years of defining and redefining himself as an ESL and EFL teacher in formal and non-formal education in the United States and Japan, Jutaro was always brave enough to think for himself, invest his energy in various teaching activities, and learn from difficult experiences and situations. Finally, Jutaro became an English teacher who could teach in any context. In addition to English education, Jutaro is engaged in the whole-person education at DK Boys High School as an English teacher and homeroom teacher. He continues to write papers on SLA and essays on learning English in English and Japanese for high school bulletins as well as for his students, issuing two kinds of periodic newsletters on learning English as an English teacher and on educational matters as a homeroom teacher. With the students and his colleagues, he donated a container library house to the victims of the 2011 Tohoku Tsunami Earthquake. Jutaro is also involved in academic activities outside of school. He teaches English writing once a week at Pauline University, he is also a member of JACET and JALT, he regularly writes articles issued by a special interest group of JACET, and he makes presentations as a member of JALT.
Summary of Chapter 8

Akira and Jutaro are both passionate teachers who have promoted education through English. Both have been fascinated by English and its cultures since childhood or adolescence. Not until they started a career in business or government did they find their understated motivation for English and humanism. They then swiftly moved toward educating young people through English language teaching. Such motivation will continue throughout their lives.

Summary of Chapters 6, 7, and 8

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 described three types of English-language expert teachers’ professional life trajectories. All the participants have been conscious of learning since childhood or early adolescence and being supported by their parents. Kyo, Dan, Rui, and Una decided to become English language teachers in Japan before graduating from university. Since then, they have pursued their expertise in the field of English language education. Now they have their own niche in their own expert areas in English education and with their advanced expertise they have found their way professionally. Lena and Leroy were Americans who came to Japan as ALTs. After their work as ALTs, they studied TESOL in a graduate school in Tokyo and graduated while teaching in Japan. One married a Japanese and focused on professional activities and obtaining a university teaching position. The other returned to the United States, taught SLA in various kinds of educational institutions, and returned to Japan to teach in the same high school and then moved to a junior college. Those in the third group, Akira and Jutaro, had been unaware
of the depth of their motivation to be in the field of English language education before working in professional in fields unrelated to English language education. Right after the awareness of this intrinsic motivation, they exerted all their energy and efforts to make voluntary professional changes. They became tenured high school teachers and have continued to advance themselves professionally in the field of English education.
CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION: TEACHER CHANGE MECHANISMS

The discussion chapter is centered on mid-career and later-career teacher change mechanisms. The first research question asked (a) what changes in their career trajectory and activities the participants reported as they moved from early-career to mid-career and then to later-career and (b) how they explained the motivation for these changes.

Throughout their teaching careers, the eight participant teachers made three types of changes: voluntary or self-initiated changes, chance-occurring changes, and assigned changes. Voluntary or self-initiated change occurred out of the participant’s own motivation to change, which is a central theme of this study. An unexpected incident gives rise to surprise. The surprise triggers deep reflection that allows the person to delve into their professional identity, negotiate inexperienced realities with their professional identity, see their personal situation differently, redefine themselves, and change voluntarily. This process of voluntary change was explicated in the conceptual framework chapter and demonstrated in the findings chapters. The chance-occurring changes occurred without the teachers' planning for them or being assigned them. Some of the participant teachers met opportunities to change. In a sense, they seized the opportunities they encountered. Assigned change occurred to public high school teachers only, who were required to make certain changes by their employers and institutions. The first assigned change surprised and confused them, but they could also voluntarily seize the opportunities to develop their expertise. The second assigned change made them
aware of the possibility to negotiate with their developed expertise among colleagues. The third assigned change empowered them further to negotiate with larger enterprises such as the Board of Education and the British Council. As a result, whichever type of changes might have initially occurred, the teachers developed their ability to negotiate armed with expertise and action in educational institutions. Such efforts empowered all the participant teachers to negotiate their situations and evolve their teacher identities.

The second research question asked what the L2 teachers learned as a result of the changes and what they discovered about themselves as L2 teachers. Each participant discovered the ways they could contribute to English language education. These include: as a teacher researcher in the secondary education in Japan (Rui); as an SLA teacher in the secondary and tertiary education in Japan and the United States (Lena); as an EFL teacher educator and researcher in a graduate-school level institution in Japan (Dan); as an EFL teacher and student educator in the secondary and tertiary education in Japan (Akira); as an English-language proficiency test developer and writer on English-language learning and teaching in Japan (Kyo); as an EFL teacher in the secondary education and teacher educator in the tertiary education in Japan (Una); as an EFL teacher researcher in secondary and tertiary education who helps high school students become autonomous learners in Japan (Jutaro); and as an EFL teacher researcher in tertiary education in Japan (Leroy).

The third research question asked what changes in professional identity the participants reported as a result of their voluntary changes. Voluntary change enabled all the participants to gain confidence to develop their expertise further and enhance
negotiability inside their institutions they worked for. At the same time they did not hesitate to negotiate their expertise with the other experts in other educational institutions inside and outside Japan.

The fourth research question asked how the participants were able to negotiate their positions and identities in difficult circumstances so as to keep developing professionally. The participants managed difficult circumstances by analyzing the realities of their situations, becoming equipped with specific kinds of expertise, communicating with other expert groups for educational purposes, and projecting their future-selves professionally.

These research questions all concern teacher change and require us to investigate its mechanisms. The previous three findings chapters allowed me to identify six factors that help explain how teachers changed meaningfully: (a) the concept of borderland Discourse, (b) situated practices, (c) deep reflection, (d) the relationship between borderland Discourses and turning points, (e) negotiability, and (f) further learning expertise. The findings chapters also revealed that the teachers' evolving processes were neither straightforward nor linear; they made twists and turns that were filled with cases of both chance and choice.

**The Concept of Borderland Discourse**

The concept of borderland Discourse provides a negotiating space for teachers who intend to commit themselves to voluntary or self-initiated changes in mid-career and later-career. A thinker who used this concept with a capital "D" is James Paul Gee (1999). In teacher education, Alsup (2006) applied this concept to pre-service teacher
training in her teacher education course. In this study, each of the participant mid-career and later-career teachers was immersed in a great variety and amount of borderland-Discourse work, that is, a series of overlapping professional activities as observed in the previous three findings chapters. The immersion in such series of borderland Discourses gave rise to major turning points. Therefore, the borderland-Discourse work is a major concept that enables researchers to elucidate teacher change mechanisms.

**Situated Practices**

Situated practices here can be defined as institutionally accepted associations (i.e., associations that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or social network) among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting in the “right” places and at “right” times with the “right” objects (Gee, 1999, p. 17). To become full-fledged professionals in society, people need to learn how institutionally situated social practices function. By being immersed in such practices at least once as legitimate members, they can experience how to identify and negotiate with at least one type of situated practice. In this study, those who experienced situated practices before becoming teachers were Leroy, who was a part-time university librarian training in the United States when he was a graduate student and who was planning to be a university librarian after being qualified, Akira, who was as a government employee, and Jutaro, who worked as a non-government employee. After becoming teachers, they were able to deal with situated practices in their educational institutions because they had
learned to do so from previous experiences. Individuals need to be involved in situated practice at least once to learn the way institutions in society work.

Situated practices have two sides. They squelch certain professional identities and they help people grow professionally in the institution. In this study the first encounter with situated practices surprised all the teachers. The surprise instigated deep reflection that enabled all the participant teachers to touch upon their professional identities.

**Deep Reflection**

As mentioned in the previous section, all the participant teachers were surprised at the first encounter with institutionally situated practices. The surprises included when Kyo and Dan were first assigned to public high schools, when Rui was in the first year at a private high school, when Una was in the third year at a private high school, when Leroy was a part-time librarian aspiring to become a university librarian, when Lena was trying to become familiar with the private high school environment, when Akira was a government employee before becoming a high school English teacher, and when Jutaro became a non-governmental employee.

By deeply reflecting into their professional and personal identities, Kyo, Dan, Rui, and Una were determined to continue to stay in the teaching profession. After their work as ALTs, while teaching full-time at a private high school (Lena) and while teaching full-time at a *kosen* (Leroy), these two participants were determined to enroll in an American graduate school in TESOL in Tokyo to prepare for the next stage of teacher development. Two Japanese participants were determined to become English teachers while working
for the government and learning in teacher training courses in the university to become an English teacher (Akira) and while practice-teaching junior high school students in New York after working for the non-government institution (Jutaro). Afterwards, all of the participant teachers continued to reflect on their professional selves as they developed their expertise while thinking about their students, and so improving their abilities to negotiate professional identities with their academic fields (Schön, 1987).

**Relationship Between Borderland Discourses and Turning Points**

As seen in previous chapters, three kinds of turning points were identified: assigned turning points (i.e., turning points assigned by authorities); chance-occurring turning points (i.e., turning points that occur by chance); and self-initiated or voluntary turning points (i.e., intentional turning points). Particularly self-initiated turning points gave rise to significant changes in the teachers’ professional life trajectories. Assigned turning points related to public school teachers only because the right of personnel management belongs to each Board of Education rather than to individuals. The other turning points, such as the chance-occurring and the self-initiated, occurred both by chance and with an individual’s sense of purpose. In the next sections, I look at the ways the participants related their own turning points to their borderland Discourse work.

**Assigned Turning Points**

Kyo, Dan, Rui, and Akira were assigned to a school by the municipal Board of Education. This type of turning point occurred to these participant teachers as the result
of action taken by the Board of Education; there was little negotiating space for these teachers. Additionally, Kyo and Dan had neither the experience nor the strategies to negotiate with the school as novice teachers. All they could do was to prepare for the immediate future by improving their English to obtain the qualifications. At the moment when they began preparing for the qualification of interpreters, they were beginning to be immersed in a type of borderland Discourse, which they did not use for a transition to the other job. In other words, they tried to escape from their current situation by obtaining English-language qualifications. On the other hand, Rui had transferred to public high school before she cultivated her ability to negotiate with the school. Akira had become a public high school teacher before he acquired the ability to listen to student voices. Different from Kyo and Dan, Rui and Akira had no plan or idea further to transfer to the other institutions but rather they were determined to remain as English teachers. Even Kyo and Dan recognized that it would not be a good idea for novice teachers to change jobs. In so doing, these three groups of novice teachers were suddenly immersed in different types of borderland Discourses.

In their second and third assigned turning points (for Rui in her first assigned public school because she had transferred from a private high school), Kyo, Dan, Rui, and Akira developed the ability to negotiate with their newly assigned schools, with the Board of Education indirectly and/or with English-language related organizations directly by being immersed in borderland Discourses. No longer did they care much about which school or organization they were assigned to, but their main concerns were developing their expertise and the way to make the best use of it. In this sense, their developed expertise
and ability to negotiate turned their assigned changes into voluntary or self-initiated changes. This change happened as the participants made choices in their professional lives, such as by becoming an academic proficiency test developer (Kyo), a professor in the graduate-school level prefectural institution (Dan), a teacher-researcher in secondary education (Rui), and an English teacher in secondary and tertiary education (Akira). In other words, developing expertise and negotiability enabled them to become independent professionals in terms of teaching.

**Chance-Occurring Turning Points**

This type of turning point occurs by chance. It seems as if opportunities for the facilitator and the facilitated met by good timing. I discuss three cases here: Lena with two examples and Una with one example. In the first example with Lena, when her employment as an ALT was coming to an end, an adult student in a private English conversation class told Lena that St. Teresa girls’ high school was looking for a full-time native-English teacher. The student was the PTA chairperson of that school. She introduced Lena to St. Teresa, and then Lena became a full-time teacher in that school, a position that led her to spend most of her professional life in Japan. Additionally, in the United States Lena had another chance to return to the same high school (St. Teresa) in Japan when she was looking for another teaching job because the educational corporation she worked for decided that they would terminate the ESL education program for the handicapped. In a timely coincidence, an English-native-speaker teacher at St. Teresa let Lena know that she planned to stop teaching at St. Teresa and asked Lena whether or not
she could replace her. Luckily Lena had an opportunity to return to Japan. This turning point led to new overlapping professional activities, or borderland Discourses, in Japan. This time Lena became more involved in the English curriculum at St. Teresa’s.

Another case occurred to Una. Una’s yearly lecture at Ume was held in 1999, a year after she enrolled in graduate school, while teaching at Sakura girls’ high school. It continued in 2007. In 2008, she became a part-time lecturer and taught a teaching practicum and a methodology course once a week. These two experiences were caused by two chance-occurring turning points and they became integrated. The lecture work contributed to Una's own ecological cycle of teaching: The class feedback from the junior high school students turned out to become her teaching materials for undergraduate students in Ume, and the feedback from the undergraduate students contributed to developing her methods for her junior high school students. In this way, her teaching evolved like an ecological cycle chain. In conclusion, chance-occurring changes triggered further teacher development and facilitated creative changes in teaching as well as in the participants’ teacher careers. Chance-occurring changes might offer borderland Discourses where various kinds of teaching intersect in creative ways.

**Self-Initiated Turning Points or Voluntary Teacher Change**

Self-initiated turning points are more closely related to borderland-Discourse activities than any other kinds of turning points as confirmed by the literature review chapter. The depth and variety of borderland-Discourse activities determines the significance of voluntary teacher change and brings about major turning points, that is, “a
significant event that instigates life change” (Denzen, 1989). Here are the eight teachers’ voluntary changes.

Kyo was engaged in assigned turning points under the Board of Education. In parallel, while teaching at the first assigned school, he began to invest time and effort into the following overlapping professional activities (i.e., borderland-Discourse activities). This type of borderland Discourses continued for about 24 years, during which he was assigned to three high schools. Besides officially teaching English at three public high schools, while teaching at the first assigned high school, he was qualified as a JSL teacher, as an interpreter, and as a translator. He also had contact with an English-testing company and registered his name in a personnel company. His relationship with the English proficiency testing company has continued. While teaching at the second assigned high school, he applied for two kinds of short-term study programs in the United States and for teaching JSL in Australia for a year. As soon as he returned to Japan, he began publishing articles and books on language acquisition and English education. At the same time, he kept contact with the English testing company by giving advice to them about making tests and by becoming a visiting lecturer for the testing company. The testing company continued to negotiate with him to join their company. After considering the offer for several years, he began working in the English testing company as an independent researcher. Kyo’s teaching life was filled with many self-initiated turning points and with overlapping professional activities.

Dan’s advanced English proficiency and passion for English education had been viewed favorable by the Board of Education since he was a novice high teacher. He had
always conformed to older teachers’ expectations. However, on the first or second day as a member of the Board of Education, he realized that it was not the place he would be able to survive professionally, which made him enter in a space of borderland Discourses. He began coordinating his energy and strategies into displaying his professional identity to survive as an English language educator by enrolling in the MA program on the Japan campus of an American university and then in the doctoral program of that same university. Furthermore, he resumed communicating with specialists on English education in Japan. Then he was appointed as a teacher researcher at the prefectural junior college of foreign languages that was to be transformed into a prefectural graduate school of teacher education. Dan was appointed as professor in 2014.

Rui was involved in self-initiated changes in the transition to the public school organization from a private high school. She was motivated to have time not only to study SLA on the Japan campus of an American graduate school but also to do research on listening comprehension. She also studied abroad while in graduate school in the United Kingdom. After returning to Japan, she enrolled in the doctoral program in St. Ignatius.

Una chose a tenured position at Sakura girls’ junior and high school to begin her tenured teaching career. She voluntarily transferred to Otowa junior high school as a tenured teacher. In the period between Sakura and Otowa high schools Una was deeply involved in overlapping professional activities or borderland Discourses. She did graduate study work at Hudson University on their Japan campus and formed study group
meetings that connected private high school teachers with public high school teachers of English in Tokyo.

Leroy’s motivation to come to Japan initially resided in a desire to study history though he was working as an ALT. After completing his ALT contract, he became a full-time English teacher at a kosen. While teaching there, he discovered his teacher identity and began a voluntary change. He invested the time and effort needed to earn an MA in TESOL degree in an American graduate school in Japan. After obtaining the MA, he began teaching part-time in several universities. Finally he obtained a full-time position in a university and became a tenured associate professor.

With the MA qualification, Lena began teaching SLA part-time at several educational institutions in the United States. After returning to Japan, she resumed teaching English as a full-time teacher at St. Teresa. Then, she obtained a full-time position at a junior college.

Akira retired from a tenured position in the Tokyo Board of Education and voluntarily resumed teaching part-time at several secondary and tertiary educational institutions until the age of 70. In terms of borderland Discourses, his teaching career was full of overlapping professional activities.

Jutaro was involved full-time in secondary education in New York after obtaining an MA in TESOL degree. He returned to Japan and resumed teaching English in various educational settings while studying to be qualified as a secondary school teacher in Japan. In addition, he taught part-time at a university. Finally he obtained a tenured position at a private boys’ high school and a part-time position at another university. All aspects of
Jutaro’s story are filled with many types of borderland Discourses in which he was immersed.

In conclusion, three kinds of professional turning points, the assigned, the chance-occurring, and the voluntary or self-initiated teacher changes, were reviewed as they applied to the eight-teacher life stories of mid-career and later-career English teachers. It is clear that borderland Discourses are related to all the teacher changes in this study given the many overlapping kind of professional activities in the teachers' lives. More interestingly the three types of changes were not separate; they were integrated. Most interestingly, borderland-Discourse activities were related to every phase of the changes: assigned, chance-occurring, and voluntary changes. A set of borderland-Discourse activities gave rise to major turning points. The process was dynamic and not always predictable. All the participant teachers were actively involved in self-initiated or voluntary changes. The chance-occurring changes cultivated self-confidence and facilitated creativity in teaching and helped them develop their career trajectories through further voluntary changes.

**Negotiability: Teachers’ Ability to Negotiate**

The ability to negotiate is acquired and improved by collaborative work of mind and action by way of professional and life experiences. This ability is the basis of borderland Discourses (Alsup, 2006; Casanave, 1998; Johnston, Pawan, & Mahan-Taylor, 2005; Miyazato, 2009; Sasaki, 2003; Tsui, 2007). Wenger (1998) referred to negotiability as the ability, talent, and legitimacy to take responsibility for and shape the meanings that
matter within a social arrangement (p.197). Further, he explained that negotiability allows people to make meanings applicable to new circumstances, persuade others to collaborate, make sense of events, and assert membership (p. 197). Negotiability in two-language contexts engenders teacher/researcher identity formation and transformation (Casanave, 1998; Tsui, 2007).

As seen in the three findings chapters, in the initial stage of becoming full-time or tenured teachers the participant teachers were not mature enough to be able to negotiate with the institutional discourses and their situations. Lacking this skill, they tended to divide their institutional problems into a dichotomy, quit, or continue unhappily in their jobs, whereas at mid-career they were able to negotiate from multiple perspectives. Such negotiability functions well in borderland Discourses that provide mid-career teachers transformative spaces. Negotiability is also the primacy of mid-career teacher development and voluntary teacher change accompanying borderland Discourses. In this study, the ability to negotiate was displayed by all the experienced participant teachers over their careers. They started to improve such ability in the early years after their novice teacher identities had been squelched. In the first schools they began to teach as full-time or tenured teachers (Kyo, Dan, Rui, Una, and Lena), as a part-time university librarian in the United States (Leroy), as a government employee (Akira), and as a non-government employee (Jutaro). This identity clash required them to reflect deeply on themselves over their professional identities, keep developing their expertise, and interactively negotiate inside identities with externally imposed identities. This identity development within various types of borderland Discourses took about 25 years for the
participants to take shape as experts. In this respect, negotiability underpinning ever-growing expertise contributes to the growth of mid-career expert teachers.

**Further Learning Expertise**

Learning enables people to look at the world differently and to see various phenomena through multiple lenses. Advancing in pedagogy and expertise is a matter of vital importance for teacher development (e.g., Bailey & Nunan, 1996; Freeman & Richards, 1998; Huberman 1989/1993; Johnson, 2006; Shulman, 1986, 1987). In Wenger’s (1998) terms, “Learning is a matter of social energy and power: it thrives on identification and depends on negotiability” (p. 227).

The participants in this study continued to make efforts to invest time and effort into learning and developing expertise in many ways. They did this by attending, participating, writing for, and making presentations in academic conferences such as JACET and JALT (Dan, Una, Johan, and Leroy); by doing volunteer work after retirement as a researcher at the university where he used to teach part-time (Akira), and by concentrating on research on English proficiency testing for academic purposes in conjunction with British testing companies (Kyo). The other two participants concentrated on family matters: raising children while teaching at a high school (Rui), and looking for a teaching job in the United States after taking care of her mother (Lena). Even with personal commitments, the participants did not stagnate; instead, they continued developing professionally.
Mid-Career Teacher Change Mechanisms: Concluding Remarks

The major teacher changes for each of the participants occurred in mid-career. Six enabling factors collectively contributed to these major changes, put into motion when the participant teachers became novice EFL teachers. The first of these factors is the concept of borderland Discourse, a negotiating space of overlapping professional activities for all the participants who intended to commit themselves to voluntary or self-initiated changes in their mid- and later-career. The second factor is situated practice, which each of the participants underwent and over time acquired the ability to negotiate with. The third factor, deep reflection, enabled the participants to inquire into professional identities in situations where they no longer relied on past knowledge or experiences. This factor has also been referred to as a self-critical function (Bartlett, 1990; Doeche, 2004; Korthagen & Vasalos, 2005; Wallace, 1991; Zeichner & Liston, 1996). The fourth factor is the relationship between borderland Discourses and turning points, in which the participants' immersion in overlapping professional communities gave rise to voluntary change. The fifth factor, negotiability or teacher’s ability to negotiate rather than passively accept a situation, developed in mid-career teachers and enabled them to turn their assigned and chance-occurring changes into voluntary change. The sixth and final change mechanism factor is further learning expertise, which involved the participants deeply before, during, and after various teacher voluntary changes, and finally led them to major turning points. Such mechanisms are similar to appreciative systems (Schön, 1983, 1987; Zeichner & Liston, 1996). This study demonstrated how these six enabling teacher change factors interacted with or related to one another over
the participants' professional life trajectories to instigate major changes in teachers’ identities as TESOL professionals.
CHAPTER 10
CONCLUSION

In this long-term qualitative inquiry, I have explored the ways eight mid-career and later-career tenured and/or full-time EFL/ESL teachers have grown into expert professionals in secondary and tertiary education since childhood in Japan and/or the United States over a period of 20 or more years. They encountered situated practices for the first time in their lives when they were first employed as tenured or full-time teachers. These encounters surprised all of the participants and allowed them to prepare for their futures by developing expertise and improving their ability to negotiate with anything and anybody they encountered in their professional lives. In mid-career, after changes of many kinds and participation in different overlapping professional communities, each of them found their own professional niche in the field of TESOL. Within this niche, the teachers kept growing professionally until retiring from academia. This chapter consists of a summary of the findings, limitations, and suggestions for future studies.

Summary of the Findings

The goal of this research was to clarify eight EFL/ESL expert teacher change mechanisms and teachers' reflections on these changes throughout their careers. The participants were six Japanese teachers of English and two American teachers of English. The data sources were interviews with each of eight participants, class observations, attending their academic workshops, their publications frequent email exchanges for
clarification on our interviews and confirmation of their meanings, and visiting two participants’ houses for interviews. All of the teachers began their careers teaching junior or senior high school students. They began their careers with different motivations and their teacher identities became settled over their two-decade professional trajectories. Based primarily on retrospective interview data, the findings showed that changes were of three types: voluntary, chance, and assigned. I grouped the eight participants into three types by their initial career choice: ALTs, those with an initial career choice different from teaching, and those interested in English language and/or teaching since childhood.

In terms of motivation to become teachers, two American teachers initially did not have strong commitments to English education because their motivation resided outside of education; their teaching work involved “assisting” Japanese teachers of English to teach speaking to young students. However, after the obligation as assistant teachers terminated, Leroy voluntarily applied to the position of full-time English teachers in kosen and Lena applied to a private high school. For the first time they realized their responsibility as English language teachers. Leroy realized a mission as a teacher to help students grow. This realization made him determined to stay in the teaching profession in Japan. However, his position at the kosen was terminated after several years. In search of a more stable, tenured position, he obtained a master’s degree from an American graduate school in Japan while teaching part-time in a university. Even after obtaining a master’s degree, his search for a tenured position continued for about 10 years. The university he had been looking for was one in which he would not be judged by his appearance because
he is Japanese-American. Within five years of gaining a full-time position at university, he became tenured.

Lena began teaching as an ALT as well. After finishing her obligation, she was employed as a full-time English teacher in a private high school. One day she asked herself why she was assigned to teach conversation only. To show the other teachers that she was able to teach reading and writing, she enrolled in an MA TESOL program on the Japan campus of an American graduate school. After completing the MA program, she returned to the United States in order to recover from an illness, an unexpected opportunity where she was engaged in various types of teaching. She then had a chance to return to the same high school in Japan and showed that the grammar-translation method was not the only way of teaching and that the four skills should be integrated. Finally she availed herself of the opportunity to teach in a junior college.

The two Japanese male teachers became high school teachers in mid-career after working for government and non-government institutions when they realized that their work in non-educational institutions did not suit them. Akira did content-based teaching centering around human rights. Even after retiring, he continued teaching part-time voluntarily until the age of 70. Jutaro has committed himself to whole person education. The commitment has been shown in his English-language classes, his homeroom class, and homestay programs. He reached this commitment after teaching English to immigrant high school students in New York and to Japanese high school students in non-formal education in Japan while he was studying to obtain the English-language
teachers license in Japan. Finally he found his own niche as a high school teacher researcher.

The other four participants have contributed to English education in Japan in their own ways. Since childhood Kyo, Dan, Rui and Una have observed how English is taught. They chose to major in English or education as undergraduates, and initially chose to become secondary school English teachers in Japan immediately after graduating from university. Each of these participants went through a teacher identity crises and made significant changes in the first five years of teaching. To resolve their crises, each searched for their own way to have their contested teacher identities settled by committing themselves to numerous professional activities for about 25 years. Finally they found their own niches.

I have summarized the eight teachers' changes over time, ones that were voluntary, coincidental, or assigned, that involved them in numerous overlapping professional activities over many years. They eventually found their own niches as English language teachers. Therefore, I consider all the participants TESOL professionals, not just teachers, whose nonlinear paths to professionalism and continued growth provide exemplary models for other would-be teachers of English.

**Limitations**

Although this research was a long-term interview study, it is difficult to generalize the results because of the small number of participants; however, the depth and length of the study and the variety of data sources compensated for this limitation to some degree.
This research relied on interviews with each of the eight participants and class observations. The focus was on their life stories between pre-school childhood and their retirement, centering around their continuing efforts to become English language teachers, and so relied heavily on their memories. This reliance on past memories is fraught with difficulties; however, I also collected data through frequent email exchanges and through examining their research papers and publications. Such rich data compensated to a degree for their potentially faulty memories and my interpretations of the data, which were undoubtedly colored by my position as one of their contemporaries working in the same field, rather than as an outside researcher.

**Suggestions for Future Research**

I would like to continue the interview and observation study about mid-career native and non-native teachers of English in Japan in order to help young teachers develop their future professional visions and to enjoy autonomy teaching in mid-career. Major research questions concern learning histories, motivation to become English teachers, successes and problems in teaching, and what encourages native English speakers to feel part of a Japanese school and to engage in Japanese society actively.

Other kinds of research are also possible. Huberman (1989/1993) conducted large-scale research of teacher development and his classic study has continued to benefit researchers who study teachers for more than two decades. Although it is difficult for many researchers who are also practicing teachers to do large-scale research on TESOL teachers, they can do smaller-scale studies, such as case studies and action research.
Other useful studies would be autoethnographies or autobiographies on teachers' stories of their own development. If researchers have a team to work with, as did Huberman, then large-scale studies can modeled on his work.

It is also important for teachers, educators, researchers and administrators to learn more about those who stop teaching and developing in mid-career (Huberman, 1989/1993; Johnston, Pawan, & Mohan-Taylor, 2005). This issue is important because teachers, educators, researchers and administrators have opportunities to speak directly to policy makers and the public to encourage reform. However, it is more difficult to investigate less motivated teachers than motivated teachers because such teachers might hesitate to report a lack of professional growth. First and foremost, researchers need to establish trustworthy relationships with their participants, as a large number of qualitative researchers maintain (e.g., Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It is also important to listen to each of the participants' voices by having them articulate what motivated them to choose the teaching profession. Researchers must listen to teachers’ stories, elicit their joys, surprises, and difficulties in teaching, draw out their interactions with students, and detail their interpersonal and professional relationships with colleagues and older teachers. Such investigations are potentially more important in teacher development than an investigation of successful teachers, and would best be conducted via small case studies.

To take into account all kinds of professional life trajectories, researchers can investigate the characteristics of teachers who have stopped or kept growing, of successful teachers, and of the language teacher identity negotiation between two
languages (Canagarajah, 2012). In this way, researchers can present a larger picture of TESOL teachers than is currently available.

**Final Conclusion and Reflection**

Becoming TESOL professionals is an underlying theme for this study because this theme is the fruit of a decade-long study. It is an under-researched area in narrative inquiry; however, researchers are now developing shared understandings about the concepts of TESOL, narrative inquiry, and qualitative research. Individuals can take many paths to becoming TESOL professionals, all of which deserve to be studied in different ways. In narrative inquiry, which is one way to study teacher development, it is important to inquire into the theme of becoming TESOL professionals, in which “storied evidence is gathered not to determine if events actually happened but about the meaning experienced by people whether or not the events are accurately described” (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 479). I hope this study contributes to the expansion of the definition and study of TESOL professionals.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN TAZURU WADA'S DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

RESEARCH

Title
Teacher Change: A Case Study of the Evolution of Language Teacher Identity at Mid-career

Objective
To explore mid-career English teachers’ changes and their growth in their professional lives by inquiring about their recollection of events and attitudes before and after their MA degrees. This study views the earning of MA degrees as part of teacher change by secondary school teachers in mid-career. In fact, these teachers are already in a socially and economically secure position and the MA degree is not required of them. What makes them do so is an enigma, but it could give rise to important insights. A better understanding of the process of teacher change can help all teachers and learners.

Participants
● Mid-career teachers of English who have/had full-time experiences in secondary education, some of whom may now teach in tertiary education.
● Teachers whose MA degrees in TESOL or education were earned in Japanese and/or foreign graduate schools located in Japan or overseas during their secondary school careers.

As part of your participation, I may be asking you to:
● Tell your stories about teacher changes and growth, at first centering the recollection of events and attitudes before and after your MA degrees.
● Join at least three interviews, which will be audio-recorded and complete when the objective is attained. The interview site will be negotiated.
● Exchange emails for adding and clarifying information, and keeping contact.
● Allow me to visit your class if feasible.
● Share with me some or all of the following public documents:
   ○ Curriculum Vitae
   ○ Syllabi or curriculum descriptions given to students in a current or former class
   ○ Handouts used in class
   ○ Research articles already published

Informed Consent
Will be signed when the parties reach an agreement.

Thank you very much for considering to participate in this project. Please contact me by the end of January 2010 if you are interested in participation and have any questions.

Tazuru Wada
email Address: wadatz@gmail.com
APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT

Teacher Change: A Case Study of the Evolution of Language Teacher Identity at Mid-Career

I would like to request your cooperation in the conduct of a case study project called “Teacher change: A case study of the evolution of language teacher identity at mid-career” for my doctoral dissertation research. You were selected to participate in this study not just because you are/were an experienced secondary school educator but because you have been evolving your teacher identity in your career trajectory. I hope to learn more about how teachers grow professionally. This information will contribute to research in education, and may be beneficial to current and future teachers. Should you read and understand the following statement and be willing to participate in the study, please complete the form below the statement and return it to me.

1. **General purpose of research and possible contribution to the field:** The descriptive and explanatory process of teacher change in narrative accounts directly articulated by experienced teachers who continue to grow professionally will contribute to research in education as well as language learning and teaching. It is hoped, by articulating your experiences clearly for this research, your own teaching and self-knowledge may benefit in some way.

2. **Method:** Semi-structured and unstructured interviews will be mainly audio-taped, transcribed, transformed into narrative accounts, and interpreted. A class visit may also be requested. Furthermore, relevant documents such as Curriculum Vitae, syllabi or curricular, handouts, and research articles will be collected. For clarification, email correspondence and telephone conversations may be requested. For confirmation, the transcripts, narrative accounts and interpretations are open to the participant.

3. **Possible risk:** Possible risk factors from participation mainly concern the time the participant spends in project activities, including: interviews; the follow-up email correspondence and telephone conversations; reviewing transcripts; allowing a class visit; and offering the aforementioned documents to public

4. **Confidentiality:** Data obtained from the participant will be used exclusively for the purpose of this study. All the data will remain confidential: the participant’s name, and the name of her/his institution and its location will be identified only by pseudonyms. This restriction will be applied to any use of the data in my dissertation, possible conference presentations, and possible published research papers.

5. **Withdrawal and having the data destroyed:** The participant has the right to withdraw from the project at any time, and to have the data destroyed.

6. **Contact:** The participant should not hesitate to ask Tazuru Wada additional questions at the mailing address: 3-39-6 Yamato-cho, Nakano-ku, Tokyo, Japan; phone number: 03-3330-4228; and email contact information: wadatz@gmail.com, and may keep a copy of this form.

I am willing to participate in this project according to the description provided above. My signature indicates that I have read the information above and have decided to participate. I realize that I may withdraw and have my data destroyed without prejudice at any time after signing this form should I decide to do so.

Participant’s Signature ___________________________ Date __________

Researcher’s Signature ___________________________ Date __________

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