

Navigating through Challenges: Multilingual Preservice Language
Teachers' Identity (Re)construction

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Abstract

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the ways in which four multilingual preservice language teachers in a MATESOL program in the U.S. (re)constructed and (re)negotiated their professional identities as they proceeded through the process of learning to teach. Although language teacher identity (LTI) has increasingly been researched in the past decades (e.g., Varghese et al., 2005; Morgan, 2004; Cheung et al, 2014; Barkhuizen, 2016; etc.), there is insufficient research on the discursive and interactive aspects of identity (re)construction and (re)negotiation of language teachers with multilingual and multicultural backgrounds, who are most often conceptualized rather problematically as nonnative English speaker teachers (NNESTs). Criticizing this perpetual learner framing of NNESTs, this study examines the collection of influences and effects from various factors and discusses their interwoven roles in these multilingual preservice teachers'

identity (re)construction. Using the framework of narrative positioning (Bamberg, 1997; Davies & Harré, 1990), it examines the preservice teachers' language lives prior to the MATESOL program as well as during their current coursework and teaching practicum, with the aim to better understand how these preservice teachers negotiated the ascribed (non)native speaker subjectivities and reconstructed their professional identities through the lenses of their past experiences and their ongoing teacher education. The pedagogical implications of developing identity-oriented language teacher education (LTE) are also discussed, including adopting program-wide utilization of critical autobiographic narratives as an integral part of the curricula and maximizing the potential of practicum teaching to bridge the gap between TESOL theory and practice.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ESL	English as a Second Language
ELT	English Language Teaching
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
LLA	Language Learning Autobiography
LLC	Language Learning Center
LT	Language Teacher
LTA	Language Teaching Autobiography
LTE	Language Teacher Education
LTI	Language Teacher Identity
MATESOL	master's in teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS' NAMES


Focal Participants

Chen/C	A multilingual preservice teacher in MATESOL from China
Hana/H	A multilingual preservice teacher in MATESOL from South Korea
Jing/J	A multilingual preservice teacher in MATESOL from China
Gloria/G	A multilingual preservice teacher in MATESOL from Spain

Non-Focal Participants

Sophia/S	A multilingual preservice teacher in MATESOL from Italy
Alice/A	Chen's practicum mentor
Diana/D	Hana's practicum mentor
Emily/E	Jing's practicum mentor
Betsy/B	Gloria's practicum mentor
Melissa	The instructor of Practicum Seminar in TESOL

TRANSCRIPTION KEY

- Bold** Words articulated with greater prosodic emphasis than surrounding
-  Indicating the line in which narratives are analyzed in excerpts

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND SITUATING THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

I am a teacher.

I am an English teacher.

I am a non-native English speaker teacher.

This specific collection of adjectives describing my profession has long been a cause of unease for people. For instance, whenever I said that I am a college composition instructor, the conversation would come to a standstill. I thought I could figure out the reason. Those two identities, a foreigner whose first language is not English, and an instructor teaching English composition in an American college, did not sound compatible to most people, nor to me, if I am being truly honest. Or at least, not initially. I am speaking particularly about the conflicts I encountered in this regard after I came to the US to study in a TESOL pre-service education program and then continued on to engage in my doctoral studies at the same university. One's professional identity is neither –innate or self-constructed nor can it be totally designated by others. It is not something that happens just because one gets a specific job or enrolls in a specific program as a student. Rather, it is a continuously evolving, complex process fraught with challenges and painstaking progress with as much back-sliding as forward movement. In fact, it is a cyclical, reiterative process, where one's identity is constantly in the process of being formulated. One is forever becoming, never really a “finished”, or somewhat finished product.

Therefore, it is unsurprising that it took me years to grapple with my professional identity through a series of constructions and re-constructions and, to be honest, these struggles and negotiations are still ongoing. Conducting a study that examines the complex, discursive ways in which pre-service language teachers whose first language is not English form, express, resist and negotiate their professional identities has long been my research goal. It is a process that is deeply

personal, endlessly conflicted, and has been a source of much anxiety, elation, pride, and self-doubt. I have at times been filled with optimism and self-confidence, at others I have experienced soul-shattering heartache and defeat. But always, I have had this inner belief that there is something more around the corner, something more to be experienced, to learn, to become. Thus, my own experiences of negotiating my identity as a teacher of English are deeply implicated in both the rationale for this project as well as the manner in which I conducted this study. My dissertation is inspired by my own experiences -- the numerous struggles and challenges and the many rewards and triumphs that have marked my journey as a teacher of English.

In this study, I explore and examine the (re)construction and (re)negotiation of professional identities of four preservice language teachers. They are all international graduate students in a MATESOL program at an urban university in the northwest coast of the U.S. Through an ethnographic study of four pre-service teachers' prior language lives and lived experiences in the MATESOL program, especially in the teaching practicum, this study aims to examine how the teachers position themselves and, are in turn, positioned by others (e.g., by students, mentor teachers, professors, program directors, etc.) in their situated learning processes, including their coursework, practicum teaching and interactive discussions and communities of practice. Lave and Wenger (1991) see learning as an "evolving form of membership" (p. 53) and suggest that learning occurs as people participate in activities where they become increasingly active participants. The relationship between learning and identity has been well proved and expressed explicitly by Lave (1992): "learning is [...] more basically a process of coming to be – of forging identities in activities in the world" (p. 3). Of particular interest to this study is how these preservice teachers negotiate their different and sometimes conflicted self-positionings and the relationships between the self and others in these teachers' identity construction as they engage in the process of learning to teach.

This chapter first presents a rationale for this study followed by an elaboration of the research questions that guided this project. It then discusses the key concepts of the study and reviews relevant literature in the field. After reviewing the history and background against which language and identity has been studied, it summarizes the research on language teacher identity (LTI) and its implication on language teacher education (LTE). This chapter also presents the approach and theoretical framework that underpins the research. Rooted in Bakhtin's (1984) dialogic theory that weaves together self and dialogue, a dialogical approach (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Wortham, 2001) is adopted to investigate the preservice teachers' narratives and storytelling to better understand the complex nature of LTI as "both unitary and multiple, both continuous and discontinuous, and both individual and social" (Akkerman & Meijer, 2010, p. 308). It is also discussed in this chapter how narrative inquiry works as a powerful tool informing the (re)construction of preservice teachers' professional identity through examining their prior language lives and current learning and teaching experiences in various sociocultural settings. In particular, it shows how narrative positioning theory (Harré & Davis, 1990; Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999) can be applied to analyze their narratives to make sense of the complex relationships between their different reflective self-positionings and interactive other positionings, all of which they experience in complex permutations during their teacher training programs.

1.2 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

LTI has been conceived of as an important construct within language teaching and learning and LTE for decades. Barkhuizen (2016) produces a composite conceptualization of LTI from the ground up with an attempt to make sense of LTI by drawing up the perspective of experienced scholars and researchers. In their widely cited scholarship, Varghese, Morgan, Bill Johnson, and Kimberly Johnson (2005) explore ways of theorizing LTI from three perspectives: social identity

theory (Tajfel, 1978), theory of situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991), and the notion of the image-text (Simon, 1995). More recent research has explored LTI in the contexts of EFL/ESL teaching and teacher education. Aneja (2016) investigated language teachers' linguistic and professional identities. Motha (2016) and Kubota and Lin (2009) explore LTI by drawing on the concepts of race, ethnicity, culture and nativeness. Clarke (2008) and Trent (2017) discuss language teachers' negotiation of discourses in communities of practice. Taking a poststructuralist view, Wolff and De Costa (2017), and Yazan and Percy (2016) examine language teachers' (LTs') emotions as part of LTI development. Kanno and Stuart (2011), Martel (2015), and Yazan (2018) particularly examine how this learning-in-practice experience in the practicum forms their LTI. By recognizing that LTI is "a potential site of pedagogical intervention and an area of explicit focus in teacher preparation" (Morgan & Clarke, 2011, p. 825), these empirical studies contribute to a better understanding of LTI with the focus on the related dimensions of being and becoming a language teacher.

For preservice teachers, identity construction is particularly a crucial element in the process of learning to teach (Britzman, 2012; Clarke, 2008). This process "involves more than transposing teaching skills onto an established personal identity" (Sumara & Luce-Kapler, 1996, p. 65). It needs preservice teachers to navigate and negotiate their multiple identities and to develop these further in the teaching training program. As Britzman (2012) suggests, learning to teach is the "process of becoming", the negotiation of "conflicting visions, disparaging considerations, and contesting interpretations" (p. 26). While there has been a surge of research on preservice teacher identity (TI) (re)construction over the past decades (e.g., Clarke, 2008; Kayi-Aydar, 2014; Trent, 2010; Yuan, 2016), there is relatively insufficient research on the interactive aspect of identity construction and negotiation of preservice language teachers of multilingual and multicultural background, who are most often conceptualized rather problematically as non-native English speaker teachers (NNESTs). Nunan (2017) points out that for teachers who taught the language

that is not her first language, TI is particularly a salient issue. With more international students from the so-called “Outer Circle” countries and “Expanding Circle” countries coming to “Inner Circle”¹ countries (Kachru, 1990) to pursue TESOL degrees, their experiences of learning and working in the English-dominant academic contexts should receive more attention from teacher educators and researchers in terms of professional identity construction. Understanding these experiences not only facilitates educators and researchers to make sense of the student teachers’ engagement in meaning-making practices in learning to teach, but also provides new perspectives in curricula and pedagogy design for TESOL education programs.

Besides the necessity of researching preservice teachers’ experiences, this study emphasizes the necessity of a liberating, empowering conceptualization of LTI, especially of such traditional categories employed historically in TESOL as native English speaker teacher or NEST and NNEST. Over the past decades, increasing scholarship have contributed towards demystifying the myth of native English speaker teachers (NESTs) and empowering NNEST (e.g., Inbar-Lourie, 2005; Reis, 2011). While these efforts raised more awareness of NNESTs’ values, concerns, and contributions, they “risk reifying the notion that nativeness and nonnativeness are objectively distinct categories” (Aneja, 2016, p. 572). Poststructuralist advances in TESOL also “question the notion of empowerment, [...] and urge teachers to examine their own assumptions and to problematize their own everyday practices” (Pavlenko, 2003, p. 252). Adopting a poststructuralist lens to the reconceptualization of LTI categories (e.g., Aneja, 2016; Ellis, 2018; Kasun & Saavedra, 2016; Song, 2016), this study employs the term “multilingual preservice teachers” to refer to practitioners in TESOL whose first language is not English or whose nationality is not associated with “Inner Countries” (Kachru, 1990). The term of multilingual is used in this

¹ While Kachru’s Three Circles model of World Englishes (Kachru, 1990) has been criticized for its seemingly dichotomic view of the heterogenetic and dynamic English-using communities, it is valued in this study as a model for the system of ideological forces construed in the multilingual sociolinguistic communities around the world.

dissertation, as Varghese, Motha, Trent, Park, and Reeves (2016) describe, to “underscore [the] desire to move beyond a monolingual lens in TESOL and to highlight potential extensions to the notion of multilingualism” (p. 545). This study tries to forsake the dichotomous distinction between NEST and NNEST, which is considered by Pennycook as “one of the most insidious constructions that has emerged from the glorification of English and the denigration of other languages” (2001, p. 156). More importantly, the construction of NEST or NNEST as multilingual teachers allows researchers and educators to comprehend the multiple, fluid, and discontinuing feature of LTI “beyond the essentialist categories often associated with the profession” (Varghese et al., 2016, p. 545).

This study explores how multilingual preservice teachers in a MATESOL program (re)construct and (re)negotiate professional identities as they learn to teach. Specifically, it investigates such preservice teachers’ self-positioning and other positioning in relation to varied contexts and how these positionings inform their identity constructions. Applying a poststructuralist lens to narrative analysis, this study focuses on the way preservice teachers engage, imagine, and align in communities of practice while they negotiate and resist sociocultural institutions and prevailing ideologies. Employing an ethnographic study design, I sought to answer the following research questions:

1. In what ways were the multilingual pre-service teachers’ previous language learning and teaching experiences implicated in their ongoing professional identity constructions? For instance, I examined how such experiences might be used as resources to build positive subjectivities. Conversely, I also tried to shed light on how they might be implicated in the construction of somewhat negative subject positions. A third alternative that was examined was the production of hybrid, multi-faceted, perhaps conflicted ways in which the research participants discursively interpreted their past learning and teaching experiences as they narratively re/constructed their evolving professional identities.

2. I also examined what programmatic affordances were made available to the pre-service teachers to support their ongoing professional identity re/constructions. I was particularly interested in examining how the teacher education program, especially the teaching practicum, affected the preservice teachers' discursive and interactive identity constructions. Other potential sources of such scaffolding that were tangentially examined were their seminar classes, course readings and assignments, class discussions, and other- and self-inscribed positionalities. A related question that I explored was the ways in which the participants embraced, resisted, or rejected ascribed identities and positionalities.
3. A complementary question that I investigated was the ways in which self- and other-positioning narratives enabled preservice teachers to express their emotions about their evolving professional identities. I was especially interested in finding out whether narrative could be used as a pedagogical tool to nurture positive constructions of preservice teachers' professional identities. In other words, I tried to understand to what extent narratives that involve reflective self-construction in ongoing patterns of periodic reflexivity could be a useful pedagogical practice in the MATESOL program.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.3.1 Poststructuralist view of language and identity

Since the 1990s, scholars have been examining language from a social perspective to understand social influences on language, especially second language (L2) teaching and learning, by drawing on poststructuralist theories. Block (2007) notes that Firth and Wagner's (1997) discussion on fundamental concepts in second language acquisition (SLA) leads the field to social theory, and the SLA studies since then has moved beyond its relations with linguistics and

cognitive psychology (Block, 2003, 2007; Lantolf, 1996; Norton Pierce, 1995; van Lier, 1994). The poststructuralist theorists (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977; Bakhtin, 1981, 1984; Norton & Toohy, 2011) view language as meaning making situated, social utterances rather than a set of idealized forms independent of their speaker. Hall, Cheng, and Carson (2006) proposed that we should view “language knowledge not in terms of abstract system components but [as]... semiotic resources for taking actions” (p.232). According to Block (2007), it was both the social turn in disciplines and “a narrative, biographical turn” (Roberts, 2002) in social science that caused many SLA scholars to shift their emphasis of SLA to the interaction between language use and identity. One of the views at the center of the poststructuralist theory of SLA is that languages represent symbolic capital and enable identity construction (Bourdieu, 1991; Gal, 1989; Weedon, 1997).

Pierce (1995) contributed to the research of language and identity by foregrounding “the role of language as constitutive of and constituted by a language learner’s social identity” (p. 12). Also, the postmodern philosophies have led to a retheorization of the notion of identity itself, which opened up the “basis for a cultural politics and struggle for power” (Giroux 1997, p. 204) in terms of language and identity. As Zuengler & Miller noted (2006), identity has been established as a research area “in its own right” (p. 43). Many scholars reexamine the essence of identity from different aspects. For example, Cummings (2011) notes that identity is not singular but plural; Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) point out that as “a constantly evolving phenomenon,” identity is “dynamic rather than stable (p. 177); and Heisey (2011) emphasizes that identity is both “situated within the mind” and “within a social context” (p. 81). Piller (2001) points out that in the era of globalization, there has been a more complex relationship between language and identity, as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) note, “in some settings languages function as markers of national or ethnic identities, in others as a form of symbolic capital or as a means of social control, and yet in others these multiple roles may be interconnected” (p. 2).

1.3.2 Dialogical approach to Language Teacher Identity (LTI)

Since language learning is socially constructed and identity plays a central factor in the process of language teaching and learning, it is obviously significant to emphasize the role of LTI in Language Teacher Education (LTE) (Danielewicz, 2001). LTI has, in fact, been a long-studied notion in the field of LTE (e.g., Brown, 2005; Johnson, 2006; Morgan, 2004; Norton, 1997; Pavlenko, 2003; Tsui, 2007; Xuan, 2014; Zacharias, 2010). Highlighting a crucial synergy between LTE and LTI, Motha (2016) explains that an important aspect of LTE is to address the issue of LTIs explicitly, and “particularly of the ways in which teachers’ racial, colonial, and linguistic identities shape the logic for the profession and underpin it” (p. 545). This points to a growing consensus in the field that LTE urgently needs to attend in multiply nuanced ways to multilingual teachers’ complex identity re/constructions and negotiations as these latter make their way through their teacher education programs.

The examination of teachers’ identity (re)construction in this study is based on the scholarship in which identity is viewed as “the social positioning of self and other” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 18), featuring in “emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality, and partialness” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 27). As mentioned above, poststructuralists view the world in a more subtle, multilevel, and complex frame. This led to a framing of identity as multiple, shifting, fragmented, and contested in nature (Block, 2007; Norton Peirce, 1995). Gee (1990) elucidates further that identity is viewed as “chang[ing] from moment to moment in the interaction, from context to context, and, of course, [as being] ambiguous or unstable” (p. 99). Seen as a multi-layered concept, identity is related to both one’s interior state of mind and their interaction with others in specific sociocultural settings. Besides, individuals’ identities are often as conflicted as the larger social contexts (Britzman, 1998). These features inform the construct of LTI as related to the nature of multiplicity, discontinuity, and sociality (e.g., Alsup, 2006; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard et al., 2004; Flores & Day, 2006; Miller, 2009; Rodgers & Scott, 2008; Sutherland et al., 2010).

While these features of poststructuralist views show the complex nature of identity, they pose problems and challenges to researchers and educators of language teachers. Since identity is constantly changing, discontinued, and conflictive, how can a researcher make sense of such complexity and capture the dynamic aspect of identity? How can an individual show their unique agency in moving beyond the context in which they might be positioned in certain un/desirable ways?

In terms of the theoretical problems and challenges, the Bakhtinian framework of “Self” and “Other” (Bakhtin, 1990) offers an elaborate dialogic approach to LTI to better understand its nature as “both unitary and multiple, both continuous and discontinuous, and both individual and social” (Akkerman & Meijer, 2010, p. 308). For Bakhtin, in one’s life coexist different perspectives and “the Self” is a multivoiced concept, arising in and through social relations with Others (Bakhtin, 1984; Wertsch, 1991). During the process of responding to and interacting with others’ voices, one’s self, or identity, is shaped “within a nexus of social relationships and affiliations” (Hallman, 2015, p. 26). It should be noted that the multi-voiced self does not merely arise from interactions with others, but also emerges from non-interactional documents and events, e.g., one’s autobiographical texts. This framework of “Self” and “Others” is responsive to the nature of dialogism (Bakhtin, 1984, 1990; Holquist, 2003; Wertsch, 1997) in terms of their similar concerns with how multiple voices are interacted and negotiated. Hermans (2001) extends the concept by developing the theory of the dialogical self, arguing that there are multiple I-positions in expressing oneself, i.e., particular voices internalized in one’s self-presentation (quoted in Akkerman et al., 2011). Under the framework of the dialogic views, the dialogical approach to LTI stresses the fluid, complex, and sporadic nature of identity, while simultaneously recognizing that in some ways identity can be unitary, continuous, and individual. It bridges the self/other divide and acknowledges different dimensions of individual identity and more importantly, emphasizes how an individual negotiates within them.

In a similar vein, from a poststructuralist perspective, Zembylas (2003) emphasizes the contextual contingency of the teacher-self, which “allows teachers a broader range of strategies to negotiate their relations with others and with themselves” (p. 108). For preservice multilingual teachers, these different reflexive self-positionings originate from their previous experiences, values, beliefs, ideologies related to their social and cultural contexts. In a given time or space, some self-positionings are more dominant or in conflict with others. Although the multiplicity and ambiguity of postmodernist subjectivity is appreciated by teacher educators and conceived as “acceptable, comfortable and even essential” (Alsup, 2006, p. 46) to a teacher identity, the dialogic approach tends to hold together the different self-positionings through continuous internal dialogues with selves (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Arvaja, 2006; Linell, 2009), which helps understand both the multiplicity and unity of LTI.

The dialogic approach also provides an understanding of poststructuralist view of identity as situated both “within the mind” and “within a social context” (Heisey, 2011, p. 81), which implies LTI is formed out of the intersection of two factors: personal biography and socio-educational contexts (Duff, 2016). Therefore, rather than a product of acquiring predefined competencies or assigned roles by others, the construction of LTI is a continuous process in which teachers negotiate, actively reflect, and interpret their experiences and relationships with the social context in which they work and live (Kayi-Aydar, 2014, Luttenberg et al., 2013). Hence, both internal and external factors shape teachers’ professional identity construction and the way they position themselves and others (Flores & Day, 2006). Varghese, Morgan, Johnson, and Johnson (2005) further present the concept of identity-in-discourse and identity-in-practice, in which language teacher agency is seen respectively as action-oriented and discursively constituted in situated interactions with the significant others and a wider discourse. This view helps unpack the complexity of LTI as both deeply personal (Miller, 2009; Day & Lee, 2011) and socially

constructed (Olsen, 2011; Varghese et al., 2005), which offers LTI the status as a nexus of micro-level individual agency and macro-level structural influence (Trent, 2015).

1.3.3 Self-concept, emotion, and professional identity

Considering the multiplicity of LTI, a key point to investigate LTI is to explore language teachers' self-conceptualizations and the interconnected relationships of these with their professional identity constructions. Miller (2011) points out that becoming a teacher is at first deeply personal and related to their self-knowledge and attitudes. Day and Lee (2011) also argue that identity depicts "the way we make sense of ourselves and the image of ourselves that we present to others" (p. 48). Similarly, Lasky (2005) believes that teacher identity describes how "teachers define themselves to themselves and to others" (p. 901). In the self-discrepancy theory, Higgins (1987) proposes a three-dimension model of self-concept formation: the actual self, the ought self, and the ideal self. The three dimensions indicate the traits one believes they actually possess, should possess, and wish to possess. Along with the discrepancies between the different "selves" comes different kinds of emotional vulnerabilities. From the aspect of narrative, Sfard and Prusak (2005) also echo the model by mentioning the gap between one's actual and designated identities in learning. They note that "our vision of our own or other people's experiences [...] constitute identities (Sfard & Prusak, 2005, p. 17). In this sense, identities are presented as "discursive counterparts of one's lived experiences" (Sfard & Prusak, 2005, p. 18) rather than entities residing in social settings. Drawing on these notions, Thomas and Beauchamp (2011) explore new teachers' professional identities through metaphor, believing that it is a critical stage in TI development to view the self as a professional. Hammachek (1999) also stresses the key role of self-knowledge to a teacher's successful practice.

In the LTI construction, which is a process of shaping and shifting in interaction with others in macro and micro contexts, this orientation of self-concept works as a mediator of action (Borich,

1999) and influences unrealized experiences and future behaviors (Oyserman & Markus, 1990). These different selves have a dynamic interaction among themselves and have also close links to teacher professional identity. Kubanyiova and Feryok (2015) advocate a bottom-up approach to understanding the multiplicity of teachers' emotional and professional lives in teaching. Pennington and Richards (2016) point out that one's teaching roots deeply in her personal identity. Similarly, teacher educators Hancock, Lewis, Starker-Glass, Allen, and Lewis (2017) observe that teaching effectiveness is determined by the teacher's individual features and traits. While some authors (e.g., Beijaard et. al., 2004) perceive teacher identity with regard to teachers' professional knowledge such as subject matter knowledge, pedagogical skills, and didactical knowledge, the possession and action of such knowledge draws on one's personal identity that originates from his or her distinctive experience and characters. This connection between a teacher's self-concept and disciplinary knowledge creates his or her professional identity in the contexts of teaching. For example, Nevin, Thousand, and Villa (2009) examine how teachers' personal identity deriving within cultures contributes to the formation of various types of "self" that root in the social context where a teacher conducts teaching. Sutherland, Howard, and Markauskaite's (2010) study showcases how the teachers' voice, as part of the person's self-image, promotes preservice teachers' professional identity through self-reflection. Rodgers and Scott (2008) clearly summarize this interplay between external and internal aspects of identity formation by suggesting that "teachers should work towards an awareness of their identity and the contexts, relationships, and emotions that shape them, and (re)claim the authority of their own *voice*," which constitutes the "contested' place where the normative demands of the external encounter, the internal meaning making and desires of the teacher" (p. 733, emphasis in original) merge in varying conflicted configurations.

Among the multiple elements of personal identity, emotion plays a significant role in LTI construction (Britzman, 2012; Hargreaves, 2001; Zembylas, 2002, 2003; Winograd, 2003). One

of the important contributions of postmodernist and poststructuralist theories to the understanding of LTI is their sociocultural perspective on emotions and the complex relationships between emotions and one's professional identity (Day & Lee, 2011; Day, 2018). In terms of the role of emotion in language teachers' professional identity construction, Golombek's (1998) study of how two ESL teachers navigate challenges in their teaching demonstrates the clear link between their emotional lives and their professional practices. Benesch (2017) also argues for the significant function of ELT teachers' sense of emotion in informing their practice. Vygotsky's (1986) concern with individual cognition development provides a sociocultural approach to identity formation and premises the theorization of emotions as socio-cultural constructions. Drawing on the sociocultural approach, poststructuralist studies pay more attention to the role of power relations in reconciling the confrontations "between individual choices and cultural tools" (Zembylas, 2003, p. 220). They point out that the creation of emotion discourses involves the interactions between culture, power, and ideology, in which teachers either accept or resist these discourses when attempting to be engaged in the process (e.g., Boler, 2004; Zembylas, 2002). Therefore, the primary idea of a poststructuralist framework of emotion is that emotion is a discursive practice with power as an integral part of all discourses about emotions (Zembylas, 2003). A poststructuralist interpretation of emotion also allows teachers to gain new perception of themselves as sites of agency, which motivates a reexamination of identity discourses.

Foucault's (1980, 1984) ideas on agency, power, and resistance fit nicely with this interpretation of emotion and depict specifically the process of (multi)lingual preservice teachers' "becoming" by encouraging them to move beyond the normalization status. In the light of present wider social and cultural tendency towards globalization and neoliberalism, a poststructuralist focus on power relations in the studies of emotion sheds salient light on the (re)construction of NNESTs' professional identities. As Motha (2006) demonstrates, English has been associated with white privilege and the concept of standard English is inherently racialized. NNESTs are largely

silenced by disempowering discourses of native superiority and frequently experience negative emotions such as “anxiety, apprehension, fear, isolation, and a sense of inferiority” in the process of teaching and learning to teach (Wu et al., 2010, p. 203), which negatively influences the nature of NNESTs’ instructional practices (Reis, 2015). The poststructuralist description of emotion also allows teachers to resist the presumed essentialism of LTI and instills them agency and transformation (Zembylas, 2003) by searching for mediational tools to externalize their experience in training and teaching (Golombek & Johnson, 2004). In this sense, it aligns with one important aspect of poststructuralist critical pedagogy, which is an engagement with imagination (Pennycook, 2001) allowing teachers to agentively re(imagine) themselves, their identities, and future trajectories.

Kubanyiova’s (2009) proposal to investigate “language teachers’ cognitive representations of their ideal, ought-to and feared selves in relation to their work as language teachers” (p.315) emphasizes the significant role of both emotions and imagination in understanding teachers’ professional identity development. As discussed before, power and resistance are the key elements in interpreting the role of emotions in identity development. Besides the argument against the NEST myth and the support for NNESTs to claim professional legitimacy, more needs to be done in the TESOL field to understand NNESTs’ emotions and provide regular and ongoing opportunities for pre-service language teachers to explicitly discuss their feelings, emotions, and concerns (Reis, 2015).

1.3.4 LTI in Context

The ongoing, dynamic process of identity construction is also dependent on the contexts in which people immerse themselves (Beijaard et al., 2004; Britzman, 2012; Coldron & Smith, 1999; Fitzgerald, 1993). Miller (2009) points out that “the negotiation of teachers’ professional identities is powerfully influenced by contextual factors outside of the teachers themselves and their

preservice education (p. 175). Coldron and Smith (1999) also conceive the identity of a teacher as related to time and space, and it is “a matter of where, within the professional pertinent array of possibilities, a particular person is located” (p. 714). In the process of “becoming a teacher” (Solomon, 2007), preservice teachers do not craft their identities out of nothing (Clarke, 2008), but create a professional identity by situating their personalities into the context where they receive training and practice teaching (Pennington, 1999). Literature also reveals the impact of contexts on student teachers’ identity formation and their teaching experience in their beginning practice (e.g., Flores & Day, 2006). In the TESOL field, language teachers shape and (re)construct their professional identity not only within the field itself, but also in reference to more complex global and local contexts that shape the meaning of language teacher and language teaching. These different contextual factors are discussed in the following section from two aspects: global and local contexts. The former is associated with the macrosocial and cultural structures including race, gender, nationality, and the field of TESOL as a whole; the latter refers to immediate contexts in which preservice teachers are involved, such as their training and teaching practice and the relationship with others (Olsen, 2011).

Language as a social activity at a given time and place always carries traces of its interpersonal and social roots (Holborow, 2006). Historically speaking, English, as a “global language,” has always been a good traveling companion of empire (Kumaravadivelu, 2005) and the construction of “Self” and “Other” produced by colonialism is always adhering to English (Pennycook, 1998a). The dominance of English in the globalized world is not merely a natural outcome of the collaboration of historical and cultural factors, but closely relates to the ideological, political, and commercial interests of what Kachru (1990) terms as core Inner Circle Countries (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 2010; Singh et al., 2002). In the neoliberal global context, where English and TESOL have increasingly been constructed as “branded commodities along lines which are entirely congruent with the values and practices of the new capitalism” (Gray, 2010, p. 714),

language teachers work as “symbolic globalizers through teaching a world language” (Holborow, 2006, p. 86) and inevitably become the beneficiaries or victims in relation to implicit and explicit hierarchies in the field. Thus, on one hand, English as a Second Language/English as a Foreign Language (ESL/EFL) teachers are expected to be aware of the global trends of transnationality and internationalization of education and hence are required to teach English as a global language or lingua franca under a widened pedagogical frame by relating their professional identity to a global identity (Pennington & Richards, 2016). At the same time, ESL/EFL teachers are increasingly being encouraged to adopt a self-reflective and self-critical lens about their profession and align with the current conceptualization of English teachers as “symbolic globalizers” (Holborow, 2006, p. 86). Such a critical stance cautions them against becoming a “second wave of imperial troopers” (Edge, 2003, p. 701) and of staying ever vigilant of the hierarchies that exist in TESOL. These conflicting tasks which English language teachers are increasingly being called upon to undertake become even more complicated for multilingual teachers because of the problematic dichotomies that have long existed in the field. These include oppositional categories such as L1 (one’s first language) vs. L2 (one’s second/additional language), native vs. non-native and NESTs vs NNESTs. Such dichotomous constructs have continually been used to classify teachers and have served to make the TESOL context more complex and unjust for multilingual teachers as they have systematically found themselves located within the second half of these pejorative pairings. The native speaker teacher (NST) bias still affects the perception of what is an effective language teacher (Burke, 2013; Valmori and De Costa, 2016). Within the global context where ideologies exist on a macro level, the hierarchies in TESOL are ultimately issues of identity. This study shows how LTI is convolutedly (re)constructed and (re)negotiated as teachers work and interact with multiple sociocultural and ideological impact in TESOL.

According to Pennington and Richards (2016), the different levels of local context where language teachers work and live may have a greater impact on teachers’ professional identity than

the wider context. The department, institution, and community where teachers situate their practice directly affect their professional identity formation and their self-positioning in relation to the perception and features of others with whom they work and interact. Cohen (2010) also points out that teacher identity is constructed through how individuals interact with others in her local context. Since one of the foci of this study is to view the identity formations and enactments of preservice teachers as they learn to teach in the MATESOL program, particularly during the practicum, Lave and Wenger's (Lave, 1992; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) theory of situated learning and Engeström's (2001) activity theory are two useful frameworks for understanding these complex phenomena. Situated learning theory conceptualizes learning as "a fundamentally social phenomenon" (Wenger, 1998, p. 3). Developed from Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory, this theory claims that learning roots in interpersonal social interactions rather than in individuals' minds. In a similar vein, as an extension of sociocultural theory, activity theory also emphasizes that context and its correlated elements impact the learning process (Engeström, 2001). It focuses on "the ways in which individuals begin to adopt particular practices and ways of thinking to solve specific problems or challenges within a setting" (Grossman et al., 1999, p. 12). It also stresses the importance of dominant value systems and social practices in construing the process of learning to teach. I attend to some of these issues in my study as I analyze the factors that influence the identity (re)formulations of the participant preservice teachers.

Amongst the various components that constitute local contexts, learning environment is one of the most important factors that affects preservice teachers' being and becoming. Porter (2003) points out in her research on fostering a community of practice that preservice teachers "need to find learning environments that challenge them to contribute as whole persons, to imagine themselves as valued professionals whose work truly matters, and to align their vocation with their values" (p. 51). In other words, student teachers need to be engaged in mutual processes of founding and sustaining joint enterprises and thereby gain a sense of belonging to their learning

environment. Porter's comment corresponds with Wenger's (1998) three modes of belonging: *engagement, imagination, and alignment*. According to Wenger (1998), engagement is the process to actively negotiate the meaning through the formation of trajectories, which means identity is not solely composed of community membership. As a further aspect of identity, imagination suggests "a process of expanding our self by transcending our time and space and creating new images of the world and ourselves" (Wenger, 1998, p. 176). Alignment highlights common patterns of action within broader structures. Wenger's three modes of belonging informs a better understanding in this study of how the preservice teachers (re)constructed their professional identities in the learning environment of their practicum. During the process of "learning-in-practice" (Lave, 1992), the preservice teachers attempt to develop identities as members of their learning and teaching communities by becoming knowledgeably skillful in these dimensions of teacher formation.

Through engagement, an essential starting point of belonging, preservice teachers form their identity partly by being recognized for their teaching competence. Danielewicz (2001) stresses the significance of genuine context for preservice teachers "to learn the conventions and practices of the discourse community" (p. 183). Being engaged in practice is an important way to create a space in which preservice teachers construct a reality and an identity. Engagement, however, can also be narrow (Wenger, 1998). For multilingual preservice teachers, as Wenger (1998) warns, "the understanding inherent in shared practice is not necessarily one that gives [them] broad access to the histories or relations with other practices that shape their own practice. [...] A community of practice can become an obstacle to learning by entrapping [them] in its very power to sustain [their] identity" (p. 175). In this sense, imagination, another dimension of belonging according to Wenger's model (1998), impacts the identity construction creatively in ways that "it moves beyond the here-and-now of engagement in practices by permitting individuals to create images of the world, and their place within it, across time and space" (Trent, 2016, p. 48).

However, both engagement and imagination carry a risk by either locking the members into present realities or being removed from them (Clarke, 2011). Alignment, the third dimension of belonging according to Wenger's (1998) model, suggests a coordination with other realities and communities of practice. For multilingual preservice teachers who often find themselves positioned in and through conflicted ideologies, pedagogies, and identities, the work of alignment in identity construction is especially important. This, however, is not a process that they can engage in by themselves but, is in fact, mediated through others and is therefore multiply co-constructed. In this process of co-construction, "the identity resources of the teachers may be tested against conditions that challenge and conflict with their backgrounds, skills, social memberships, use of language, beliefs, values, knowledge, attitudes, and so on" (Miller, 2009, p. 175). Only by engaging with these challenges can multilingual preservice teachers start on the long journey of developing their dynamic professional identities. LTI (re)construction thus becomes a process of evolving through multiple processes of meaning negotiations and positionings both inside and outside the classroom.

1.4 NARRATIVE POSITIONING AND IDENTITY

This study investigates the participant preservice teachers' identity (re)constructions and (re)negotiations in their complex interactions with "significant others", e.g., students, instructors, colleagues, mentor teachers, institutional administrations, etc. (Hajar, 2011) as they engage in their language learning and teaching processes. A useful way to approach this complex process is to analyze their narratives by adopting a dual perspective, that is, by including and analyzing their "big stories," which are long or fully formed narratives produced in interviews about lived experiences and to also attend to their narratives of personal experience, and "small stories" in their everyday interactions (Bamberg, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 2007). These latter are not full-

fledged narratives but can be references to lived experiences, to anticipated future events or even to imagined stories. Their significance lies both in the worlds they create and the interactional purpose they serve. Taken together, both “big” and “small” story stories are productive sites for identity constructions and performances. I adopt the positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990) as the framework, which attends to “how people use words (and discourse of all type) to locate themselves and others (Harré & Moghaddam, 2010, p. 2). This analytical framework is supplemented by Bamberg’s (1997b) multilayered narrative positioning theory. Together, these frameworks allow me to productively analyze the narratives of the multilingual preservice teacher participants by attending to the complex ways in which their own, often conflicted, self-positionings interact with the subject positions ascribed to them by significant others in the teacher education program enabling me to shed light on how this complex bricolage is implicated in their identity re(formulations) as they weave their way through the MATESOL program which is the site of this study.

1.4.1 The power of narrative inquiry

Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2000) note that identity (re)construction is an ever-evolving process, in which one’s lived experiences are told and retold in varied ways across time and space. What and how teachers narrate their experiences, according to Barkhuizen (2017), have become the primary focus of LTI scholarship because these narratives allow for an analysis of spatial and temporal scenarios that go beyond the current space and moment. For NNESTs, narratives provide them opportunities to externalize their *perezhivanie* (lived/emotional experiences) and then explore and deconstruct this *perezhivanie* (Reis, 2015, p. 36).

As discussed above, teacher identity construction is not a linear, coherent process, although it is naturally desired by the subjects to maintain a consistent sense of the self (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Linde, 1993). One way to make sense of teachers’ “shifting, multiple, constructed,

contradictory, confusing, cubistic” identity, according to Rodget and Scott (2008), “is through the practice of narrative, or the telling of [their] stories” (p. 736). Sfard and Prusak (2005) even “define identity as a set of reifying, significant, endorsable stories” (p. 14). Through narration, people (including pre-service teachers) construct their identity by making coherent narratives of their experiences across time and space (Wortham, 2001). Also, in the process of construing personal meanings through series of congruent experiences (Hermans & Hermans-Jansen, 2001), teachers maintain the continuity of identity according to the dialogical approach. Narrative definition of identity also allows educators to fully recognize the dynamic and agentic dimensions of LTIs (Sfard & Prusak, 2005).

By storying or re-storying a person’s life in an interpretive, reconstructive way, narrative inquiry becomes a powerful mediational tool for teachers to “create a temporary ‘other’, which “supports the transformative process and enables teachers to move from external social activity to internal control” over their emotions (Golombek & Johnson, 2007, p. 324). Narrative has therefore been increasingly used as a pedagogical tool among teacher educators aiming to assist student teachers’ agentic identity development (e.g., Johnson & Golobek, 2002; Herath & Valencia, 2014; Canagarajah, 2016a; Morgan, 2004). With a dialogic approach, this study focuses on the participants’ narrative-in-interaction, which stresses the identity-performing, context-constituting functions. The participants’ identity positioning is examined especially on the interactional levels posited by Bamberg (1997a), i.e., how the participants position themselves within the storied world in relation to historical, contextual, and social-cultural influences and how they engage with others’ positioning of them.

1.4.2 Narrative Positioning

As discussed above, narratives are also utilized with various theoretical conceptions in a convergent way, such as positioning theory, to explore the complex, multiple natures of teacher

identity. The concept of “narrative positioning” was developed by Bamberg (1997b) under the influence of Davies and Harré’s (1990) positioning theory. Studying identity in a broader sense, positioning theory insists that people’s self-conception is tied to social discourse and social actions, and people’s identity has multiple, potentially contradictory facets (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008). The concept of “subject positions” was first introduced by Foucault (1980) as a notion resisting an agentive, teleological subject. In his thinking, discourses are institutional infrastructure of distributions of power and knowledge. The term position, as argued by Davies (2000), captures dynamic aspects of selfhood, which is “constantly in process [...] and revised and (re)presented through features of language (discourse) such as story lines” (p. 137). Vetter, Meacham, and Schieble. (2013) also suggest that positioning theory is “one way to uncover how individuals construct and enact identities during moment-to-moment interaction” (p. 233). In educational studies, positioning theory has been increasingly employed to “show how rights, duties, obligations and opportunities are distributed among students and teachers in classroom discourse” (Kaye-Aydar & Miller, 2018, p. 88). Under this framework, this study provides an understanding of how particular learning opportunities or forms of knowledge/practice are (de)legitimated or constructed for the multilingual preservice teachers in the local learning and teaching contexts they encounter while attending their teacher education program.

Davies and Harré (1990) relates positioning to narratives. They conceive that selves are discursively created in positioning activities. They suggest recognizing the force of narratives, i.e., “discursive practices” of how people are positioned through the narratives and how people’s subjectivity is generated through certain narratives (Davies & Harré, 1990). They further elaborate positioning as “a discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines” (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 48). Davies and Harré’s (1990) basic conception of positioning can be found in their widely-quoted “positioning triangle” (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré et al, 2009): storylines, social acts, and

positions, among which positions are intimately related to storylines, i.e., the organizing principle of discourses, and are related to social acts in a reflexive way. In this study, the preservice teachers' lived experiences, i.e., storylines linked to certain sociocultural contexts unfold as they are engaged in reflexive self-positioning and interactive other positioning (Kayi-Aydar & Miller, 2018).

Bamberg (1997b) refines the notion of positioning by distinguishing three levels of positioning: the story, the interaction and identity. While the level of the story concerns how characters are positioned in relation to others in the narrative, at level two, the interaction focuses on how the speaker positions him/herself to the audience. On level three, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) examine "how the speaker positions a sense of self/identity with regards to dominant discourse or master narratives" (p. 391). Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) and Georgakopoulou (2006) increasingly stress the importance of the second level of positioning by theorizing small stories, which provides "important insights for both the analysis of narratives in talk and for examinations of identities within these narratives" (Sandhu, 2016, p. 25). Rather than focusing on long or fully formed narratives induced in interviews and autobiographies, small stories are brief stories told in daily interactions and communications, with an understanding of narratives as constitutive of social practices (Georgakopoulou, 2007). Since these stories are "embedded in conversational interaction and occasioned by situated discursive concerns, [...] interactional positioning becomes the basic motivation for storytelling and storytellers' self- and other-positioning by the story" (Deppermann, 2013, p. 6). Wortham (2001) and Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann (2004) further elaborate the concept of "narrative as interaction". Deppermann (2015) points out that although not explicitly referring to Bamberg, Wortham's (2001) distinction between representational and interactive functions of narratives echoes Bamberg's first two levels of positioning: the story and interaction. Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann (2000) posit a communicative model to explore identity positioning in the framework of narratives. They stress the performative aspects of narrative identity that is related to self-presentation and interactional

negotiation. As for LTI and positioning, as Arvaja (2016) states, LTI can be “seen as positioned into being through positioning one’s (storytelling and narrated) self with respect to the relevant characters and their respective voices as presented and evaluated in the narrative” (p. 395).

Narrative positioning helps widen the knowledge of identity (re)construction in that “it opens up an understanding of teachers as active agents in their own lives and the construction of teacher identity as a dynamic and changing activity” (Søreide, 2006, p. 529). Teacher’s self-positioning and other positioning is closely related to their agency in learning to teach and teaching practice. Agency, as Ahearn’s (2001) widely cited definition, is “the sociocultural mediated capacity to act” (p. 112). It depicts people’s ability “to do things which affect the social relationships in which they are embedded” (Layder, 2006, p. 4). In this sense, agency is “strongly connected to the contextual conditions within which it is achieved and not as merely a capacity or possession of the individual” (Priestley et al., 2012, p. 197). According to Harré and van Langenhove’s (1999) articulation of positioning theory, one’s agency emerges as an individual questions and negotiates an initial act of positioning in narrative.. Bamberg (2005) suggests that agency arises within the discursive framework when an individual is positioning a sense of self. To be more precise, agency is achieved when an individual is assigned an agentic position (Kayi-Aydar, 2013). Harré and Slocum (2003) conceive agency as the capacity to act and identify three categories of actions: “actions that are actually done (or will-be-done), actions that are allowed to be done, and actions that one individual is temperamentally capable of doing” (p. 125). The focus of positioning theory, according to them, is “on the relation between what one has or believes one has or lacks a right to perform and what one does, in the light of that belief” (Harré and Slocum, 2003, p. 125). Therefore, agency and positioning are closely interrelated and interacted.

Seen in this way, teacher agency, as teacher identity, constructed and reconstructed by the social context. Scholarship has studied the dynamic interactions between teacher identity, agency, and context (e.g., Lasky, 2005; Buchanan, 2015; Tao & Gao, 2017). As Freed (2001) notes, “It is only against the background of ideas of possible selves expressed by ideology as subject positions

that an agent's ability to make self-defining choices becomes possible/intelligible at all" (p. 9). The interacted relationship between positioning and agency that narrative positioning focuses on provides a powerful tool for this study to investigate how preservice teachers are positioned through narratives and how this positioning affects their professional identity (re)construction. Varghese (2016) points out that LTI is seen as being created in the "co-evolution of agency and structure" (p. 44). Narrative positioning fits this study in particular because it provides a tool for construing the relationship between the self and others in LTI, which is the focus of the narrative analysis in this study. Under the dialogical approach, Hermans (2003) conceives that one's positioning is shaped and (re)constructed through interactions with others in day-to-day communications. Harré and van Langenhove (1991) differentiate the self-positioning and other positioning, referring the former as reflective positioning and the latter as interactive positioning. They point out that positions are mostly complementary to one another. When the multilingual preservice teachers in this study seek to engage in their communities of practice, they are trying to construct a situated negotiation of belonging. Storytelling and narratives are therefore important means for them to construct social bonds with students, colleagues, professors, mentor teachers, and the community they are working with. During these processes they do not simply choose affiliations but have to negotiate them with others as they are continuously positioned by others.

1.5 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation consists of five chapters. Thus far, Chapter 1 has provided the rationale, research questions, and the literary and analytical frameworks of the study. Relevant scholarship has been summarized and scrutinized to present how it would guide the research process. Chapter Two of the dissertation first sets out a rationale for the ethnographic methodology for this study and then illustrates the sociocultural setting of the study and explains what and how data were

collected and analyzed. My subjective stance and the challenge it presented for this study is also discussed in this chapter. Chapters 3 and 4 analyze the extensive and rich data that were collected during the course of this study by means of the synthesized tools of narrative analysis (Georgakopoulou, 2006; Gubrium & Holstein, 2008; Reissman, 1993), positioning theory (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999) and narrative positioning (Bamberg, 2004; Bamber & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Deppermann, 2013) in a case-based (Reissman, 1993) manner to analyze the multilingual preservice teachers' oral and written narratives. As the conclusion to the dissertation, Chapter 5 discusses the salient findings emerging from data analysis and their implications for the field of TESOL in terms of pedagogical implications for pre-service teacher education programs. The limitations of the study are also discussed in this final chapter in an effort to provide suggestions for future studies.

CHAPTER 2: METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This study aims at understanding the discursive process of preservice multilingual teachers' identity (re)construction in a MATESOL program. Specifically, it explores the development of their identities in the local and global interactive process of learning to teach, in relation to their previous and ongoing learning and teaching experience, their current study and practice, and future career prospects. Four preservice teachers were recruited into the study via email on a voluntary basis. These women have been given the pseudonyms of Chen, Hana, Gloria, and Jing in my study. Employing an ethnographic approach to data collection and analysis, I spent a prolonged period throughout Fall 2018 and continuing into Summer 2019 collecting data in various forms. I observed three core courses of the program and the practicum teaching placements which the four focal preservice teacher participants attended. Besides audio recording of the class discussions, mini-teaching demonstrations, and other class activities, I also took extensive field notes while observing. Unstructured interviews and group meetings were used as tools to collect oral narrative data. The documents and artifacts that I collected included participants' written assignments related to their language learning and teaching, such as their language learning and teaching autobiographies, teaching philosophy statements, teaching journals, and teaching practice video recordings. These first-hand data, like pieces of puzzles, worked together enabling me to compose multi-layered descriptions of participants' beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors central to their professional identities. My data analysis went hand in hand with data collection with the aid of Atlas.ti, a computer program for qualitative data management and analysis. The tools it provided allowed me to locate, code, and annotate findings in primary data materials and visualize the complex relations between data. Under the framework of narrative positioning (Bamberg, 1997), I examined and analyzed these data with the aim to get a deep understanding of the preservice

teachers' professional development in interactions within constantly changing local and global sociocultural contexts. At the same time, I also examined how they were struggling to formulate professional identities through enactments of resistance and/or negotiation with dominant ideologies in the institutional and social discourses that privilege nativeness in the field of EFL/ESL education which they encountered in various ways as they engaged in their coursework and practicum placements within the program.

In the following sections, I first discuss the ethnographic approach which I adopted in this study for its holistic, contextual, and interactive features and its unique strengths in reflexivity can better inform the ever evolving, multilayered, and fluid development of language teacher identity (LTI) in interactions. After the introduction of methodology, I present a detailed research design to render a full picture of this study, including descriptions of the research site, participants, and data collection processes. Of particular focus in this chapter is the discussion of data analysis methods and a theoretical reflection on each type of data that was collected in this project.

2.2 RATIONALE FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

Creswell (2014) suggests that the selection of a research approach should be determined by “the nature of the research problems or issues being addressed, the researchers' personal experience, and the audiences of the study” (p. 107). I employed a qualitative methodology to approach my research based on these considerations. With the sociocultural (Block, 2003; Johnson, 2006) and narrative turn (Bamberg, 1997, 2005) in the study of language learning and teaching, qualitative methodology has increasingly enjoyed unique advantages in addressing the issues of identity because it could best “describe key incidents in functionally relevant descriptive terms and place them in some relations to the wider social context” (Erikson, 1981, p. 22). Meanwhile, the characteristic of qualitative research as a person-centered enterprise and its

transformative potential for the researcher makes it particularly appropriate to the work in the field of language education (Richards, 2003). I specifically employed an ethnographic approach in the process of data collection and analysis because its “firsthand, contextualized, naturalistic, hypotheses-generating, and emic orientation” (Chapelle & Duff, 2003, p. 172) features fit into my research orientation and goals.

Ethnography, as Davies (2008) broadly interprets, is “a research process based on *fieldwork* using a variety of mainly (but not exclusively) qualitative research techniques but including *engagement in the lives* of those being studied over an extended period of time” (p. 5, emphasis added). The nature of my study features such a research process. First, my role as a PhD candidate in the same location as my research participants allowed me the opportunity to conduct prolonged fieldwork, in which I could engage deeply in the learning and teaching lives of the preservice teachers by means of participant observation, in-depth interviews, and frequent group meetings. Since my research focuses on preservice language teachers’ evolving professional identities in relation to contexts, these first-hand experiences, which I obtained from the engagement, facilitated my understanding of the “social meanings and ordinary activities” of the preservice teachers “in naturally occurring settings” (Brewer, 2000, p. 6). Besides, adopting an ethnographic approach to my study allowed me to provide, as Pole and Morrison (2003) state, “a comprehensive and contextualized description of the social action within the location, event(s) or setting” (p. 4). Apart from the focus on the “discrete” location, event(s) or setting, ethnography’s concern “with the full range of social behavior within the location and events” (Pole & Morrison, 2003, p. 4) enabled me to understand how multilingual teachers’ identities can be used as pedagogy in the field of language teacher education (LTE). A thorough reading of the ethnographic work on identity research in language learning and teaching in the past two decades reveals this holistic and contextual feature of ethnography².

² For example, Norton’s (2000) groundbreaking ethnographic study examines how five immigrant women in

Another key feature of ethnography is what Zaharlick (1992) describes as interactive-reactive, meaning that the research process for ethnography is emergent (Creswell, 2003). This feature made ethnography an ideal choice for my research. Since my research was conducted in natural, uncontrolled settings without tightly prescribed themes/hypothesis, my research questions, participant interviews, sites visited, and other phases of the research were modified constantly based on the specific situation after I entered the field and started collecting data. Besides, the nature of human practices as “fluid, dynamic, [and] changing over time and place” (Johnson & Christensen, 2012, p. 35) also determines the emergent nature of my research. For example, I initially planned to visit and observe the ESL classes the preservice teachers would be placed in their practicum for gathering teaching-related data. However, because of ongoing negotiations between the teacher union and the university, all the students in the TESOL Practicum in Winter 2018 were placed in writing programs in the Department of English rather than in ESL classes. The change of practicum site led to major modifications in my data collection procedures in that quarter, including observation protocols, the specific focus of each observation, and follow-up interview questions. To elucidate this point, one of the preservice teachers, Gloria, was placed in an Intermediate Writing Course in Anthropology for her practicum teaching. Co-teaching a subject that was “*unfamiliar*” and “*beyond [her] teaching knowledge*” caused her “*extra stress and anxiety in teaching*” (quoted from Gloria’s Teaching Journal, Winter 2018). She rejected my request to observe one of her practicum classes, as she explained, it would “*make me more nervous to have a cohort member observe me to teach an unfamiliar course*” (quoted from Yan’s Research Journal, 01/06/2019). I completely understood Gloria’s decision and then changed my data collection

Canada negotiated their identities as second language learners in particular class, ethnic and gendered social contexts; Motha’s (2006) year-long ethnography studies how student and teacher identities acquire racial meanings in a North American institution context; a number of other studies scrutinize identity and language learning in a variety of global contexts (e.g., Maguire & Graves, 2001; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2003; Harklau, 2000; Toohey, 2000).

methods related to her practicum teaching in Winter 2018. Without observing her teaching practice, I collected visual materials and written documents from her, including video recording of a practicum class she taught, her teaching journals, statement of teaching philosophy, lesson plans, written feedback from her practicum seminar instructor, etc. Besides necessary adjustment of data collection and analysis methods, during this process I moved back and forth between the themes and data, seeking to establish a comprehensive set of frequently and randomly emerging themes and build them from the bottom up in an inductive way.

The final feature of ethnography which resonated deeply with my study is its emphasis on reflexivity interwoven throughout the process of research, including the role of researcher, data collection and analysis methods, representation, etc. In my study, I gathered the data through participant classroom observation, face-to-face interviews, or email interviews, and by artifact collection. My presence in the research field and first-hand data collection helped to build valid claims, but also entailed attending to the issues of researcher authority, including the “insider/outsider dilemma” (Hornberger, 1994, p. 689) and the resulting power imbalances, since in ethnography “the power of one group to represent another is always involved (van Maanen, 2011, p. 4) and rightly problematized. Farah (2008) notes that the ethnography researcher needs to participate in community activities and develop reciprocal relationships with the community members in order to obtain an insider’s perspective; but at the same time, “she must take on the role of ‘an outsider’ verifying her own perceptions and hypotheses with those of other members through observation and interviews” (p. 128). In a similar vein, Hammersley (2007) describes this dilemma as a tension between “participant and analytic perspectives” (p. 4), in which the two sides are often different and even conflicting. From the very beginning of the research, therefore, I kept interrogating the role I played in the whole process. As a MATESOL alumnus and a multilingual English teacher I had experienced similar struggles or achievements as the preservice teachers in my study, which provided me with an “insider” perspective and an incredible measure of empathy

for them. At the same time, I kept reflecting on questions such as, “To what extent did my own experiences shape my perspective during the observation and interviews?”; “How did my experiences influence my interpretation of the meaning garnered from the research data?”; “How could I strike a balance between being ‘familiar’ and ‘strange’, and being participant and researcher (Hornberger, 1994) in this process?”; “What is the power relationship between my participants and me as the researcher?”; and “To what extent did I enact power on them and how?” These interrogations turned my research into a more critical orientation of “doing ethnography” (Gobo, 2008). This critical orientation meant that my role in this study as a researcher and a producer was not to produce a “crisis of representation” (Marcus & Fischer, 1986), but to write collective stories and interpret the stories as both an insider and outsider. With the awareness that all research, as thought itself, is “mediated by power relations” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994, p. 139), this study is concerned with not only description but transformation, i.e., to challenge the status quo and “the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live, and the researcher’s life” (Creswell, 2009, p. 10).

It should be noted that the postmodernist and poststructuralist “textual” turns (Harklau & Norwood, 2005) and their destabilizing ideas about “truth, knowledge, values and ethics” (Eisenhart, 2001, p. 17) have had an enormous impact on ethnography with respect to “undermining ‘realist’ accounts and focusing on the subjectivity of the ethnographer” (Paltridge & Phakiti, 2015, p. 140). As Finlay (2002) notes, we now accept the central figure of the researcher in actively constructing the interpretation of data. Researcher’s presence is not something we seek to abolish. Rather, “subjectivity in research is transformed from a problem to an opportunity” (Finlay, 2002, p. 531). Since the “narrative turn” in social research (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012), “a concern for storytelling, composes ethnography in new ways” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 3). In my study, the preservice teachers’ narratives, including “big stories” in the form of their life stories, diaries, memoirs, journals, and “small stories” realized as temporary narratives

emerging in everyday contexts (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) which occurred in my oral interactions with them were used as primary data. This dismantled some of the power imbalance inherent in the researcher-researched relationship and granted my participants both agency and voice (Pavlenko, 2007).

Being wary that my study might be accused of being a case of “anything goes” (Richardson, 2000), I followed the guidelines for ethnography in TESOL proposed by Chapelle and Duff (2003). Those sound ethnographic principles suggest that the researcher provide “an explicit, situated account of how the power differences between the researcher and the subjects are negotiated.” They additionally, encourage the researcher to develop “a mode of textual representation that suits [the researcher’s] experience, objectives, [and] beliefs about the nature of ethnographic knowledge” (Chapelle & Duff, 2003, p. 177). During the whole research process from data collection to analysis, I managed to build a reflexive component into the research based on what Hammersely and Atkinson (2007) call “reflexive triangulation”, in which I avoided taking data at face value, but attempted to discover which inference from the data was more likely to be valid.

2.3 RESEARCH SITE

According to a report of the TESOL International Association in 2014, there were more than 300 graduate TESOL programs across the world, with most of them in the U.S. and the U.K. The number itself and the vast range of programs manifest the power and prestige of English language. The acronym of TESOL, i.e., Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, also reflects the embedded division between teaching English and speakers of other languages. It could be argued that there is no other setting than a TESOL program in which multilingual student teachers’ professional identities can be better understood and documented in terms of language, power, and resistance. That was the main reason why this study was conducted in a MATESOL program,

which is at an urban university located on the Pacific northwest coast of the U.S. Besides, as introduced in the first chapter, my own experience as a MATESOL alumnus provided me with more access to the research sites and participants. I hoped that my background knowledge and shared experience with participants would make my research more productive by “incorporating indigenous interpretive resources, perspectives, and landmarks into inquiries” (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 45).

The program where I conducted my study was a two-year on campus program, granting Master of Arts for Teachers upon graduation. It ran for five to six quarters and consisted of 39 to 55 credits of coursework, including five core TESOL courses, three elective courses from Linguistics and other language or education-related fields, and two practicum courses. The core coursework focused on “*second language acquisition theory, language pedagogy, assessment, and research*” within “*the sociopolitical, multicultural, and racialized global contexts within which English instruction takes place*” (quoted from the program’s website). Until Winter 2019 practicum student had worked with international ESL learners under the supervision of a mentor teacher in an ESL program affiliated to the university, which I will name as the “Language Learning Center” (LLC) in my study. A unique feature of the MATESOL program was that it provided a limited number of competitive TAships generally to second year students to teach in the LLC. As described on the LLC website, it was “*one of the largest, most established international and English language programs in the United States*” and offered “*a wide variety of classes for both undergraduate and graduate students to help improve (their) English language skills, prepare for further study in the United States and learn about American culture, business, and other subjects*” (quoted from the LLC’s website). In Winter 2019, however, because of ongoing labor negotiations between the teachers’ union and the university, the students who attended the practicum course were not placed at LLC teaching ESL classes, but in an expository writing program in the Department of English, teaching first-year college academic writing or interdisciplinary writing.

One thing that was particularly worth mentioning about the research site was the condition of appointments for TAs who are not native speakers of English, because it constituted a big concern for my focal participants in their narratives and was reported as an important element impacting many of their decisions, behaviors, and expectations during their study in the program. In order to be appointed as TAs, the graduate students who were not native English speakers (as indicated on the Applicant Profile) were expected to fulfill the additional spoken English language proficiency requirement with a test score of 80 out of 80 on the Versant English Speaking Test (Versant) administered at the university. Versant is an automated language test produced by the Pearson PLC, which, according to the producer, “*provide[s] a sophisticated and unbiased way to evaluate communication skills with pinpoint accuracy*” and “*prove[s] true language capabilities*” by “*using [an] advanced voice recognition system*” (Pearson.com). The producer especially stressed the test’s viability and reliability by claiming that the “*specially designed AI captures candidates’ speech and analyzes what is being said and how it is said as compared to a native speaker*” (Pearson.com, emphasis added). In Fall 2018 and Winter 2019, three of the four preservice teachers, Chen, Hana, and Gloria attended the test more than once, but all of them failed to obtain a full score. Jing refused to take the test at all despite the strong recommendation from the department advisor. In later chapters of data analysis, I will describe in more detail the preservice teachers’ mixed attitudes towards the test and its immense impact on their student life.

The main site where I recruited the participants and conducted research was the first-year cohort, because I hoped to work with preservice teachers who were at the initial stage of learning to teach ESL in the U.S. The specific sites where I collected data included one core course in Fall 2018: Methods and Materials Development for TESOL, two core courses in Winter 2019: Theory and Practice on TESOL and Practicum Seminar, and a subsidiary of one core course in Spring 2019: the practicum placements. In the section of Data Collection, I will describe in detail the types of data I collected at each site, my collection methods, and reflections on them.

2.4 RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

2.4.1. *An overview of four preservice teachers*

After I got approval for my research from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the university in late Summer 2018, I approached the professor who would instruct one of the core courses in Fall 2018, requesting her to forward a recruitment email eliciting volunteers for my study to her first-year MATESOL students. The four preservice teachers in this study were then recruited either in response to this email or upon my direct request to them. In the first week of Fall 2018, Jing and Chen³ two international students from China, and Betsy, a local American student, responded to my email and volunteered to participate in the study. Since my study focuses on multilingual language preservice teachers' identities, I expected more participants from multiple linguistic backgrounds, with the hope that it would "strengthen the precision, validity, stability, and trustworthiness of the findings" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 33). After observing the core course, *Methods and Materials Development for TESOL*, for one week and getting more information of the student profiles through direct observation of the classes and through discussions with the students enrolled in this course, I sent a second email to invite more participants. Upon my request, Hana and Gloria then agreed to participate in the study. Sophia, a graduate student in the second year of the program, who heard about my research from some of the first-year students, also sent me an email, expressing her interest in participating in my study.

After one quarter of classroom observation in the course *Methods and Material Development for TESOL* for 38 hours, one to two interviews with each participant, and one group meeting with all of them, I determined that four focal participants: Jing, Chen, Hana, and Gloria, would be best suited to act as my focal participants based on their linguistic backgrounds, language learning and

³ To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, all focal participants' and other participants' names, working site, and other identifiable information mentioned in this study are pseudonyms (Emerson & Pollner, 2003).

teaching experiences and remaining time in the program. They were all female international graduate students with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Betsy, a white female MATESOL student, was not included as a focal participant mainly because of her linguistic background as a monolingual English native speaker, but her data was recorded and analyzed so as to contrast and compare with those from other participants. Sophia, as a multilingual speaker with Italian as her first language, was very interested in my research. We had a few deep conversations about the issues of nativeness in English language teaching, language and power, and other related topics. Sadly, she could not be included in the focal group because of time constraints and schedule conflicts. She was graduating by Winter 2019 and planned to leave the U.S immediately upon graduation. Nevertheless, the interviews with her provided me with valuable narrative data from the perspective of an experienced multilingual language teacher who had taught ESL/EFL in a wide range of settings and contexts for more than 16 years.

Considering the diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the four preservice teachers, I provide an overview of their profiles in Table 1 before moving into more detailed descriptions of each of them in the following section.

Table 1. An Overview of Focal Participants

Name	Gender	Nationality	Linguistic background	Teaching Experience
Chen	Female	China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First language(s): Mandarin and Cantonese • Additional languages: English and Japanese 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Literacy teaching intern in a public elementary school in Kansas, U.S. for 6 months • EFL teaching intern in a public high school in China for 6 months
Gloria	Female	Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First language: Spanish • Additional languages: English, French, and Italian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Worked as TA in a Spanish language course at a university in Tartu, Estonia for 6 months

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EFL Teaching intern in a secondary school in Spain for 2 months • Taught Spanish language classes at a university in the U.S. for 3 years (still ongoing)
Hana	Female	South Korea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First language: Korean • Additional languages: English, Spanish 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taught English Literature in a high school in South Korea for 1 year • Taught ESL in a community college in the U.S. for 4 years (still ongoing)
Jing	Female	China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First language: Mandarin • Additional language: English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taught EFL in a junior middle school in China for 4 years

2.4.2. Profile of each focal participant

Chen: Chen was an international student from China. She obtained her bachelor's degree in English Education in a teacher training college in southern China. She self-identified in her language learning autobiography (LLA) as a multilingual speaker, with Mandarin as her primary language, Cantonese as her familial language, and English and Japanese as additional languages. Chen mentioned in our first interview that despite growing up in an area where Cantonese is the primary language, her Cantonese was barely fluent because her parents preferred to use Mandarin more at home to avoid giving her “*strong accent when speaking Mandarin*” (quoted from Interview 1 with Chen, 10/18/2018). As one of the official spoken languages and lingua franca in China, Mandarin has been popularized nationwide since 1998 and was promoted as the lingua franca in 2000. Passing the Mandarin Proficiency Test has become a prerequisite in many fields in China, e.g., for obtaining a Teaching Certificate for K-12 education. Under this language policy, it was not surprising that Mandarin is highly valued nationally and individually. But competence in Mandarin is not enough in terms of literacy for most Chinese students. Since the Reform and

Open Policy implemented in the 1980s, English language education has been viewed as critical for the country to gain a competitive edge in the global market. Therefore, proficiency in English has been widely regarded as a national and individual asset (Hu, 2005).

Like most Chinese students from urban areas, Chen started to learn English from a very young age. In her LLA, Chen outlined her experience of early language learning and its influence on her later choice of a college major as well as her career prospects. Before entering the MATESOL program, Chen did not have any formal teaching experience except for a couple of internships at two different locations for 6 months respectively. One was interning in a public elementary school in Kansas, U.S., as an exchange college student in her junior year, and the other was in a public high school in China in her senior year. In our first interview, she described her role as an English language teacher as “*a guide to direct students and give advice*” and language teaching as a “*mutual learning process*” (quoted from Interview 1 with Chen, 10/18/2018).

Gloria: Gloria was an international student from Spain. She obtained her bachelor’s degree in English Philology in Spain. As a self-identified multilingual speaker, she spoke Spanish as her first language and English, French and Italian as her additional languages. When talking about her linguistic identity and language proficiency in our first interview, interestingly, she stressed that her confidence in telling others what her second language was, depended upon where she was located at the moment. In the U.S., for example, she preferred to claim Italian rather than English as her second language, though she noted that she spoke English more fluently than Italian. She explained: “*I don’t feel comfortable in speaking English and don’t trust my skills in speaking English here [in the U.S.], you know, in a country where probably everybody speaks English as their first language*” (quoted from Interview 1 with Gloria, 11/06/218).

Similar to Chen, Gloria started her EFL learning at a young age and her “*strong interest in English*” and “*outstanding performance in learning the language*” (quoted from Gloria’s LLA, Winter 2019) in high school motivated her to choose English Philology as her college major and

triggered her desire to become an English teacher, as she narrated in her LLA. Gloria stated in her Language Teaching Autobiography (LTA) that she got acquainted with the “*popular*” and “*useful*” language teaching methods such as communicative student-centered approaches for the first time when she worked as a TA teaching a Spanish language course at a university in Alabama, U.S. during her study-aboard program in her junior year. Upon being asked what she thought were necessary qualities that a good language teacher should possess, she listed them as “*keep learning new approaches and methods*” and “*know how to bring theories to the classroom*” (quoted from Interview 1 with Gloria, 11/06/2018).

Hana: Hana, the third of my four focal participants’ English learning and teaching experience was different from the other three participants. She was an international student from South Korea but spent most of her life living in two English-speaking countries in North America, i.e., Canada and the U.S. Before moving to Toronto with her family at the age of 10, she had learned EFL in extracurricular classes in an English language “*hakwons*” (a Korean word for a private, commercial extracurricular language teaching institute) in South Korea for four years. She described her early experience of learning EFL, “*a new and unfamiliar language,*” as one that caused her “*mixed feelings, [which were] frustrating yet entertaining*” (quoted from Hana’s LLA, Winter 2018). Her ESL learning experiences at elementary school in Toronto, Canada, and later in the U.S., were described in her LLA as “*humiliating*” and “*frustrating*” (quoted from Hana’s LLA, Winter 2018), which I will discuss in detail in Chapter 3.

Hana identified herself as a fluent bilingual speaker of English and Korean, with Spanish as her additional language. She started teaching ESL to adult learners as a volunteer teacher in a local community college when she was in her junior year majoring in English at the same university where she later attended the MATESOL program. After graduating with a bachelor’s degree, she traveled back to South Korea where she taught English Literature in a private high school in Seoul for one year. Upon her return to the U.S., she enrolled in the MATESOL program. While studying

in this MATESOL program, she worked part-time as an ESL instructor in the same community college where she had volunteered during her undergraduate studies. When I asked how she perceived the role of a language teacher, she described it as an “*advisor or facilitator*”. At the same time, she expressed her disagreement with the commonly used metaphor of “*a guide*” for a language teacher, because, she said, “*I don’t want to be a teacher who teaches the rules and makes students follow the rules*” (Interview 1 with Hana, 11/02/2018).

Jing: Jing was an international student from China. She got her bachelor’s degree in English from a teacher training university in eastern China. She self-identified as a bilingual speaker with Chinese as her first language. Before coming to the MATESOL program, she had had four years of formal teaching experience in a private middle school in a big city in southwestern China. When I asked her what had motivated her to become an English teacher, she answered by describing herself as “*a born teacher growing up on campus and in the classroom*” (Interview 1 with Jing, 10/18/2018). With both parents working as middle school teachers, Jing was taken by her mother to the classroom all day long during her preschool years. In our conversation in the first interview, she described her early “teaching experience” as the following:

Yan: What was [your early teaching experience] like?

Jing: As I said, I grew up watching my mother teaching and I loved teaching. [...] I started teaching even before I went to school [grinning]. Before I went to elementary school, I taught three of my peers Chinese characters and simple math calculation. You know, it was very funny. I had a small blackboard and chalks. I asked them to read the characters I wrote on the blackboard one by one, as my mom did in her class.

(quoted from Interview 1 with Jing, 10/18/2018)

Jing also narrated in her LLA how this early “teaching experience” triggered her passion for teaching and motivated her to choose English Education as her major in college. Upon graduation with a bachelor’s degree Jing accepted an English teaching position in a private middle school. When I requested her to describe herself as a language teacher in our first interview, she used the terms “*guide*” and “*explorer*”, noting that her students back in China evaluated her as “*a guide to show us the world*”, “*but sadly*”, she added afterwards, “*I don’t know where my guide for learning English is, in this world -- in the U.S.*” (quoted from Interview 1 with Jing, 10/18/2018).

2.5 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection for this study took place throughout the first academic year of the four preservice teachers’ enrollment in the MATESOL program (i.e., from Fall 2018 to Summer 2019). I collected data from three main sources: participant observations, unstructured individual and group interviews, and artifacts and written documents, which are also three classic modes that qualitative researchers use to gather data (Wolcott, 2009). Besides collecting data from research participants, I kept an ethnographic record in two ways: 1) taking fieldnotes while conducting observation and interviews, and 2) maintaining research journals after the observation and interviews. The rest of this section provides detailed descriptions of each type of data collected, and my reflection on the process of data collection.

2.5.1. Classroom Observations

I employed participant classroom observations as a prominent method to collect data to describe and interpret meanings, behaviors, and events in my research. I observed three core courses in three consecutive quarters from Fall 2018 to Spring 2019, as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Data from Classroom Observation

Site	Time	Length	Data Collected	Participants
Methods and Materials Development for TESOL (Seminar)	Fall 2018	38 hours	Audio recording (6 hours) Fieldnotes (10 pages)	Chen, Gloria, Hana, Jing
Theory and Practice of TESOL (Seminar)	Winter 2019	30 hours	Audio recording (8 hours) Fieldnotes (10 pages)	Chen, Gloria, Hana, Jing
Practicum in TESOL (Seminar)	Winter 2019	20 hours	Audio recording (4 hours) Fieldnotes (6 pages)	Gloria
Practicum in TESOL (Placement in Beginning Listening & Speaking Course)	Spring 2019	50 minutes	Audio recording (30 minutes) Fieldnotes (2 pages)	Chen
Practicum in TESOL (Placement in Advanced Reading & Writing Course)	Spring 2019	4 hours	Audio recording (90 minutes) Fieldnotes (3 pages)	Hana
Practicum in TESOL (Placement in Academic Presentations Course)	Spring 2019	4 hours	Audio recording (90 minutes) Fieldnotes (3 pages)	Jing

Throughout Fall 2018 I observed the Methods and Material Development for TESOL Seminar twice a week, for 38 hours altogether. As one of the core courses in the first academic year of the program, it was designed to support students' understanding of "*the historical evolution of TESOL methodology from the current perspective of a 'post-method' era*" (quoted from the syllabus, Fall 2018). This course revolved around historical evolutions of teaching methods in TESOL and devoted considerable time to the research and practices connected to postmethod, localized ways of developing English language teaching materials. I chose to observe the course because theoretical and content knowledge about how to teach is one of the important sites where preservice teachers' identity evolves and (re)constructs. By observing how the four preservice

teachers analyzed and discussed literature related to teaching methods and materials for teaching English I was able to see how they demonstrated their understanding of this field-specific content knowledge. I could thus begin to understand how their teaching beliefs and philosophy developed during and after taking the seminar. Besides observing the class meetings for the whole quarter and taking fieldnotes, I audio recorded as many class discussions that my focal participants joined in as was possible. I also audio recorded them as they delivered their Mini-Teaching Presentations and Final Project Presentations, which were core assignments for the seminar. Additionally, I also collected some artifacts for this course, including the syllabus, class reading materials, and all the four preservice teachers' written assignments, including their Language Teaching Autobiographies (LTAs) and final projects.

In Winter 2019, I observed another core course, Theory and Practice of TESOL for 30 hours. This course was “*designed to familiarize [students] with key concepts and theories in the field of TESOL and their implications for classroom teaching*” (quoted from the syllabus, Winter 2019). I observed this course with the expectation that the “*linguistic, psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, sociocultural, language socialization, post-colonial, critical, and critical race perspectives*” (quoted from the syllabus, Winter 2019) related to English language teaching and taught in the course would provide me with an opportunity to understand the preservice teachers' language learning and teaching beliefs related to these concepts. Of particular interest to my study was the focus of this course on “*how these ideas inform [students'] beliefs about language teaching and shape [their] images of the teachers they want to be*” (quoted from the syllabus, Winter 2019). Adopting the same data collection procedure as in Fall 2018, I observed the classes throughout the whole quarter and took fieldnotes. While observing, I audio recorded my focal participants' class discussions, a mid-quarter debate about a central issue within TESOL, and final project presentations. I also collected the assignments they produced for the course, including their

Language Learning Autobiographies (LLAs), final presentation handouts, and handouts for class activities.

In the Winter and Spring of 2019, I followed the preservice teachers to their practicum placements and seminar. As mentioned above, due to ongoing labor negotiations between the teachers' union and the university, the MATESOL student teachers in Winter 2019 were placed in a first-year college writing program rather than an ESL program. One of the preservice teachers, Gloria, was placed in an interdisciplinary writing course, which was linked to a 200-level course in Anthropology. It was designed to "*increase students' understanding with the writing process and standards within the discipline*" (quoted from the syllabus, Winter 2019). The change of placement not only affected the student teachers' expectation for the teaching practicum, but also altered my focus and methods in data collection. The first problem I encountered was Gloria's rejection of my request for observing her teaching placement. In one of our informal conversations, Gloria admitted that her unfamiliarity with the course content made her extremely nervous and my presence would probably be "*the last straw*" for her. As I reflected in the previous section, the interactive-reactive feature of ethnography (Zaharlick, 1992) demands that I should consider the impact of my presence in the research site on participants' behaviors; and the inherent unpredictability of ethnography (Katz, 2006) calls upon the modification of data collection techniques throughout fieldwork. Therefore, without observing Gloria in her practicum teaching class, I attended her weekly practicum seminar instead. The purpose of the seminar, as described in the syllabus, was to "*support [students'] reflection of the political, social, technical, personal, and practical layers involved in conscious ethical, and responsible language teaching by bringing together multiple tools*" and to offer an opportunity for students to "*learn and further develop their own style and philosophy of language teaching*" (quoted from the syllabus, Winter 2019). I audio recorded Gloria's class discussions and collected the visual materials and written documents

which she produced for this course, including her teaching demonstration video recording, teaching journals, teaching philosophy statement, teaching lesson plans, etc.

A similar challenge occurred in Spring 2019, when my request for observing the practicum seminar which three of my four participants (i.e., Chen, Jing, and Hana) attended was rejected by the MATESOL professor. I reflected on this “incident” and its influence on my research design in my research journal:

[The seminar professor] emailed me back, rejecting politely my request for observing the seminar in Spring 2019 due to the “confidential nature of the class”, because “the content [of the seminar] is very personal and sensitive”, and “we ask students to be vulnerable in those classes”. While completely understanding her ethical concern and intent to protect her students, I felt discouraged. How can I access the participants’ teaching reflections without going to the class to observe personally their discussions, talks, and interactive activities in the weekly practicum seminar? Will the participants’ written materials for the class be comprehensive enough to provide me with a holistic picture?

(Yan’s Research Journal, 03/26/2019)

Mertens (2008) points out that qualitative researchers’ close interactions with the researched “provide fertile ground for the emergence of ethical dilemmas” (p. 19). For example, many ethnographers (e.g., Kaiser, 2009) have discussed the challenges in protecting participants’ confidentiality while presenting rich, detailed data. In my case, while my aim as an ethnographic researcher was to understand the way those studied perceived the world (Hammersley, 1990), it was critical for me as a researcher and the main research instrument, to create an understanding, respectful, and transparent atmosphere in which all participants felt comfortable and protected. In fact, thanks to the mutual trust and understanding which I had established with my focal

participants in the preceding two quarters, I was able to collect thick data from them in third quarter as well despite being unable to directly observe the seminar. All three of them willingly shared their individual, comprehensive written artifacts, assignments, and visual materials which they produced for the practicum seminar. Besides individual interviews, we had several productive formal or informal group meetings during this quarter, in which the participants shared their achievements and frustrations in the course of their teaching practice. As a matter of fact, ever since qualitative research distanced itself from quantitative research's concerns with validity and credibility in the 1990s, more ethnographers have sought out their own terrains and rules "under the general rubric of doing ethnography" (Nunan & Choi, 2010, p. 384) by addressing the traits of prolonged engagement and different types of "triangulation" rather than defending the "legitimacy" of ethnography (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). Therefore, instead of focusing on the "adequacy" of data, I focused more reflexively on the "situated, perspectival, and partial" (McCarty, 2014, p. 49) accounts of ethnography because there is never such a thing as a "finished ethnographic story" (Toohey, 2008, p. 182).

With respect to my role in observation, it varied in different situations. Gold (1958) and Junker (1960) proposed the fourfold typology in terms of the variation in observers' roles: "complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer, and complete participant" (quoted in Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998, p. 248). I adopted the role of "complete participant" in most of the coursework classroom observations with the hope that the class, including my focal participants would neglect my presence as an observer and take me as a member of the community. With the professors' prior permission, I joined the class discussion and shared my personal experiences in the class. This complete participant observation is valued in ethnographical studies because of its authenticity and its potential for exposing the researcher to both the everyday or habitual behavior of participants as well as dramatic, atypical events or actions (Cohen et al., 2002). The participant observation is also an important tool in language education and research,

because it focuses on the complex process of action and interaction “that fall outside linear cause-effect or input-output mechanisms” (van Lier, 1997, p. 785). Through the complete participant observation, I was able to be directly involved in my focal participants’ community life and observed them as they went about their learning and teaching lives. It allowed me to revise my interview materials and generate further field-based questions to ask the participants. In the three quarters of participant observation, I collected large amounts of contextual data to come to a rich understanding of the learning environments my participants were immersed in. As a matter of fact, by attending the classes and joining the class discussions, I established an intimate relationship with my focal participants and the whole class. I was invited to their regular Happy Hour gatherings and birthday parties as one of their community members.

During observing my focal participants’ practicum placements, however, I adopted a different role from observing their core MATESOL courses. I attempted to reduce my participation to the minimum level in their practicum placements. This was partly to accommodate the mentor teachers’ requirement of “*keeping a proper distance*” from the students in the class, and more importantly because of my own awareness that my research participants needed a safe environment to conduct their teaching practice without feeling they were being watched or judged. Emerson and Pollner (2003) examine the notion of “field” in ethnography as a type of fieldwork and urge “reinventing the field”. As Atkinson (1992) points out, “the boundaries of the field are not given” (p. 5) but should be negotiated between the ethnographer and participants. My decision on the boundaries of the field in which I presented myself as a researcher were an outcome of negotiations with my participants. When observing my participants’ practicum placements, I managed to “do distance” (Emerson & Pollner, 2003, p. 28) by staying sufficiently detached in the field to witness what happened in the natural setting. In Chen’s placement class, for example, I gave up audio recording her lesson upon her request so as to avoid additional stress for her. When observing Hana and Jing’s teaching placement classes, I also changed my data collection strategy from

originally planned videotaping to audiotaping after negotiating with them and their mentor teachers. Before each class I observed, I tried to arrive at the classroom earlier than most students and the preservice teacher, placing the audio recorder at a spot which was not obviously visible and then taking a seat which was as unnoticeable as possible. This distance did not pose an obstacle in my research but yielded more natural observation data. As a former graduate student in the MATESOL program, I totally comprehended the strong vulnerability and sensibility these student teachers experienced in their teaching practice.

For each observation, I created an ethnographic record by adopting a variety of means: fieldnotes, photographs, and research journals, as Suzuki, Ahluwalia, Arora, and Mattis (2007) suggest. During the classroom observation, besides audio recording part of the preservice teachers' teaching demonstration, discussion, presentation, and other class activities, I took over 50 pages of condensed fieldnotes in various forms from self-audio recording to hand-writing scribbles and graphics. I adopted both the comprehensive and salience hierarchy strategies when taking fieldnotes at the time (Emerson et al., 1995). The former strategy allowed me to record events in the order they really happened. This was used to trigger memories and enabled me to recall details afterwards. The latter described what struck me as most prominent and noteworthy, which allowed me to record my initial interpretations of the phenomena that I was observing. I took photographs of some uncollectable materials the focal participants presented to the class, such as a book they brought to the class for discussion, their poster boards for the final project, etc. After each observation, I expanded the notes to a complete record. As Spradley (1980) suggests, my record consisted of a description of the situation I observed, including where (space), when (time), who (participants), what (events and activities), and how (process of observation, method of recording, etc.) I also included reflective elements in the notes that recorded my feelings and thoughts during observation. I hoped that by using a variety of means my ethnographic record would be in line

with how they have been described as “the secret papers of social research” and as the “shorthand reconstruction of events, observation, and conversations” (van Maanen, 2011, p. 133-134).

My ethnographic record also included an extensive research journal I maintained to record my experiences and reflections upon these experiences. As Suzuki, Ahluwalia, Arora, and Mattis (2007) point out, these journal entries “serve to reveal the researcher’s personal journey in relation to the process of fieldwork over time” (p. 308). Pole and Morrison (2003) also assert that reflexivity is always important in participant observation because not only do ethnographers have an inevitable influence on the research sites they selected, but also because they are changed during the observation as they “reconsider, rethink and reflect upon” their actions and attitudes in collecting and analyzing observational data (Pole & Morrison, 2003, p. 29). For example, the passage below quoted from my journal entry in the second week of my research showed how I changed my recording procedure upon reflection.

As I did in the last class, after the professor finished part of her lecture and the discussion started, I put the digital recorder near my focal participants. However, I soon realized that the single action of putting the recorder disturbed their talk and led to seconds of awkward silence among them. One of the participants stared at the recorder uneasily for seconds before resuming her talk. Although they have agreed to be recorded, the awareness of being recorded is still upsetting. I should have placed the digital recorder before or as soon as the lecture started and everybody was seated, so people would ignore it and forget it. Although that means I will handle a longer recording than necessary, it will guarantee a more natural conversation without being interrupted or interfered.

(Yan’s Research Journal, 10/09/2018)

2.5.2. Interviews

I used interviews in my research as a prominent data-generating tool with the aim to develop contextual and in-depth understandings of my focal participants' identity (re)construction. According to Talmy (2010), interviews have been increasingly used for several decades in applied linguistics to explore research participants' experiences in particular settings. Despite the contemporary "interview society" (Atkinson & Silverman, 1997), Briggs (1986) has warned scholars against "tak[ing] for granted that we know what it [interview] is and what it produces" (p. 2). Therefore, in my research design and data collection, I started my exploration of interview practice from thinking theoretically about interviewing. Silverman (2014) discusses three different perspectives on interviewing: "positivism," "emotionalism," and "constructionism" (p. 118). From the positivism perspective, interviews are essentially a tool to discover existing facts or beliefs. Emotionalists shift the focus moderately by trying "to formulate questions and provide an atmosphere conducive to open and undistorted communications" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 116).

Basically, those two perspectives view interviews as an instrument to elicit either "objective" or "authentic" accounts of interviewees (Silverman, 2014, p. 123). Constructionism, by contrast, emphasizes the co-constructive nature of interviews and sees accounts as "part of the world they describe" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p. 107). In the similar vein, Roulston (2010) summarizes six conceptualizations of qualitative interviews: neo-positivist, romantic, constructionist, postmodern, transformative, and decolonizing conceptions. While the first two approaches assume an inner or authentic self as reported in the interview, constructionist and postmodern perspectives stress a co-constructed way to situate accountings. With Denzin's (2003) proposal of a "new interpretive form", Roulston (2010) advocates transformed or enlightened understanding of the research project through collaboration between interviewers and interviewees for the restorative justice of society. Other qualitative researchers (e.g., Holstein & Gubrium, 1995;

Roulston, 2010; Silverman, 2014; Talmy, 2010) also problematize the conceptualization of interviewing under the (neo)positivism and emotionalism/romantic approaches. They criticize their assumption of taking interviews as a resource for probing truths and language as a neutral medium to reflect reality. Talmy (2010) contrasts two distinct orientations of interviews, i.e., “*the interview as a research instrument*” vs. “*the research interview as social practice*” (p. 129, emphasis in original), with the latter viewing interview “as a site or topic for investigation itself” (Talmy, 2010, p. 132). It resonates Holstein and Gubrium’s (1995, 2003b) concept of “active interview”, which treats the interview as “a social production between interviewer and respondent” (Fontana, 2003, p. 56).

My research, therefore, was based on the understanding from the social constructionist perspective (Roulston, 2010; Silverman, 2014) that interviews are “a social practice” for the interviewer and interviewee to co-construct knowledge (Talmy, 2010). I conducted unstructured active interviews with my research participants, with the hope that the interviews would become “a site of, and occasion for, producing reportable knowledge” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003a, p. 68). It should be admitted, though, that no interviews can truly be considered unstructured. The interviews I conducted were therefore structured “in line with a systematic research design” (Pole & Morrison, 2003, p. 31). Besides the focal participants, I also interviewed their mentor teachers and professors. Table 3 below displays the timeline of interviews and group meetings conducted and data collected from the interviews from Fall 2018 to Spring 2019.

Table 3. Data from Interviews and Group Meetings

Participants	Time	Length	Data Collected
Chen	Interview 1: 10/18/2018	38 minutes	Audio recording (38 minutes) Fieldnotes (1 page)
	Interview 2: 12/06/2018	30 minutes	Audio recording (30 minutes)
	Interview 3: 02/08/2019	30 minutes	Audio recording (30 minutes)
	Interview 4: 04/19/2019	40 minutes	Audio recording (40 minutes)

			Fieldnotes (1 page)
Gloria	Interview 1: 11/06/2018	47 minutes	Audio recording (47 minute) Fieldnotes (1 page)
	Interview 2: 02/21/2019	40 minutes	Audio recording (40 minutes)
	Interview 3: 04/17/2019	50 minutes	Audio recording (50 minutes)
	Interview 4: 07/08/2019	40 minutes	Audio recording (40 minutes)
Hana	Interview 1: 11/02/2018	50 minutes	Audio recording (50 minutes) Fieldnotes (1 page)
	Interview 2: 02/21/2019	40 minutes	Audio recording (40 minute) Fieldnotes (1 page)
	Interview 3: 04/12/2019	40 minutes	Audio recording (40 minute) Fieldnotes (1 page)
	Interview 4: 11/15/2019	36 minutes	Audio recording (36 minute)
Jing	Interview 1: 10/18/2018	40 minutes	Audio recording (40 minutes) Fieldnotes (1 page)
	Interview 2: 12/06/2018	30 minutes	Audio recording (30 minutes) Field notes (1 page)
	Interview 3: 04/26/2019	40 minutes	Audio recording (40 minutes) Fieldnotes (1 page)
	Interview 4: 06/18/2019	40 minutes	Audio recording (40 minutes) Fieldnotes (1 page)
Chen, Jing, and Sophia	Group Meeting 1: 12/06/2018	60 minutes	Audio recording (60 minutes)
Chen, Jing, and Hana	Group Meeting 2: 04/08/2019	50 minutes	Audio recording (50 minutes)
Chen and Jing	Group Meeting 3 04/21/2019	65 minutes	Fieldnotes (half page)
Chen, Gloria, and Jing	Group Meeting 3: 05/31/2019	50 minutes	Audio recording (50 minutes)

Table 4. Data from Interviews of Mentor Teachers and Professors

Participants	Time	Length	Data Collected
Betsy (Gloria's mentor teacher)	03/07/2019	30 minutes	Audio recording (30 minutes) Field notes (1 page)
Diana (Hana's mentor teacher)	06/05/2019	N/A	E-mail response to interview questions
Emily (Jing's mentor teacher)	04/22/2019	30 minutes	Audio recording (30 minutes)
	06/03/2019	30 minutes	Audio recording (30 minutes)
Melissa (Professor of Practicum Seminar)	06/10/2019	30 minutes	
	10/06/2019	N/A	E-mail response to interview questions

At the beginning of Fall 2018, I conducted the first interviews with each participant individually for 40-60 minutes, asking questions about their language educational background, previous language teaching experience, perceptions about teacher identity and expectations for the program. I audio-recorded all the interviews and took fieldnotes while doing most of the interviews. In Winter and Spring 2019, my guided questions in the individual interviews focused on the preservice teachers' learning and teaching experiences during the two quarters of coursework study and teaching practices. After observing the preservice teachers' practicum teaching or watching the video recording, I conducted follow-up interviews, in which I inquired about specific teaching-related matters in terms of their teaching philosophies, approaches, strategies in that class and discussed some salient findings I noticed during observation.

I also conducted interviews with participants' mentor teachers, focusing on their perspectives of the student teachers' classroom performance, including their lesson planning, teaching methods, teaching efficacy, and interactions with students. I audio-recorded all the face-to-face interviews and took fieldnotes. One of the mentor teachers did not accept my interview request due to the time conflict. For a similar reason, another mentor teacher rejected my request for a face-to-face meeting and responded to my interview questions via email instead. The instructor of the

Practicum Seminar also decided to respond to my questions via email after a personal meeting with me at the end of Spring 2019, because it would allow for more thinking time and more considered response. All these interviews provided me with a wide variety of data in the interest of formulating a rich understanding of the complex phenomena of professional identity (re)constructions that the preservice teachers were constantly engaged in during their time at the program. I hoped to understand the complex, often conflicted nature of such identity (re)constructions and wished to see how the participants negotiated these complexities in multiple sites and engagements through narratives.

Compared with classroom observation, conducting interviews requires more well-conceived strategies and rapport. I admit that at the beginning stage of interview data collection, I was frustrated with the difficulties I encountered when attempting to probe into the interviewees' personal experiences and feelings. The passage below is quoted from my research journal, showing my frustration and reflection about interviews at that stage:

Today I had a meeting with Gloria in my office. It was the third individual interview I conducted in this quarter. Unlike Chen and Jing, who are open and talkative, Gloria is shy, self-conscious, and a bit introverted. She kept looking at the recorder on the table when she talked. My office was uncomfortably warm this afternoon. What made it worse was the loud talk from the next door – the wall was poorly soundproofed. From time to time, we sat in silence, waiting for my neighbor's high-pitched laughter to stop. Things finally got a bit better, and Gloria seemed more relaxed when I asked about her language learning experience.

G: "I think when I speak English, I try to be more, hmm, how to say ..."

(She paused for seconds and then continued)

G: "More cautious, because it isn't my first language ..."

*Then I RUINED this sweet conversation with a simple action. I started typing on my laptop at that moment. It apparently upset Gloria because she stopped talking and asked me in surprise, “Are you writing **this** down too?”*

She meant her pause in the talk.

(Yan’s Research Journal, 11/06/2018)

That experience triggered my reflection on several theoretical and practical issues regarding interviews, including the interview site, the interviewer’s and interviewee(s)’ roles, and interactions between them. At the very beginning of my research, I thought the selection of interview site a relatively simple issue. Using my office seemed a convenient, safe choice for both sides. However, the interview site itself actually “produces ‘micro-geographies’ of spatial relations and meanings” (Elwood & Martin, 2000, p. 649). Elwood and Martin (2000) suggest considering both pragmatic issues and power-related concerns. Many other geographers (e.g., Longhurst, 1996; Goss & Leinbach, 1996; Oberhauser, 1997; Nagar, 1997) discuss the implications of different interview sites ranging from the researchers’ homes, participants’ homes, to other public spaces. In my later research, I changed the interview sites according to the preservice teachers’ requests. For example, Jing preferred a public place with “*proper privacy and tolerable noise*”, such as a relatively isolated table in a coffee shop; Hana preferred outdoor spaces when the weather was nice, so we had two of our interviews on the lawns of the university campus; Gloria selected her office for the rest of the interviews, where I found her more at ease and talkative. At the end of Fall 2018 I organized a group meeting with the four women in my home, aiming to foster an intimate atmosphere and relationships in which we would be open to share personal information. I would not say that the location choices disrupted or erased power hierarchies between me as a researcher and my participants, but they did have great impact on the interview experience and data collected in terms of how participants situated themselves, and power relations also shifted

somewhat in this different space. These decisions also had considerable ethical and analytical significance as Elwood and Martin (2000) suggest, which I will illustrate in the following chapter.

While adopting the stance of interviews as social practice as Talmy (2010) suggests, I admit that the temptation of conducting so-called “in-depth interviewing” (Seidman, 2006, p. 9) existed at the beginning stage of the research, in which I attempted to probe deep experiences of participants (Douglas, 1985) with the hope that these understanding would “provide access to understanding their action” (Seidman, 2006, p. 10). That was why I felt frustrated and discouraged when Gloria “*touched upon only the surface of the questions*” (quoted from Yan’s Research Journal, 11/07/2018). In other words, at this initial stage, taking the “vessel-of-answer” approach (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003b, p. 12), I subconsciously treated interviews as merely direct conduits to gather information (Mann, 2011; Roulston, 2010; Talmy, 2010) and interviewees as “passive repositories of facts and related details of experience” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003b, p. 13). In contrast to such understandings, Holstein and Gubrium’s (1995) active interview theory postulates that an interviewee “constructively adds to, takes away from, and transforms the facts and details” of experience (p. 70). In subsequent interviews, I tried to keep this active formulation of interviews at the forefront as I conducted interviews.

The scholarly conversation has focused on the interviewer’s role in generating data. For example, the interviewer activates narrative production and conditions stories in an active interview (Holstein & Gubrium’s, 1995, 2011). She co-produces knowledge (Johnson, 2006) and co-constructs “accounts” with interviewees when interviews are taken as social practice (Talmy, 2010). Her identity and relationships with interviewees have great implications for what and how interviewees respond to questions (e.g., Canagarajah, 2008; Palfreyman, 2005). The language(s) she uses in interviews have an intrinsic relationship to what is co-constructed (Temple & Young, 2004). However, little research has explicitly addressed the particular issues of how to become a “sensitive, reflexive, and reflective” (Mann, 2010, p. 19) researcher with regard to managing

interviews. It was during the research interview process that I became aware of the various factors related to the interviewer that might change the dynamics of interview conversations.

In my extensive research journal notes, I reflected on the micro level of how my specific actions, such as turning on the digital recorder or typing on my laptop during the conversation, influenced interviewees in terms of power exertion and distribution. On the macro level, for example, I reflected how my identity in the interviews and my relationships with participants affected the process and product of data collection. My identity as an international multilingual student and my similar experiences in the MATESOL program enabled me to empathize with my participants. It helped to establish a rapport with my participants, which allowed me to express an abiding interest in their feelings and a commitment to mutual disclosure. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) suggest that “citing shared experience is often a useful way of providing concrete referents on which inquiries and answers can focus” (p. 46). During the fieldwork the increasingly intimate relationships between my participants and me went beyond that of the researcher and the researched. The shift of my role and position in the research from an “outsider” to an “insider” encouraged information disclosure. To some extent, for example, I found that the preservice teachers increasingly treated me as a “depository” or a “sympathetic ear” to express their discontent or frustration with their learning and teaching experiences, as Block (2000, p. 762) describes in his interview research. While Douglas (1985) encourages such strategies based on “an understanding of friendly feelings and intimacy, to optimize *cooperative, mutual disclosure and a creative search for mutual understanding*” (p. 25, emphasis in original), I needed to caution myself against the trap of a “romantic approach” (Roulston, 2010), which questionably believes that “researchers are able to access the authentic self” (Roulston, 2010, p. 80) of participants and interview data are true indication of participants’ interior states of minds (Potter & Hepburn, 2005).

2.5.3 Artifacts and documents

I collected multiple artifacts and documents along the course of the research. They fell into two categories in terms of sources: 1) documents produced by focal participants, including their coursework- and teaching-related materials; and 2) contextual artifacts not produced by focal participants, including program description, professors' course syllabi, class handouts, assignment prompts, feedback on focal participants' assignments, etc. The participants' coursework related materials included their response to the low-stakes class assignments and major projects of the four core courses in Fall 2018 and Winter 2019, such as their language learning and teaching autobiographies, materials development materials, and mini-teaching demonstration materials, etc. The teaching related materials consisted of focal participants' documents and visual materials produced for their teaching practicum placements and seminar in Winter and Spring 2019, such as their teaching journals, teaching philosophy statements, lesson plans, class handouts, and teaching video recording, etc. Since the focal participants' previous language learning and teaching experiences are a big focus of my research subject, I collected relevant documents that the participants were willing to share with me, e.g., their teaching video recordings and written materials from the past (before they came to the program). In Tables 5 and 6 below, I have listed in detail the artifacts and documents that I collected from the preservice teachers.

Table 5. Documentary Data from Focal Participants

Time	Participants	Sources	Data Collected
Fall 2018	Chen, Gloria, Hana, Jing	Methods and Materials Development for TESOL	Language Teaching Autobiography Mini-Teaching Presentation handouts Final project
Fall 2018	Chen, Hana, Jing	Pedagogy and Grammar in TESOL	Mini-teaching Demonstration handouts
Winter 2019	Chen, Gloria, Hana, Jing	Theory and Practice on TESOL	Language Learning Autobiography Class debate handouts Final presentation handouts

			Photographs of final presentation poster boards
Winter 2019	Gloria	Practicum in TESOL	Teaching journal entries Lesson plans and reflections Teaching Philosophy Statement Teaching demonstration video recording
Spring 2019	Chen, Hana, Jing	Practicum in TESOL	Teaching journal entries Lesson plans and reflections Teaching Philosophy Statement Seminar professor's feedback for practicum teaching observation Teaching demonstration video recording
Spring 2019	Hana	Previous ESL teaching at a community college in the U.S.	One-hour teaching video recording Lesson plans
Spring 2019	Jing	Previous EFL teaching in a public middle school in China	One-hour teaching video recording Lesson plans

Table 6. Contextual Artifact Data

Time	Sources	Data Collected
Fall 2018	The website of the MATESOL program under investigation	Program Overview Professional Development Support
	Professor of Methods and Materials Development for TESOL	Course syllabus Class handouts
	The website of ESL program where participants take practicum	Program Overview Course descriptions
Winter 2019	Professor of Theory and Practice of TESOL	Course syllabus Class handouts
	Professor of Practicum Seminar	Course syllabus Class handouts
	Mentor Teacher of Interdisciplinary Writing	Course syllabus

Spring 2019	Professor of Practicum Seminar	Course syllabus
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Since Atkinson and Coffey (2002) proposed “documentary constructions of reality” in qualitative research, more researchers (e.g., Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) have called for emphasis on the collection and analysis of material artifacts. While classroom observation and interviews provided me with a personal immersion and personal interactions with the social activities I researched, written documents produced in the situation helped “construct facts, records, diagnoses, decisions and rules that are crucially involved in social activities” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 121). As Merriam (1988) asserts, “documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem” (p. 118). As a practical, manageable, and “non-reactive” (Bowen, 2009, p. 31) data source, these documents and artifacts served either as the focus of the analysis in the following chapters or as prompts to participants during observations and interviews.

The first category of artifacts I collected, i.e., the artifacts related to the program and courses I observed and researched, might not be created for the purpose of my specific research, but they documented institutional policies and provided a complementary description of the particular program, event, organization, or phenomenon I researched. They also helped an understanding of the macro- and micro contextual background in which the focal participants operated. This information in some scenarios offered me an insight into specific events and helped me understand “the conditions that impinge upon the phenomena currently under investigation” (Bowen, 2009, p. 30). The second category of documentary data, i.e., the documents produced by focal participants for their coursework and teaching practicum, are more salient in my later analysis. Of particular interest to my research are the participants’ journals and autobiographies. These written narratives and reflection of participants’ past and ongoing experiences offer insights into their views, beliefs, and philosophies. They also underscore various connections between participants’ learning-to-

teach process and their professional identity (re)construction. In some cases, participants' written narratives served in my research as a stimulus for further inquiry and analytic ideas. As Pavlenko (2007) states, with the narrative turn in the humanities and social sciences, "narrative became both an object and, in the form of narrative inquiry, a legitimate means of research" (p. 164). In some ethnographic research (e.g., Pavlenko, 2003), autobiographic narratives are used as the primary data source to examine participants' professional identity development and (re)construction.

Despite the advantages of being an efficient, cost-effective method and its value as part of the social setting being studied, Atkinson and Coffey (1997) warn against the temptation of using documentary sources "as surrogated for other kinds of data" (p. 47). In my research, I managed to collect a wide array of documents, but still, I did not assume they would provide sufficient details to fully answer my research questions. While some researchers (e.g., Bowen, 2009) claim that documents have the merit of being "unobtrusive" and "non-reactive" (p. 30), I keep awareness of reflexivity in using the document data, especially the participants' autobiographical accounts. They were not created spontaneously as complete personal accounts without targeted readers, but in response to course professors' assignment prompts. They might be unaffected by my research process, but they were still co-constructed by many other factors, including the context in which the experiences happened and were narrated, the cultural and academic conventions of the MATESOL program and specific courses, their expectations for targeted readers, etc. Pavlenko (2007) warns researchers who use autobiographic narratives as data against the risk of blurring life and text reality. Narratives, like all other data from observation and interviews, "constitute, rather than reflect, reality" (Pavlenko, 2007, p. 180). I have tried to keep this caution in mind throughout the interpretive processes I engage in in the upcoming analysis chapters.

2.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Processing the mass of qualitative data was a time-consuming activity. My data analysis began in the pre-fieldwork phase and continued through to the whole process of research. I followed the general principle in ethnographic analysis which suggests “the necessity of thinking not only *about* one’s data, but also *with and through* the data” (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007, p. 168. emphasis in original). While following this general principle, I maintained a deep level of reflexivity throughout the process of data collection and analysis.

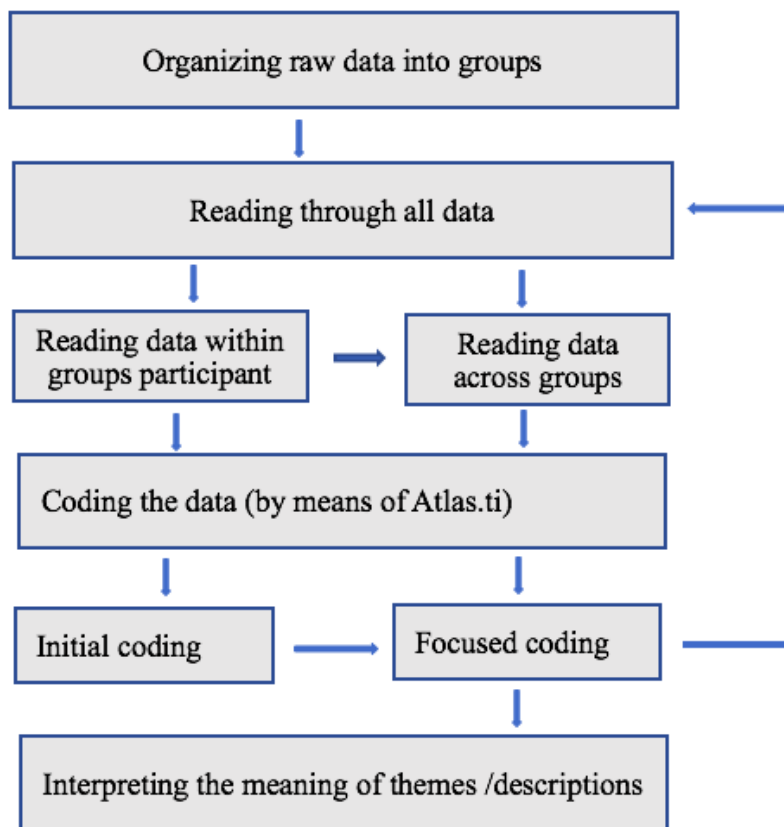
Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggest ethnographers should not limit themselves to a single theoretical framework under which to analyze the data, which aligns with Denzin (1989) and Patton’s (2001) “theoretical triangulation” or Kimchi, Polivka, and Stevenson’s (1991) “analytical triangulation”, a strategy to interpret data with different perspectives and hypotheses in mind. Since the traditional sense of “triangulation”, which implies an attempt to obtain a total picture or get at the truth of phenomena, does not apply to my research, I would use the term “synthesis” to refer to my efforts of employing whatever resources available for the purpose of better understanding the data. At the initial stage of data collection and analysis, I adopted grounded theory (GT) (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser and Strauss, 1967, 2010), especially constructivist grounded theory (CGT) developed by Charmaz (2000, 2014) to organize, read, code, and interpret data to identify concepts and build theories. With clearer categories and themes emerging during the data analysis process, I employed narrative analysis (Georgakopoulou, 2006; Gubrium & Holstein, 2008; Reissman, 1993), positioning theory (Harré & Langenhove, 1999) and narrative positioning (Bamberg, 2004; Bamber & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Deppermann, 2013) as case-based (Reissman, 1993) methods to analyze how participants’ oral and written narratives can perform specific speech actions and social practices to describe the structures of stories.

As Corbin and Strauss (2008) point out, as a systematic set of procedures, GT enables qualitative researchers to generate concepts and patterns. It specifically seeks to explain how and

why research participants behave in certain ways. Its inductive (Charmez, 2000; Corbin & Strauss, 2008) nature provided me with a manageable way to work with large amounts of data (Gubrium and Holstein, 2003. P. 769), helping me move from the specific to general at the initial stage of data analysis. As a “constant comparative method” (Glaser & Staruss, 1967), GT enabled me to compare and contrast particular categories along the course and generate more analytic ideas. By adopting a constructivist approach of GT, I kept awareness of the active role of participants and researcher in constructing knowledge and meaning (Charmaz, 2014). As grounded theory scholars (e.g., Charmaz 2000; Glaser & Strauss, 2010) summarize, I adopted the following strategies to approach my data initially: 1) simultaneous data collection and analysis; 2) seeking emergent themes through an inductive and recursive process; 3) comparing categories to refine the categories; 4) integrating categories into a theoretical framework. My data analysis was closely linked to the data collection stage since both processes occurred simultaneously. It began with transcribing the initial interviews and class recordings as soon as I started my research in Fall 2018. When transcribing the recordings, I also took side notes, highlighting what was striking or stood out for me and seeking patterns that emerged from my research participants’ behaviors in both their “one-way” class activities, e.g., teaching demonstrations and presentations, and their interactive discussions with peers and professors. With more documents collected along the course of this study, I bundled the raw data into two big groups: individual participant’s data and collective data. The individual participant’s’ data included interview transcripts, written documents and artefacts for the core courses, pre-MATESOL documents, etc. The group of collective data consisted of class discussion recording transcripts, group meeting transcripts, etc.

Following the steps from the specific to the general, I conducted my data analysis on evolving multiple levels as depicted in Figure 1 as suggested by Creswell (2003).

Figure 1. Data Analysis Process (Adopted from Creswell, 2003, p. 744)



Although it was depicted as a linear, hierarchical process in Figure 1, my actual data analysis was a more interactive and continuously recursive practice. This was especially so when I analyzed interview transcripts, in which I revisited the data at different stages and tried to build multiple layers of complex analysis as explained. For example, when I read each participant’s interview transcripts, I read them repeatedly and recursively in three stages: the first stage was to read each interview transcript itself while writing memos; then I read the transcripts across different participants to compare and contrast; at the end of each quarter when I collected more data, I read all the transcripts along with my fieldnotes, research journals, class discussion recording transcripts, and participants’ written documents. The aim of close and repeated readings of data was to “know” them, not only what is happening, but also about how and why “what is happening

is happening” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 162). This was also a process during which I reorganized my data by means of coding and indexing, i.e., seeking emergent themes. After the initial stage in which a broad range of themes and links emerged, my analysis began “moving from raw text to research concerns” (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, p. 32). For example, with more data imported and more codes emerging, I used the most frequently emerging initial codes to sort and synthesize the increasingly rich data. At the end of Fall 2018, I made a list of all codes available and turned them into categories based on both emerging and designated research questions. In this focused coding stage, I kept going back to study all the data, making comparisons and contrasts, finding gaps and links between categories. These categories also outlined the next phase of my analytic work. In the cyclically repeated process, the themes were emerging and links among them were getting established. At the same time, the research problem was developed and even transformed while patterns or categories were continuously evolving and being reshaped by participants’ discourse and the discourse in the literature.

A powerful tool I used to facilitate this process was *Atalas.ti*, a computer program for organizing and analyzing qualitative data. It specifically facilitated the process of locating, coding and annotating findings in primary data materials and visualizing the complex relations between data. At the initial stage of concept generating, its function of coping with multiple and overlapping codewords assisted me greatly in seeking spontaneously arising concepts, i.e., the unusual terms used by participants themselves. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggest that these terms are useful analytical concepts since “they may mark theoretically important or interesting phenomena” (p. 163). The software also facilitated my retrieval of all text segments in the data that share a specific code. Whereas acknowledging the powerful function of computer programs in handling a large quantity of data, Coffey, Beverley, and Paul (1996) warn researchers against the danger of associating computer-aided analysis with a simplified grounded theory: “Grounded theorizing is more than coding, and software can be used to do more than code-and-retrieve textual data” (p.

85). They point out that merely coding segments of text merely is NOT analysis. Silverman (2014) also states that mechanical use of grounded theory may lead to “empty building of categories (aided by some computer programs)” (p. 96). In my data analysis, I managed to avoid working on the data merely at the level of content and thematic analysis, since it would “reduce social complexity” (Hammersely & Atkinson, 2007, p. 167). I adopted synthesized approaches based on GT (Charmez, 2000, 2006), narrative analysis (Barkhuizen, 2011), and positioning theory (Bamberger, 2011; Deppermann, 2013; Harré, 2003). Both data and analysis, as Charmez (2001) describes, are created from the shared experience of researcher and participants. During the whole process of data collection and analysis, by examining the links recursively between observations and themes described by quotes from participants, and the local and global contexts in which the data were produced, as Pavlenko (2007) suggests, I treated data not merely as describing some objective “truth”, but evidence of how participants construct meanings and actions. Their narratives in interviews and written documents were analyzed with a focus on the “discursive and semiotic processes through which narratives are performed and interactionally negotiated” (Juzwik & Ives, 2010, p. 40).

2.7 CONCLUSION

Like other qualitative research methods, one of the most salient challenges ethnography encounters is around the trustworthiness of the study. Leaving the quantitative playing field of validity and credibility, more ethnography scholars (e.g., Nunan & Choi, 2011) establish their own terrains and create their own sets of rules under the general rubric of “doing ethnography” (p. 384). One important rule among them is to acknowledge the subjectivity inherent in the research. As discussed in the sections above, I have adopted a stance of subjectivity throughout the process of data collection, data analysis and discussion. Neither my role as a researcher nor my role as a

MATESOL alumnus and focal participants' "sympathetic ear" was neutral. In different sections I have reflected on the privileges and challenges such a subjective stance brought to the study. In the following chapters of data analysis and discussion, I further address the issue by using rich, thick descriptions to convey the findings. Some other strategies like member checking and peer briefing, as suggested by Cresswell (2014) are adopted to enhance the accuracy of findings.

CHAPTER 3: “THEY BROUGHT ME TO THIS VERY MOMENT” – IDENTITY (RE)CONSTRUCTION IN NARRATED LANGUAGE STORIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The extensive data analysis I engaged in revealed that the four multilingual preservice teachers in my research developed and (re)constructed their professional identities in complex ways. The two main sources that impacted these reformulations were: 1) a combination of previous language learning and teaching experiences (i.e., prior to their admission in this MATESOL program) and their ongoing experiences of language learning, using, and teaching and 2) their current reflective study and teaching practice in MATESOL as preservice teachers. In this chapter, I scrutinize the preservice teachers’ language related stories and examine how they drew their beliefs, values, and commitments from their experiences of learning, using, and teaching the English language both prior to joining the program and during the time they were enrolled in it. The analytical focus is the examination of the ways in which they (re)construct their professional identities in light of these experiences. In Chapter 4, I will discuss findings related specifically to their practicum-based teaching and related experiences, aiming to outline the preservice teachers’ “identity-in-practice” (Varghese et al., 2005). This does not suggest, however, that the two types of experiences are isolated, or that they worked separately to contribute to the preservice teachers’ professional identity (re)construction. The separation into two analytical chapters is simply a researcher’s device to manage the extensive data that was collected and to attend in a systematic manner to these two broad types of experiences and narratives.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the examination of language teachers’ identity (re)construction in this study is situated within scholarship that views identity as a “relational and sociocultural

phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 585). My discussion of the findings, therefore, focuses on how the four multilingual preservice teachers (re)constructed their identities by negotiating among competing local and global discourses and contexts and draws upon a dialogical view on identity (Marková, 2006, Wertsch, 1997). Built on the Bakhtinian framework of “self” and “other” (Bakhtin, 1990), which stresses that spatially and temporally located acts of human beings occur through experiences lived in self-other relations, the dialogical view of identity manages to capture the complexity of LTI in different dimensions, both its “individual and social nature, and its continuous and discontinuous” development over time and space (Akkerman & Meijer, 2010, p. 308).

In this chapter, I employ such a dialogical approach to examine how the four preservice teachers negotiate complex relations with their inner selves, with others, and with their learning and teaching contexts to navigate, negotiate, and (re)construct their identities through their uniquely experienced language lives prior to and during the MATESOL program. After a brief discussion of the implications of the narrated language stories for preservice language teachers’ identity (re)construction, I analyze and discuss the findings from classroom observation, interviews, written documents, and other forms of data, with the aim to thoroughly understand the challenges and achievements involved in the process of the four preservice teachers’ professional identity (re)construction. It should be noted that the written narratives encompassing the preservice teachers’ English language learning and teaching experiences are not their spontaneous writings, but excerpts mainly from their Language Learning Autobiography (LLA), Language Teaching Autobiography (LTA), and two other reflexive written assignments related to two MATESOL core courses: Theory and Practice of TESOL, and Methods and Materials Development for TESOL. Therefore, the written narratives in their LLAs and LTAs and the verbal stories they told in interviews and group meetings naturally had different audiences. As such, the preservice teachers enacted different discursive positionings of themselves and their audiences in these different data

sets. In the following sections, I have attempted to address some of these issues by exploring the strategies the narrators employed to negotiate and (re)construct their narrative identities in the differing contexts in which these data were produced.

3.2 LANGUAGE POLICY AND ELT IN CHINA, SOUTH KOREA, AND SPAIN

All four preservice teachers in my study were international students who started learning English as a foreign language in “the expanding circle” countries. In Kachru’s (1990) classification of the “three circles” model, the “expanding circle” countries are those in which English is generally used as a foreign language which plays no official role within the country (Kachru, 1990)⁴. Chen and Jing are from China; Hana is from South Korea, and Gloria is from Spain⁵. The rest of this section examines the language policy and ELT backgrounds in these countries where the four preservice teachers formed their linguistic identity and (re)construct their professional identity. Both Chen and Jing were international students from China. Both were born after 1990, when the Open and Reform Policy in China had taken effect. Despite being from different areas in China, they shared many common early language learning experiences related to similar local linguistic discourses. Hana was born and was raised till the age of ten in Seoul, South Korea, where she started her pre-school English learning in a *hakwons* (a Korean word for a private, commercial extracurricular language teaching institute). Coming from a small town in southern Spain, Gloria received her first formal English language education in her elementary school. Considering the

⁴ Kachru (1990) formulated three models of World Englishes: the inner circle, the outer circle, and the expanding circle. While the model has been criticized for its seemingly dichotomic view of the heterogenetic and dynamic English-using communities, it is valued in this study as a model for the system of ideological forces in the multilingual sociolinguistic communities around the world.

⁵ The four preservice teachers’ profiles have been described in detail in Section 4 Research Participants in Chapter 2.

uniqueness as well as similarities among the local, national, and global contexts in which focal participants received their language education and (re)formed their linguistic identities, it seems prudent to scrutinize these settings and language policies separately before delving into participants' data.

The Chinese Context: As mentioned in Chapter 2, Chen is from a historical town in Guangdong Province in south-eastern China, where Hakka Chinese and Cantonese are the primary languages. However, Chen said in our first interview that her Cantonese was “*barely fluent*” because her parents insisted upon using Mandarin at home to avoid her Mandarin developing a “*Cantonese accent*” (quoted from Interview 1 with Chen, 10/18/2018). Chen's parents' case is not singular in most regions in China, especially where the local dialect differs greatly from Mandarin, the official dialect of China. Similar to Chen, Jing also mentioned in a group meeting that although she spoke a northern local dialect at home, her parents warned her not to speak it at school unless “*you wanted others to think you're from the countryside*” (quoted from Group Meeting 1, 12/06/2018).

As a matter of fact, since its “invention” in the 1920s to “capture that which united all of China's people” (Tam, 2016, p. 282), Mandarin has been increasingly promoted as the standard Chinese language and the only instructional language in public schools. In terms of literacy, Mandarin is not enough for most Chinese students. Proficiency in English has been progressively valued highly and is considered as a personal asset since the Reform and Open Policy was implemented in the early 1980s. This imperative has grown exponentially especially after China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. As a natural corollary, English language teaching (ELT) has, over the years, increasingly been viewed as critical for the country to gain competition in the global market (Han & Yin, 2016). This growing focus on English has been translated into various linguistic education policies of the government. According to the guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education (MOE) in 2000, elementary schools are required to provide

English classes at grade three. In all regular secondary and high schools, English is a compulsory subject for 3-4 hours a week. English is also one of three core subjects along with Chinese and Politics for those who take the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) upon completion of their senior secondary education. Failure in English nearly means failure to enter college. In public colleges and universities, General College English is a compulsory course for non-English-major students for the first two years (Hu, 2005).

One of the milestones that marked this high-speed development of ELT in China was the College English Curriculum Reform enacted since 2002, which basically featured in a series of reforms in teaching approaches, evaluation systems, and teacher professional development. For example, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) was introduced to replace the traditional audio-lingual, grammar-oriented methods. Secondly, the new College English Test (CET) syllabus was published to develop an “internationally-recognized” assessment system. Thirdly, Colleges across the country started to hire more native English speaker teachers. Finally, these institutions also started to send their teachers to study abroad in Western English-speaking countries (Hu & McKay, 2012). Since so much importance was given to English through these multiple linguistic educational policies and their impact on education, this influence percolated down to the early education, at least in urban areas. Although ELT is not officially required at the pre-school level, most kindergartens in large cities do offer English lessons. According to a report in 2010 in *The Guardian*, a British news and media website, there were an estimated 30,000 organizations or companies offering private English classes at various levels in China and the ELT market is worth around \$3 billion (theguardian.com). Chen and Jing, both of whom began their education in the late 1990s, were inevitably influenced by the prevailing policies and trends of ELT when they started their English learning then.

The South Korean Context: The spread of ELT in South Korea has a very similar process to that of China. English was adopted as a compulsory subject in South Korean public schools in

1945 and was later recognized as the first foreign language in the Korean education system (Jung & Norton, 2002) although English and Korean are in two distant language families and have distinctive semantic and syntactic systems. Like China, the government of South Korea has viewed English as an essential tool to promote and revitalize the country's global competitiveness since the 1990s (Piller & Cho, 2013). English has been so highly valued nationally and individually in South Korea that there was even a nationwide debate over a proposal to adopt English as an official language of the country in 1998 (Yoo, 2005) though the proposal was rejected in the end. Behind all these deliberations was the neo-liberalization of education (Apple, 2001; Flores, 2013), which advocated the marketization of education. During the Lee Regime (2008-2012), when this policy was introduced, and since then, it has gained considerable momentum. English competence is now held in high regard for college admissions, employment prospects, and unsurprisingly, also considered as a symbol of social status.

Along with the development of EFL in South Korea came the advocacy of English-medium instruction (EMI) in the university context, a trend spurred by the media-initiated university rankings and the globalization policy of Korean universities. According to the World Education News, as of 2013, 30% of lectures at 10 top universities in Korea were being conducted in English. In some universities, like Pohang University of Science and Technology, a top private research university, the proportion has reached 90%. The Ministry of Education (MOE) also conducted several pilot English immersion education programs for math and sciences teaching in primary and secondary schools located in the economically advanced urban areas in 2008 (Jo, 2008). With the privatization of education under the neoliberal philosophy since early this century, the curriculum, testing, and the training of teachers have accordingly been privatized (Hastings, 2019). In South Korea, a milestone of the spread of neoliberalism in ELT education was the 5.31 Education Reform Plan in 1995 which advocated reinforcing English education by focusing on communicative competence and hiring native-English speaker teachers. In recent years there have

been increasing voices reflecting and criticizing the politics of ELT in Korean schools (e.g., Lee, 2017; Park & Kim 2014; Yook & Lee, 2016). Therefore, the Korean government issued a policy that banned English teaching prior to Primary Three. However, the hegemony of English and delusionary myths around the language generated by the instrumentalism of English (Kobota, 2011; Pennycook, 2007) have already been ingrained too deeply. Therefore, changing these in a short period of time is not easy. As Hana narrated in her LLA, “*Parents send their children to many hakwons [the Korean-language word for a for-profit private institute or academy] in South Korea, where academic is demanding and competitive. Among numerous hakwons in various subjects, English hakwon is the most popular of all. [...], my parents sent me to one of them in my 1st grade*” (quoted from Hana’s LLA, Winter 2019). Her narrative provides us with a glimpse of how individuals and national policies and trends desire English learning as a way for securing economic upward mobility and success.

The Spanish Context: The fourth preservice teacher in this study was an international student from a small town in southern Spain. Similar to Asian countries such as China and South Korea, in terms of the sociolinguistic status of English, Spain can be categorized as an “expanding circle” context (Kachru, 1990). As a member of the EU, Spain follows the EU’s multilingual policy that was intended to ensure that at least two additional languages should be taught in K-12 schooling to increase awareness of the EU’s linguistic diversity (European Commission, 2015). Although the policy statement does not designate which additional language should be prioritized, there is tacit understanding that English should be the first language (Caraker, 2016) and thus should become the lingua franca of EU member countries (Phillipson, 2006). The status of English was also promoted by the Bologna Declaration in 1999, which intended to increase compatibility in universities throughout Europe by expanding English education (European Commission Higher Education and Training, 2016).

Spain is deeply impacted by the policies outlined above. Since the beginning of this century, Spain has introduced reforms related to the teaching of foreign languages, with English as one of two additional languages as a compulsory subject in elementary school. In fact, Spain is one of the European countries where English is taught earliest in their education (Caraker, 2016). For example, a language policy devised by the Regional Government of Andalusian (1978-present) announced that up to 40% of the school curriculum could be taught in English and more native speakers of English should be utilized in language teaching (Lorenzo, 2010). The B1 level of English according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) has been a benchmark for all college graduates since 2010. According to the English Proficiency Index for Schools (EF EPI-s) (2013), English is increasingly becoming an “essential tool worthy of investment in Spain [... to solve] difficult economic conditions” and, therefore, the government is “driving more people to study English with greater intensity” (p. 29). This trend was witnessed in Gloria’s narrative in her LLA. “*Since my first English language class in third grade in elementary school, I could see English and its cultures were going to play an essential role in my ordinary life*” (quoted from Gloria’s LLA, Winter 2019). The rest of Gloria’s LLA, as discussed in the following section in this chapter, also displayed how English dominance had impacted her experience and belief of foreign language learning and teaching.

Besides the research on the sociolinguistic status of English in Spain historically, there has been increasing study focused on the preference for English varieties among English instructors and learners (e.g., Mompeán-González, 2004). Although there are no official guidelines indicating which varieties of English should be taught as a norm, according to Lasagabaster and Sierra’s (2005) study of 76 English learners at a university in the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain, 68% of their surveyed participants showed an explicit favor for native-speaking instructors from the UK or the U.S., particularly in the areas of pronunciation, speaking, and listening. In a similar vein, Mompeán-González (2004) observes that in university setting in Spain, British

Received Pronunciation (RP) is still the default pronunciation model” (p. 253). Carrie (2017) conducted a study about university students’ attitudes towards English reference accents in Spain. The sample of participants comprised 71 Spanish nationals from two public universities of similar sizes (about 25,000-30,000 students in each) within the same region of Castile and Leon. The results from questionnaires and interviews in the study interestingly show that while RP was thought “standard”, “pure”, and “authentic” by most EFL students, General American (GenAm) was described as “modern”, “urban” and “influential” for the culture it represents (Mompeán-González, 2004). Gloria in her LLA mentioned this trend as well: *“I remember being excited every time I heard our [elementary school] teacher speaking the ‘Shakespearian language’ – as we referred to it in class”. [...] Years later, during my first year of college in a much bigger city, my [English] teacher, a graceful, fancy lady, spoke American English, and I realized one of the things I wanted the most was to finish my degree having an American English accent”* (quoted from Gloria’s LLA, Spring 2019). This trend was in line with Chislet’s (2005) description of Americanization and Anglicism of the Spanish society in the late 20th century, when the signs of “accommodation” and “acceptance” replaced hostility towards Americanization prevailing in the first half of the 20th century.

With these understandings of the national language policies of these three countries and the local and global contexts in which English is taught and learned, it is not surprising to find that the professionalism discourses of ELT are still dominated by the West-constructed language, cultural discourses, and pedagogy, as shown in the four preservice teachers’ narratives. Consciously or subconsciously, they assimilated or resisted these discourses in their English learning process, and displayed desire (Motha & Lin, 2014) and investment (Norton Pierce, 1995; Norton, 2001, 2010, 2015) to different extents, which combined to lead them to certain expectations and beliefs in their later learning-to-teach and actual teaching settings. In the following sections, using the preservice teachers’ LLAs and LTAs as the starting point, aided by interviews and group meeting

conversations, I explore how their narratives of their language life stories provided a mediation and externalized tool for them to reflect on the formation of their professional identity.

3.3 THE PRESERVICE TEACHERS' NARRATED LANGUAGE STORIES AND TEACHER IDENTITY

Ellis (2018) uses the term “*language lives*” in her study to describe a group of plurilingual teachers’ experiences of using languages and the complex relationship between the languages they teach and the languages of their histories and heritage. Similarly, I examine the narrated language stories of the four preservice teachers, particularly their previous and ongoing language learning and using experiences in different contexts. Different from Ellis’s (2018) focus on teachers’ pre-profession linguistic experiences, my analysis emphasizes the dynamic and ongoing aspect of these experiences, especially in the specific sociocultural context where focal participants’ language practices are “multiple and ever adjusting to [...] the communicative act[s]” (García, 2009, p. 53). Ellis (2018) argues that these experiences are critical in forming and (re)constructing teachers’ professional identities by influencing their teaching beliefs, expectations, and practices in the classroom.

Since all the four preservice teachers in my research are multilingual speakers with English as their additional language, they have had quite rich and distinct experiences of learning, using, and teaching the language, which, in turn, intertwine in many complex ways with their linguistic, social, cultural, national, and professional identities. Their similar yet unique language learning and using experiences are worth exploring for their indicative and implicative meanings to see how they impact each individual’s professional identity (re)construction. As Liddicoat and Scarino (2010) point out, “learning languages is not just a question of learning inert subject matter organized neatly through a planned curriculum; rather, it is a lived experience of learning-to-be in

at least two diverse worlds” (p. 247). Several language educators have stressed the importance of preservice teachers’ prior language learning experiences and beliefs in forming their teaching philosophies and practices (Freeman, 2001; Johnson, 2006; Peacock, 2001). Many other researchers (e.g., Bailey et al., 1996; Wallace, 1991) agree that classroom learning experiences are as influential as, if not more than, academic training to teachers’ knowledge and belief constructions. As Ellis (2010) states, “the thousands of hours we spent watching our own teachers are far more influential than the methodology we learn in teacher training courses” (p. 198). The following sections scrutinize the four preservice teachers’ narrated language stories, in which they displayed their achievements, frustrations, struggles, resistance, inclusion, exclusion, and ongoing negotiations with their local and global contexts. These narratives of their language learning experience, the attached emotions, and institutional structures within which they were located combined together to (re)construct their “knowledge, beliefs, and perceptions” of “what they know, and therefore what they do in their teaching” (Freeman, 1994, p. 182).

3.3.1 *Jing: “I could never reach the mountain top—the native speakers’ level.”*

Jing was born in a small town in northern China in the 1990s, when the country launched the Open and Reform policy and promoted English learning vehemently for national advancement. Jing started learning English in an extracurricular school at a very young age and then continued studying it as an obligatory subject till college. After graduating with a bachelor’s degree in English from a top university in eastern China, she worked for four years as an EFL teacher in a junior high school in one of the biggest cities in south-western China. Then she moved to a large city on the south-west coast in the States with her husband and lived there for two years before attending the MATESOL program. Jing’s English language learning experiences, as she described in our first interview, were like “*riding a rollercoaster*”, which started from “*stage zero*” and went up to what she thought was the highest point, and then there were “*ups and downs*” before they

“*collapsed to the bottom*” (quoted from Interview 1 with Jing, 10/18/2018). Among the MATESOL graduate students to whom I sent participant recruitment emails, Jing was the first one to respond, showing great interest in my research. In our later interviews and group meetings, Jing was also the most active and voluntary participant to share her English learning and teaching experiences.

3.3.1.1 *Rising from the bottom*

In her LLA, LTA, and interviews, Jing adopted different and oftentimes conflicting positions as a language learner, user, and teacher at different stages, in different contexts. The various, contrasting voices in her narratives interwove together to illustrate a complex process of her identity (re)construction across temporal and spatial dimensions. The following first three excerpts are from her LLA, in which Jing recalled the changes of her attitudes towards English learning, displaying her different desires and investments for language learning at different stages. These recounts provided an initial narrative portrait of Jing’s linguistic identity and how it was changing across time and space and interrelated with her other social identities.

Excerpt 1 (from Jing’s LLA, Winter 2019)

[When I learned English for the first time in elementary school], English, a totally different language from my mother tongue, was so difficult and strange for me. Those letters combined together to make weird sounds made no sense. My imagination for the future
 → *was so limited at that time that I could not see myself using English anywhere anytime in*
 → *my life. It was like a joke to learn English: “why bother, you won’t use it anyway”. My*
 → *learning motivation was zero.*

Motha and Lin (2014) argue that “at the center of every English language learning moment lies desire” that is “shaped by our historical, political, institutional, and economic contexts” and interconnected to “motivation and investment” (p. 331). In Jing’s narrative, she attributed her lack of desire for learning English to two major reasons. The first was to do with the language itself – it was “*difficult and strange*”. The second I believe was related to a sense of social identity, as a form of self-positioning. In other words, it was related to who she was and how she saw herself situated in her social world (Norton Peirce, 1995). Thus, she said, “*I could not see myself using English anywhere anytime in my life.*” In fact, the very idea of learning English was an absurd formulation to her, “*it was like a joke.*” The whole enterprise was futile to her because she felt she would never really “*use it anyway.*” Unsurprisingly, therefore, her initial motivation, in her own words was “*zero*”. Jing’s demotivation about learning English based both on the foreignness of the language itself as well as its non-usability in her lived local context sheds light on how linguistic education policies that are implemented by governments across the globe for instrumental purposes such as acceding to and accessing globalization forces or wanting to “modernize” their countries impose an undue and unnatural burden on their citizenry who are unable to see the relevance of these languages to their lived realities. Like Jing, many would be unable to imagine a future where they would be using English at this early stage in their lives.

However, as Norton Peirce (1995) points out, one’s social identity is “constantly changing across time and space” (p. 18). In fact, all post-structural conceptualizations of identity underscore its conflicted, ever evolving, and fractured nature (Norton, 2000). The same was evidenced in Jing’s narrative where she went on to narrate that her investment in learning English changed when her social identity grew in another direction after she entered middle school and found that English was a required subject. At this point in her life, she realized that English was something she needed to learn to succeed in school. It was no longer something that had been arbitrarily imposed upon her and which she had found to be of no immediate relevance to her life. Now that it was a required

subject in school, she put in a lot more effort into learning and came to the realization that she was quite good at learning this language. Her grades in English tests now became a source of positive self-identity construction for her. Thus, she stated in her LLA:

Excerpt 2 (from Jing's LLA, Winter 2019)

- > *I came to fall in love with the language because I seemed to be good at it. The extra classes I took helped me in listening and speaking. I was quick in reciting the text and I got high*
- > *scores in the tests. The sense of achievement motivated learning in return. [...] I studied*
- > *very hard. Getting a high score in written tests was more significant than any other thoughts as the critical point of my life -- the College Entrance Examination was approaching.*

In excerpt 2, Jing attributed her investment in learning English to her changing social identity – “*I seemed to be good at it*”. This led to greater motivation, which in turn, provided further impetus to her language learning, “*The sense of achievement motivated learning in return.*” So, what occurred in her case was the construction of a virtuous cycle, in economic terms, where success in learning led to increased motivation, which led to more learning and so on and so forth. Another way to understand this self-replicating cycle, is through Bourdieu's (1991) concept of social capital, a property of the individual derived primarily from one's social position and status. Jing realized that if she put in the effort to study English, it would help her succeed in her college entrance exams that were around the corner. Therefore, she wrote, “*getting a high score in written tests was more significant than any other thoughts as the critical point of my life -- the College Entrance Examination was approaching.*” What could be inferred from this was that getting into college would add considerably to her social capital and would be instrumental in the attainment of success in her immediate future. The investment (Norton Pierce, 1995) in English language

learning would in the near future turn into very concrete social capital if she could succeed in the college entrance examination. With these perceived benefits obtained from her investment, Jing went on to the next stage of language learning once she entered college.

3.3.1.2 Going up and down

It needs to be mentioned that Jing did succeed in the college entrance examination and obtained the required scores in English in this exam. However, as an English major in a teacher training college in eastern China, she experienced what she called “*ups and downs*” in her ever evolving and turbulent relationship with English. Describing this period of her life, Jing wrote in her LLA:

Excerpt 3 (from Jing’s LLA, Winter 2019)

*[M]y confidence was broken into pieces in my first class at [the university she attended]. I
 → volunteered to read in class and the professor kindly told me that I was brave but none of
 → the pronunciations was correct. I was grateful for the experience in that Pronunciation and
 → Intonation course. It was like tearing everything down and rebuilding them in a nice way.*

Jing did not elaborate in her LLA what her exact feeling was when the professor described all her pronunciations as incorrect in front of the class. For most students, including myself, such a statement would be extremely painful and humiliating, causing an enormous loss of face, especially as it was uttered in the first class of her new college life. Jing did not explain either what she meant by her statement that she was “*grateful*” for this experience or that she saw it as “*tearing everything down and rebuilding them in a nice way.*” I found it hard to imagine how anyone could feel gratitude for such an embarrassing experience, let alone describe it in positive terms as a destructive process which carried within it the seeds of a newer, nicer construction. Therefore, I

brought up this matter in our second interview for further discussion so that she could share her rather unique interpretation of this, (according to me), shocking and unsettling experience which had occurred at such a momentous and vulnerable transitional moment in her life. The following excerpt is taken from this part of our discussion in the interview.

Excerpt 4 (from Interview 2 with Jing, 01/16/2019)

1. Y: *How did you feel when the professor corrected your pronunciation in front of*
2. *the class?*
- 3. J: *It was fine. I mean, I was a freshman student, and I was from a small, isolated*
- 4. *town. It was fine.*
5. Y: *Did you feel embarrassed or something like that?*
6. J: *No... Em... Yes, a bit, but it was fine. In the town I came from, there were no*
7. *chances to see a foreigner, let alone communicating with native English*
8. *speakers. My English teacher in middle school was actually a math teacher.*
- 9. *I guess his English was self-taught [grinning].*
10. Y: *In your autobiography, you said the course was “like tearing everything down*
11. *and rebuilding it in a nice way”. What did you mean by “in a nice way”?*
- 12. J: *In college, I learned Standard British pronunciation in a systematic way. My*
- 13. *professor got her degree in England. We used the original version of English-*
- 14. *only textbooks published by Cambridge. My confidence was reestablished after*
- 15. *I learned the course. You know, all these experiences helped me a lot in my*
- 16. *later study and job interviews.*

In this conversation, Jing expressed great tolerance and acceptance of the professor's action of correcting her pronunciation in front of the class, as she stated, *“It was fine. I was a freshman*

student, and I was from a small, isolated town” (lines 3-4). It seemed to Jing that her identity as a freshman student from a small, isolated town legitimized the apparently humiliating action from the professor, who represented three kinds of hierarchies related to English learning and teaching: 1) the hierarchical relationship between the teacher and students in the classroom, 2) the privilege of “standard” English over other English varieties, and 3) the unequal relationship between the urban and country areas. Jing’s largely unquestioning consent to these hierarchies explained her attempt to justify that embarrassing or even humiliating moment as “*it was fine*” (line 4). Her half-joking way to describe her English teacher in middle school – “*I guess his English was self-taught*”— (line 9) also displayed her desire for “standard” English pronunciation, a symbol of a new, modern lifestyle different from her own. With this new self-ascribed social identity – that of an incompetent EFL learner who needed improving, she did not question the stark power imbalances enacted in the classroom and showed acquiescence to the dominant discourse. At the same time, the new self-positioning further boosted her investment in learning English because of the potential cultural and social capital which was “perceived and recognized as legitimate” (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 4).

When I was reading Jing’s LLA and reviewing our conversations, I could not help my memory flashing back to my first English Speaking class in college in the early 1990s. The professor sneered at my self-introduction in broken English mixed with Chinese words by turning around and writing down “*Speak English or Keep Silent*” on the blackboard. After that she announced to the whole class seriously, “from now on, BBC English is the only standard pronunciation you will learn.” I was not able to let it go at that moment unlike Jing’s “*it was fine.*” Instead, I wished I could find a hole in the ground and dive in. Thereafter I kept silent in that class for the whole semester. Looking back now, I would say that my silence, like Jing’s acceptance of her professor’s comment, was another form of acquiescence to the dominant English teaching discourse which reinforced the misconception that the teacher had all the information and power, and students were

ignorant and powerless (Horton & Freire, 1990). Obviously, this learning environment did not allow EFL students to pursue solutions to problems that matter in their language learning, to problematize and question the status quo, or to feel empowered.

Besides the unequal power dynamic existing between the teacher and learners in EFL classrooms, Jing's narrative also displays the linguistic ideologies of naiveness, monolingualism, and privileging the West which prevail in many ELT settings, as she stated, "*I learned Standard British pronunciation in a systematic way. My professor got her degree in England. We used the original version of English-only textbooks published by Cambridge*" (lines 12-14). Considering the status of English as "the language of world economy" (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007), it was not surprising that these linguistic ideologies were still dominant in ELT in peripheral countries such as China in the 21st century, decades after Philipson (1992) criticized the "linguistic imperialism" associated with English language learning and teaching. Jing's statement that "*my confidence was reestablished*" (line 12) and that "*all these experiences helped me a lot in my later study and job interviews*" (lines 15-16) displayed a subtle change of her learner identity. After giving in to the dominant discourse in a hegemonic fashion, Jing used the new self-marginalizing understanding to re-learn a standardized form of English which in turn helped her to build a more positive self-identity. Her statement also highlighted the nature of "neoliberal English education" (Block & Gray, 2016; Pennycook, 2016; Shin, 2016), where language is constructed as a set of flexible skills acquired by the entrepreneurial self in the market (Park, 2010). All these manifested the "linguistic imperialism" (Philipson, 1992) in terms of "the dominance asserted and maintained by the establishment, and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (p. 47).

It should be noted that despite the prevalence of dominant ideology "imposed and constructed by structures of power" (Darvin and Norton, 2015, p. 44), the hegemony of ideology is not a static fact but a dynamic process and a site of struggle, in which meanings are reproduced and

reconstructed through agentic practices (Blommaert, 2010). In Jing's Language Teaching Journal (LTA) produced for the course of Theory and Practice for TESOL in Fall 2018, she reviewed her teaching experience in a private junior middle school in China. Unlike her acquiescence as an English language learner to dominant ideologies, as a novice teacher, she began the process of questioning some of her taken for granted beliefs while also acknowledging the difficulty involved when it came to dismantling them. Her active and critical reflection on the designated teaching rules displayed her resistance to the institutional structure and ideology, as the following excerpt shows.

Excerpt 5: (from Jing's LTA, Fall 2018)

→ *There are several prescribed rules "guiding" me through the beginning of my teaching career. Rule No.1: No Chinese in English class. [...] However hard I tried, it remained an obstacle for many students who knew nothing about English to get well-involved in class. They became frustrated and unconfident. The loneliness and frustration ruined their*

→ *interest from the very beginning. When I look back, I cannot help wondering: is this kind*

→ *of immersion really necessary for the beginners? When and how should we adopt*

→ *immersion in English Teaching? [...] Rule No. 2: No grammar-related exercise. Just listening and speaking. Although I believe in learning by doing, we [teachers and students] were not allowed to do grammar exercises. I was just as helpless as they [students] were*

→ *when facing the city-wide grammar-oriented exams. [...] Though I hated the rules, part of*

→ *me took it because we were too scared to be labeled as those who can only cultivate "mute English" Learners! [...]. Except for the disappointing part, I had an extremely wonderful time working at the school, where I was a welcomed English language teacher.*

In Excerpt 5, Jing reviewed her attitudes and feelings about the teaching rules “*guiding*” her through the beginning of her teaching career: 1) “*No Chinese in English class*”, and 2) “*No grammar-related exercise*”. By stressing “*guiding*” in her LTA, Jing expressed her resistance to the rules and her reflection of their impact on teachers and students. Having witnessed her students’ “*loneliness and frustration*” when facing the rule of “*No Chinese in English class*,” Jing showed apparent distaste toward the “monolingual fallacy” (Philipson, 1992) in language teaching by questioning the so-called “*immersed*” language education, “*Is this kind of immersion really necessary for the beginners? When and how should we adopt immersion in English Teaching?*” Her challenging and resisting attitude are in stark contrast to her acquiescence to the dominant discourse in her college study period, where she seemed to accept her reflexive self- and other marginalized identity positioning. This change might be attributed to her shifting identities in terms of power dynamics from the learner to teacher and/or to her increasing awareness of the prevailing hegemony inculcated while engaged in the more agentive practice of language teaching. Either way, it displays how practice and critical reflection can serve as a site of struggle for novice and preservice teachers to (re)construct their identity.

Jing in this excerpt went on to express the conflict she felt between her teaching belief of “*learning by doing*” and the school’s rule of “*No grammar-related exercises*.” During navigating within the conflicts, she showed the strategic performance of her teacher identity by selectively engaging and negotiating with the institutional structure: “*Though I hated the rules, part of me took it because we were too scared to be labeled as those who can only cultivate ‘mute English’ Learners!*”. Weedon (1997) argues that an individual “exists as a thinking, feeling subject and social agent, capable of resistance and innovations produced out of the clash between contradictory subject positions and practices” (p. 102). This kind of internal negotiation, according to Weedon (1997), is part of the individual’s intention to construct and maintain their identity. Thus, Jing narrated at the end of Excerpt 5, “*Except for the disappointing part, I had an extremely wonderful*

time working at the school, where I was a welcomed English language teacher.” In the dynamic process of identity (re)construction within the dominant ideology and discourse, Jing managed to adopt a more compatible positioning among her personal identity, institutional structure, and sociocultural context through internal negotiation and dialogue.

Akkerman and Meijer (2011) argue that teacher identity (re)construction is always a dialogic process that “takes place in the form of self-dialogue between different parts of self” (p. 308). This dialogic process of language teacher identity (LTI) construction is also embodied in the continuous negotiation of positioning among personal, local, and global sociocultural contexts through narratives, which, according to Arvaja (2016), is not always stable or progressive, but often regressive and with mixed features. Some TESOL researchers (e.g., Braine, 2010; Holliday & Aboshiha, 2009; Varghese et. al., 2005) in particular, investigate the marginalized experiences of NNES teachers after relocating to English-dominant contexts. This body of research focuses on the empowering and the agentive force of TESOL programs but fails to explore the role of the subjects’ unique previous and ongoing language life experiences in their ever-evolving identity negotiations especially as these occur in relation to their particular sociocultural contexts. This will be discussed below.

3.3.1.3 Collapsing to the bottom

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Jing moved to a south-western city in the States with her husband after working for four years in a junior middle school in China. Her narrative in the following excerpt from her LTA demonstrates the influential impact of her language life on her positioning in the new context after moving to a different country and encountering different contexts. They worked together with her professional education and training in MATESOL as she (re)constructed her professional identity in a discursive way.

Excerpt 6 (from Jing's LLA, Winter 2019)

→ *When I came to America three years ago, I found myself avoiding mentioning that I was*
 → *majoring in English because my English was terrible. I was searching for words when I*
 → *talked to people and I made silly mistakes, which I would be so mad at if they were made*
 → *by my students. I was terrible at reading. I spent a large amount of time on reading, but I*
had to stop and went over many times to understand what the reading was about. Now I
am a graduate student of MATESOL, but I am afraid of writing papers. I felt lost.

As Darvin and Norton (2015) point out, “the value of one’s capital shifts as it travels across time and space” (p. 44). Jing’s narrative was a case in point so that in the new context she totally negated the capital she had earned earlier: “*I found myself avoiding mentioning that I was majoring in English*”. Her self-positioning sadly switched from “*a welcomed English teacher*” as stated in Excerpt 5 to a “*terrible*” English user: “*I was searching for words when I talked to people and I made silly mistakes*”; “*I was terrible at reading*”; and “*I’m afraid of writing [English] papers.*” In our conversation in the second interview, she also recalled the awkward experiences of being unable to smoothly answer a telephone call from a service person, or to “*write an email to native speakers*”, or to “*get the point of English humor when talking with native speakers*” (Interview 2 with Jing, 12/06/2018). Admittedly, the latter is one of the most difficult things to learn cross-culturally. This seeming loss of capital in the new context led to yet another new positioning, where her past self as a confident English learner and teacher was hidden behind a more dominant, negative, and debilitating new self – a “*terrible*”, “*lost*” English user.

Vertovec (2001) notes that transnationalism and identity are intertwined concepts. In Jing’s case, her transnational life demands continuous negotiations with language and literacy across distinctive social and cultural contexts, which obviously brought her both opportunities and challenges that contribute to the formation of her self-image. During the process of language

socialization through and into language (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008), Jing's multiple self-identities as a used-to-be confident EFL teacher and a current incompetent L2 learner and user emerged out of the dialogic struggle between the self and community, as Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001) describe in their study on second language activity theory. The complex and dynamic nature of LTI shown in Jing's narratives was also supported by Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop's (2004) study, which points out that LTI is an ongoing learning process of framing and reframing experiences. The learning process of teachers, according to social constructivism, is a process of change in teachers' personal conceptions through the interaction between their new learning (or challenges in new learning), old experiences and social contexts (Roberts, 2016). In addition, Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004) note that LTI embraces sub-identities which may cause identity conflicts in cases of context change. These sub-identities, suggested by Mishler (1999), can be compared to "a chorus of voices" (p. 8). The more harmonized the sub-identities are, the better the chorus of voices sound (Beijaard et al., 2004). Jing's narrative in the following conversation in our first interview in Fall 2018 displayed how numerous conflicting voices interacted and impacted her identity (re)construction.

Excerpt 7 (from Interview 1 with Jing, 10/18/2018)

1. Y: *As an English teacher, do you prefer to identify yourself in terms of native/non-*

2. *native teacher or monolingual/multilingual teacher?*

3. J: *[pausing for seconds] I think it's hard to answer the question. When I was*

4. *teaching in the middle school in China, we didn't have native English speaker*

→ 5. *teachers. I was a welcomed teacher. But if I'm going to teach here, of course,*

→ 6. *I'm a non-native speaker. And it's going to be difficult for me to find a job.*

7. Y: *So, do you prefer to use the term "non-native English speaker teacher," rather*

8. *than "bilingual teacher"?*

9. J: *No! Of course, I prefer “bilingual” because if you label yourself as a “non-native”, it means native English speakers are superior to non-native English*
10. *speakers, but for “bilingual”, it means you’re skilled in two languages. But,*
- 11. *that’s a skill. When it comes to teaching the language, you know, pronunciation*
- 12. *is very important. My English teacher in middle school, her pronunciation was*
- 13. *terrible.*
14. *terrible.*
15. Y: *Are you worried that as an English teacher, you’ll be judged by your*
16. *pronunciation?*
- 17. J: *Sure! That’s why I think it’s nearly impossible for me to find a job here to*
- 18. *teach English, because no matter how fluent it seems to be, you’re not a native*
- 19. *speaker, and it’ll be a problem.*
20. Y: *So, do you think being a nonnative speaker will affect your teaching?*
- 21. J: *[pause] Hm... From my aspect, it won’t affect **me** that much, but it’ll affect how*
22. *the class is going on because it’ll definitely affect the students, first of all, their*
- 23. *attitudes. [When] people come to learn English, they expect something authentic,*
24. *you know, authentic English, but you don’t look authentic, not at all.*

Jing’s narrative in the conversation above presents her conflicting sub-identities related to different self-positionings in different settings. When teaching English in China, she was “*a welcomed teacher*” (line 5); when it comes to language skills, she was “*a bilingual*” speaker (line 11); but of teaching in the States, she asserted that “*Of course, I’m a non-native speaker*” (line 6). Jing’s apparently inconsistent self-positioning emerged from her individual and institutional discursive language-related practices. During the process, as Aneja (2016) describes, she was “*(non)native speakered* with respect to different characteristics, through different institutional mechanisms, individual performances, and social negotiations” (p. 576, emphasis original). Jing’s

self-questioning and denial of her legitimacy as an English speaker in the teaching context was mainly due to her wariness of accents, as she states, “*When it comes to teaching the language, you know, pronunciation is very important*” (lines 12-13). Taking the hegemonic view about accents and pronunciation, she believed that “*it’s nearly impossible for me to find a job here [in the U.S.] to teach English, because no matter how fluent it seems to be, you’re not a native speaker*” (lines 17-19). It aligned with Kin’s (2011) finding about NNESTs’ beliefs that poor accents inhibit their job seeking and inability to speak “authentic” English is a major deficiency for English teachers, as Jing claimed that “*her [her English teacher in middle school] pronunciation was terrible*” (lines 13-14). So, despite her understanding of the positive aspects of being a bilingual speaker, she is still governed by the dominant ideology that English “belongs” to so-called native speakers and only such teachers are perceived to be “*authentic*” (line 23).

It is interesting to note that when responding to my question about NNESTs’ efficiency of teaching, Jing adopted two voices from different perspectives: those of hers and of her prospective students in American classes. While stressing that being a nonnative speaker “*won’t affect me*” (line 21) in teaching, she supposed that students “*expect something authentic, you know, authentic English*” (lines 23-24). Bakhtin (1981, 1984) conceptualizes voice as a tool helping explore various perspectives embedded in discourse. By using others’ (here, the students’) voice woven into her narrative as part of her thinking, justifying, and acting, she established an imagined community of native speakers speaking “authentic” English expected by an imagined community of students, and self-marginalized as an outsider from the community. Kim (2011) also notes in her study that NNESTs’ struggles for legitimacy as teachers derive from past experiences with students’ preference for NES teachers. These language-related experiences obviously affected multilingual teachers’ decision making and behaviors and provided an interpretation for “such decisions, behaviors, and their outcomes” (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007, p. 670).

Golombek and Jordan (2005) point out that it is crucial to introduce new discourses in LTI negotiations that foster a “sense of resistance toward the native speaker ideology” (p. 520). Such counter-discourses like Cook’s (1999) multicompetence model helps NNESTs make sense of their “split-self experiences” (Her, 2005, p. 125). However, Xuan (2014) observes in her study that despite criticizing the nativeness fallacy, her participants still took native speakers’ “standard” speaking as models, which suggests counter-discourses alone are insufficient in dismantling the dominant ideology. It is manifested in a class discussion I observed in one class of the core course, Theory and Practice of TESOL, in Winter 2019. The following excerpt is from the discussion of Jing and her group (with Hana and another MATESOL student) about Vivian Cook’s (1999) notion of multilingualism and its positive impact on learners and teachers of English:

Excerpt 8 (from class discussion, 01/25/2019)

1. J: *In terms of the status of English in China, in the classroom, we consider it as*
2. *EFL [English as a Foreign Language], but in communication, we considered it*
3. *as, like, ELF [English as Lingua Franca]. The students are like in-between*
- 4. *[and] confused, which way should I go? They are like, “I wanted to communicate*
- 5. *in English, but in the classroom, I was assessed according to the standard*
- 6. *norm.”*
- 7. H: *Yes. It’s really problematic how non-native speakers get assessed by their*
- 8. *pronunciation, or their levels of proficiency are assessed by their accents.*
- 9. J: *Yes, but it’s hard to tell the differences between incorrect pronunciation and*
10. *accent, because some accents are mispronunciation. So that’s why*
11. *pronunciation is emphasized in EFL in China. That’s really important.*

In the discussion Jing reviewed the status of English in different settings in China and pointed to the dilemma Chinese students faced when thinking of English as *lingua franca* or as a foreign language. By adopting the students' voice, Jing announced her confusion about different standards in communicating in English and being assessed in the classroom, "*I wanted to communicate in English, but in the classroom, I was assessed according to the standard norm*" (lines 4-6). Although she showed agreement to Hana's comment that "*it's really problematic*" to assess nonnative speakers' proficiency "*by their pronunciation*" or "*accents*" (lines 6-7), Jing insisted the important role of pronunciation: "*it's hard to tell the differences between incorrect pronunciation and accent because some accents are mispronunciation*" (lines 8-9). Her perception that certain varieties of English with their accompanying accents were mispronunciations suggested her internalization of the hegemonic discourses that place varieties of English with their associated accents on a hierarchy, with those of inner circle countries like the USA and Britain being placed at the top while those from the secondary and expanding circles of Kachru (1990) are considered to be inaccurate. This perception echoed one participant's statement in Aneja's (2016) research on (non)nativeness and teacher identity in TESOL teacher education. In the study, Oliver, an international student from China studying in a master's TESOL program at a northeastern university in the U.S., mentioned that compared with British or American accents, "Australian English is definitely no good" (Aneja, 2016, p. 581). And she was also skeptical about whether Indians could be considered native speakers because they had accents. In both the cases of Jing and Oliver, we can see an internalization of the dominant discourse that ranks varieties of English on a value-based scale.

Similarly, Jing's acceptance in her LLA of her college instructor's comment on her accented English as "*totally wrong pronunciation*" (quoted from Jing's LLA, Winter 2019) presents her adoption of the others' voice in the process of (re)forming her identity. In her narratives, the others' voice was from the dominant discourse of her previous and current language life and the imagined

community from which she felt excluded. When discussing Bakhtin's (1990) understanding of "self" and "others", Holquist (1990) points out, "in order to see ourselves, we must appropriate the vision of others: [...] I see myself as others might see me" (p. 28). The excerpts from Jing's narrative discussed here illustrated how such a "vision of others" consistently (re)shaped her self-image and othered herself. According to Wortham (2001), one's identity is narratively constructed through positioning different voices in sociocultural contexts in relation to each other. In other words, the question of one's identity is not merely "who am I?", but rather "Who am I in relation to the others?" (Hermans, 2003, p. 104). Jing's narratives were a vivid illustration of this dialogic process of self-construction. The ideologies in the authoritative discourse in which she had previously lived and was living constantly (re)constructed her imagined identities as was evident in her storied experiences, her expressed feelings in the interviews, in her class discussions, and in her autobiographies. They tell us of the multiple, complex ways in which she experienced inclusion or exclusion across space and time in various discourses. In order to enable multilingual teachers to agentively negotiate their LTIs and problematize the native/nonnative binary, more discussions on local applicability and contextualized teaching practice are required besides counter-discourses. Otherwise, NNESTs' multilingual identities are hard to be affirmed and supported, as was evidenced when Jing explicitly made the following pessimistic conclusion in her LLA.

Excerpt 9 (from Jing's LLA, Winter 2019)

What is the ultimate meaning of learning a second language? What are the criteria to evaluate one's language competence? How could the skills be improved? What should the teacher do? What should the learners do? Unfortunately, my own learning experience is
 → *like driving in [the city she lives in the. U.S.]. You have no idea where the road ends and*
 → *where you are at on the path of learning a second language. As a learner of English for*

→ *over ten years, I believe I could never reach the mountain top -- the native [speakers'] level, which is a sad story.*

At the end of her LTA, after asking a series of seemingly unanswerable questions about English teaching and learning, Jing expressed her disillusionment and frustration in the process of (re)constructing her identity as an English learner and user. Comparing the experience to “*driving in a city where you have no idea where the road ends and where you are*”, Jing concluded pessimistically that “*I could never reach the mountain top.*” It sounds a sad story for Jing and all other English learners who were struggling with inadequacy and inability to reach the native speakers’ level. Their struggle for native-like proficiency perpetuated the sense of failure and invalidity. In the dominant discourse where the native speaker is considered as “a yardstick for intelligibility” (Golombek & Jordan, 2005, p. 520) and the norm in English teaching and learning, multilingual teachers would be continually struggling in claiming ownership over English and legitimacy to teach the language. Language teacher education programs need critical praxis to foster multilingual preservice teachers’ awareness of such diverse discourses and the needed agency to change them. In Jing’s narratives, despite the pessimism, Jing also demonstrated her critical reflection on language learning and teaching, and her desire to find a position as an English learner and teacher in the dominant ideologies. Blommaert (2010) points out that instead of being considered as immutable facts, dominance and hegemony of ideologies are fluid processes. The reproduction of defined meanings always naturally accompanies performance of ingenious practices. While Jing showed her powerlessness and consent in her repeated encounters with dominant ideologies both in China and in the US, she also revealed how she attempted to negotiate and (re)construct her professional identity. It remains to be seen if she will eventually find a way to “*reach the mountain top*”. Or will she redefine the “*mountain top*” as she gets more engaged in the community where she conducts her teaching practice? These are questions that I attempt to

answer in Chapter 4 as I discuss how Jing (re)constructed her professional identity through engaged actions with others in the material world.

3.3.2. Chen: "I'm a proficient English learner and user."

Chen was also an international student from China. Immediately after graduating from a teacher training university in southern China, she was enrolled into the MATESOL program where I conducted the research. Unlike the other three preservice teachers who are my focal participants, Chen was the only member of my research group who did not have any formal teaching experience prior to the program, except for two periods of internships respectively in a public high school in China and in an elementary school in Kansas when she was taking her undergraduate studies. Compared with the other three preservice teachers, Chen seemed to show less struggle or frustration as she went through the program or for her future career prospects in her LLA, LTA or interview conversation. In the following parts in this section, I will examine and analyze how her personal experiences and beliefs shaped her seemingly obvious yet multilayered identities. Chen's language life before coming to MATESOL, as she narrated in our first interview, was "*rewarding*" and "*leading to high confidence*" (quoted from Interview 1 with Chen, 10/18/2018). Similar to Jing and many other Chinese students, Chen started learning English in an extracurricular English language school at an early age before going to elementary school. Then she continued learning English as a required subject in formal educational settings till high school, and after that she went to college majoring in English. When reading Chen's written narratives and reviewing our conversations, I identified several salient themes. The ones that interested me most were about the desire for and investment in English.

3.3.2.1. Desire for learning and teaching English

It is suggested that “at the center of every English language learning moment lies desire” (Motha and Lin, 2014, p. 331). The desire is not merely individuals’ inner aspiration, but is “shaped by [their] historical, political, institutional, and economic contexts” and interconnected to “motivation and investment” (p. 331). Chen’s narrative in her LLA about her early EFL learning experiences vividly demonstrated how different factors in the contexts (re)shaped her beliefs and perspectives, leading to desire for and investment in learning English.

Excerpt 10 (from Chen’s LLA, Winter 2019)

→ *No one dare to say English is not important [in China]. I began to learn English before I*
 → *went to primary school. The most useful class was the speaking class. My teacher was a*
 → *Canadian who was also a college instructor at that time. I want to say highly of it because*
 → *it was this class that enabled me to practice speaking with a native English speaker and*
speaking is the most difficult skill to practice in an EFL country like China. I was lucky to
meet a teacher like him.

As mentioned in Section 2, Chen was born in the 1990s and started learning English in the early 2000s, which happened to be the period when China conducted the top-down ELT reform with the focus on developing students’ “communicative competence and cultural awareness” (Requirement, 2004). Her English learning experience, therefore, was inevitably marked by the contemporary local and global language policy and ideology. Her comment that “*No one dare to say English is not important [in China]*” represents the prevailing belief that English, as a global language, would bring opportunities at both individual and national levels, especially for periphery countries (Crystal, 2003). In China, for example, proficiency in English has been progressively valued highly and is considered as a personal asset since the Reform and Open Policy implemented in the early 1980s. ELT, as a natural corollary, has increasingly been viewed as critical for the

country for modernization and to be competitive in the global market (Han & Yin, 2016). Chen's early enrollment in an extracurricular for-profit English school, (as she stated, "*I began to learn English before I went to primary school*"), evidenced this national trend.

Despite the possible benefits of EFL users taking ownership of English, Phan (2013) notes that "the growing commercialization" of ELT "has been coupled with the commodification of English associated with the continuing belief that 'the West is better'" (p. 164). Chen's narrative about her learning experience from a Canadian teacher manifests this dominant ideology of English hegemony and its impact on ELT pedagogy and curriculum, "*I want to say highly of [the speaking class] because it was this class that enabled me to practice speaking with a native English speaker and speaking is the most difficult skill to practice in an EFL country like China.*" Although she did not explicitly express her preference for native-speaker teachers, she did emphasize that "*the most useful class was the speaking class*", and she was "*lucky*" to be able to "*practice speaking with a native English speaker.*" By describing the Canadian teacher as the one with whom her speaking skills can be developed, the unspoken implication seems to have been that Chinese teachers of English were not ideal instructors in this field. This internalization of the hegemonic dominant discourses that prioritize native speakers as more effective English teachers resonates with Park's (2015) study, in which her participant was "indoctrinated into a racializing practice" (p. 126) that privileged the white, native English speakers. The belief of these "established notions" (Pennycook, 2007) associated with ELT and the hegemonic and colonialist influences of English as a global language was further manifested at the end of Chen's LLA, where she stated the following:

Excerpt 11 (from Chen's LLA, Winter 2019)

*Although I was forced to learn English by my parents at the very beginning, I was gradually
 → able to enjoy learning English because China's position in the world is becoming more*

- *and more important and I felt that I am doing a thing which benefits my country's*
- *development. This feeling also made me feel proud of myself.*

In Excerpt 11, Chen concluded her LLA with a statement asserting the global hegemonic influence of English upon China. To her view, learning English for individuals is something that “*benefits my country's development*” because “*China's position in the world is becoming more and more important*”. Despite her initial unwillingness, she “*gradually enjoy[ed] learning English*” because of the potential cultural, economic, and social capital (Darvin & Norton, 2015) she and her home country were able to gain. Her action and attitudes towards English learning were also justified by the belief that these are beneficial to the country. By uncritically accepting and promoting the ideology that the English language represents power, status, and opportunities for both individuals and peripheral countries, Chen's narrative displayed the prevalence of the (questionable) “promise of English” (Pennycook, 2007; Tollefson, 1991). This belief contributed to her rationale that learning English “*is beneficial to my country's development*” and something that made her “*feel proud*” of herself. An interesting dimension is added when one considers how Chen's argument was also intertwined with a nationalist discourse of upskilling in such a way as will benefit the country, a discourse which finds increasing voice in many developing countries.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the preservice teachers' LLAs were one of the written assignments for a core course of Theory and Practices of TESOL. According to the syllabus, one of the goals of the course is to “*critique established notions surrounding language learning, language competence, and multilingualism*” (quoted from the syllabus, Winter 2019). Many researchers (e.g., Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Golombek & Jordan, 2005) note the significance of introducing such counter-discourses based on critical praxis and critical pedagogy in the ELT area, which would foster both teachers' and students' awareness of inequalities between countries and social groups. Nevertheless, Chen's acceptance and consent to the “established notions” of

Standard English and English hegemony shown in Excerpt 10 from her LLA suggested that counter-discourses alone are insufficient in dismantling hegemony. Despite the incisive criticism of the “promise of English” by many scholars (e.g., Pennycook, 2007; Tollefson, 1991), we must admit that faith in the promise of English persists in most peripheral countries, considering the many materials benefits it has brought to individuals and nations. EFL/ESL learners are, for the most part, in a powerless position to resist it. In our first interview, when I brought up the question why she wanted to become an English teacher, Chen expressed a similar belief in the promise of English in our conversation.

Excerpt 12 (Interview 1 with Chen, 10/18/2018)

1. Y: *What made you want to be an English teacher?*
- 2. C: *I feel I can help more people to know the charm of English. In a more practical*
- 3. *way, nowadays English has become a world language, and knowing English*
- 4. *will enable people to have more chances in this world, and lead the lives they*
- 5. *want. I want to help those who want to use English to chase their dreams.*
6. Y: *What did you mean by “dreams”?*
7. C: *All things they want to do.*

In the conversation in Excerpt 12, Chen acknowledged the global status of English as “*a world language*” (line 3) and expressed explicitly her belief in the promise of English, such as “*knowing English will enable people to have more chances in this world and lead the lives they want*” (lines 3-5). It was such a belief that motivated her to become an English teacher because she would “*help more people to know the charm of English*” (line 2). Here, Chen also positioned herself within the community of aspirational English learners with the desire to “*use English to chase their dreams*” or “*all the things they want to do*” (lines 5-6). It could be seen that Chen’s desire for learning and

teaching the language was not only individually constituted, but shaped by multiple factors including social, historical, cultural, and economic dimensions. These factors are related to the framework Motha and Lin (2016) propose for theorizing desire on five interrelated levels: 1) desires of learners; 2) desires of communities in which learners are embedded; 3) desires of teachers, including their desires for students and themselves; 4) desires of institutions; and 5) desires of the state or government (p. 335-336). I categorize these desires into two large groups: individual intrinsic desires and extrinsic context-related desires, with the former referring to the desires of learners and the latter of those from their local and global relationships and communities: parents, teachers, institutions and the state or government. Chen's narrative in Excerpt 12 showed that her desire for English was more than an individual intrinsic emotion. Instead, it was a combination of desires emanating from the contexts in which she lived and worked, in which English and the cultural and social capital associated with it is highly valued and aspired.

Besides in Excerpt 12, Chen presented more extrinsic, context-related desires that constructed learners' relationship to the target language in English learning in our later conversations in interviews and group talks. For example, in the group meeting with Jing, Hana and me at the end of Fall 2018, Chen mentioned that her parents hoped her to go back to her hometown to work as an English teacher after graduation. While Jing expressed her concern about whether she would be able to find a job teaching English in the U.S., Chen declared, "*my parents believed if I learn English in America and got a degree, I would be a competitive candidate [in job seeking] and earn a high salary*" (quoted from Group Meeting 1, 12/06/2018). She added afterwards, "*you know, in my hometown, there are not many people holding a master's degree from America. That's why my parents supported my study [in the U.S.]*" (quoted from Group Meeting 1, 12/06/2018). Chen's narrative in this conversation provided a glimpse of how the extrinsic desires emanating from the immediate contexts she lived in – her parents', the employers', and perhaps the state's desires for

English interwove with her own intrinsic desires to form motivation and investment because of potential real-world material benefits.

These benefits were witnessed in one of Chen's experiences of successful application for a part-time teaching position. Even though she did not have any formal teaching experience, she experienced little difficulty in finding a part-time teaching job in a private language school in her hometown in Summer 2019. Chen told me later in one of our informal talks in Fall 2019, "*they didn't even give me any formal interview or professional training before I taught. I'm studying MATESOL at an American university. That's enough*" (quoted from Yan's Research Journal, 10/03/2019). Obviously, the material benefits Chen gained from English learning perpetuated her desire for the language. Different from Jing as discussed in Section 3.1, whose recognition of the elusiveness of her desire for native-like English resulted in "an overly deterministic framing of the futility of English learning" (Motha & Lin, 2015, p. 348), Chen assumed herself to be the beneficiary of English learning for the real world benefits she acquired. However, that is not to say Chen did not display any thoughts about the hegemonic power of English and its implications for language learners and teachers. Her narratives in the following excerpts from her LLA and our conversations presented her reflection on the specific issues of language proficiency and native speakerism, thus displaying how identity (re)construction is a discursive, context-related process.

3.3.2.2 Awareness of language hegemony

The following Excerpts 13-15 are from our conversation in interviews and group meetings. These interactive narratives together with excerpts from Chen's written autobiographies further displayed her perspective on key issues in ELT and TESOL and how she managed to negotiate her multiple identities in these discursive spaces.

Excerpt 13 (Interview 1 with Chen, 10/18/2018)

1. Y: *How do you describe your language proficiency as an English learner and user?*
- 2. C: *I'd say I'm a proficient English learner and user, especially in speaking. I learned*
3. *English speaking with a native speaker before and during primary school. I'm*
- 4. *very confident with my English speaking. I think my speaking ability is better*
- 5. *than 70% of my peers in China.*
6. Y: *When you said "speaking ability", what did you mean?*
- 7. C: *It's good pronunciation. In my sophomore year, I went to a university in*
- 8. *Kansas as an exchange student. You know, it was a highly competitive*
- 9. *opportunity. I think my good performance in the interview was the main factor*
9. *[to help me get the opportunity]. Also, the experience of studying and doing*
- 10. *internship in the U.S., you know, the "authentic" learning environment, improved*
11. *my speaking in turn.*

In the conversation, Chen defined herself as a “*proficient English learner and user*” (line 2) mainly because of her confidence in her “*speaking ability*,” that she thought she was “*better than 70% of [her] peers in China*” (lines 4-5). This confidence originated from her experience of “*learn[ing] English speaking with a native speaker before and during primary school*” (lines 3-4). Upon being asked what “*speaking ability*” stood for, Chen identified it as “*good pronunciation*” (line 7). Although Chen did not articulate what was the standard of “*good pronunciation*,” the implication here was that this was the inner circle “*standard English*” taught by native English speakers. As discussed in the section of language policies in China, the period when Chen was learning English overlapped the nation’s reform of ELT curricula toward the communicative language teaching (CLT) orientations. Motha and Lin (2015) suggest ELT pedagogical methods are “*acutely implicated in the matrix of relationships within which desire is embedded*” (p. 348). Although CLT is not deliberately engineered to embody the desire to produce fluent workers

required by neoliberalism, its principles of prioritizing speaking above traditional skills like reading and writing do compel EFL learners to interact like native speakers. Thus, Chen's confidence as a proficient English learner and user and one of her language learning goals were framed as being a native-like, instead of an intelligible speaker.

With this conception of English proficiency, Chen further emphasized the "cultural and social capital" (Bourdieu, 1986) associated with English learning, e.g., in this case, "*the competitive opportunity*" (lines 8-9) to study as an exchange student at a university in the U.S. Meanwhile, studying and interning in the U.S., "*the authentic learning environment*" (line 10), led to her increased desire (Motha & Lin, 2016) and investment (Norton Pierce, 1995) in learning the language. Investment, as conceptualized as a sociologic complement to the psychological construct of motivation (Murray, 2011), demonstrates the contextually constructed relationship "between language learner identity and learning commitment" (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Weedon (1997) argues that identity construction "occurs through the identification by the individual with particular subject positions within discourses" (p. 108). In Chen's case, her desires, investment, and motivation interwove to form her contemporary linguistic identity as a proficient English learner and user in the specific discourse of her narrated language life. This construct of identity was however fluid and multiple, as shown in the following excerpt taken from a group meeting at the end of Fall 2018.

Besides the three focal participant preservice teachers, Chen, Jing, and Gloria, another member of MATESOL cohort, Sophia, joined this meeting as well. She is a white woman with Italian as her first language. Before coming to the MATESOL program, Sophia (S in the excerpt below) had had over ten years of full-time or part-time English teaching experience in Italy, Columbia, and the U.S. Although she could not be included as a focal participant in my research due to time restrictions, Sophia attended one group meeting and two individual interviews with

me because of her strong interest in my research. In the following excerpt Sophia, Chen and I were discussing the issue of their future professional trajectories.

Excerpt 14: (from Group Meeting 1, 12/06/2018)

1. Y: *What do you think is or will be the biggest obstruction for you to seek a job as*
2. *an English teacher?*
- 3. S: *Accent! My Italian accent of speaking English. People will know I'm not a*
- 4. *native English speaker. They won't hire me. But you know what, when I was*
- 5. *in Columbia, I received a job offer of teaching English [in a private school] the*
- 6. *next day after I sent out my application. Why? Because I'm white. I'm from*
7. *Europe.*
8. C: *I'm not worried about my accent a lot. I might have accent here [in the U.S.],*
- 9. *but I'm not going to work here. In China, I don't have an accent because my*
- 10. *English speaking is better than most people. With my MATESOL degree, it*
11. *won't be difficult for me to find a job of teaching English, especially in my*
12. *hometown. We don't have many native-speaker teachers there.*

In this conversation in Excerpt 14 Sophia and Chen displayed how their racial, linguistic, and professional identities shifted in relation to their different sociocultural settings and imagined communities. Sophia's narrative depicted how her multiple identities as a nonnative English speaker with "*Italian accent*" (lines 3-4) and a white European were associated with different career prospects in different settings. In an English-speaking country like the U.S., her accent would be an obstacle for her to secure an English teaching job, as she stated, "*they won't hire me*" (line 4); but in a periphery English speaking country (Kachru, 1985) like Columbia, she "*received a job offer of teaching English [in a private school]*" (lines 5-6) immediately after her application.

There, her racial, ethnic, and national identities privileged her in the hierarchy of the job market despite her linguistic identity of being an L2 speaker of English. This supports Harris' (1993) proposal of the concept of "White as property," suggesting that the concept persists in current perceptions of racial identity and its embeddedness within TESOL.

Similarly, Chen's narrative displayed the existing hierarchies in ELT in her hometown in China, which accordingly impacted how she defined her linguistic identity and positioned herself in the hierarchical system. Her confidence about getting a teaching position in her home country originated from her belief that "*In China, I don't have an accent because my English speaking is better than most people*" (lines 9-10) and a MATESOL degree obtained in the U.S. would facilitate her job seeking. It is interesting to note that she did not claim accent was not important for English teachers, but "*I don't have an accent in China.*" While Tajfel, Billing, Bundy, and Flament (1971) point out that accent is a non-arbitrary marker for group membership, we can see from Chen's narrative that it can also be a fluid, context-dependent notion. Chen's understanding of accent was quite identical to the participant in Aneja's (2016) research on (non)nativeness and teacher identity in TESOL teacher education. Oliver, an international student from China who studied for his master's in TESOL in a northeastern university in the U.S., mentioned that accent and "authenticity" of pedagogical materials really matter in ELT. But different from Oliver, who ranked accents and language varieties based on race and nationality (e.g., Americans and British are *real* native speakers), Chen suggested the relative legitimacy of accent was related to language teaching in different sociocultural contexts. She viewed her variety of spoken English with the associated accent as being privileged in China. However, this same privilege turned into a disadvantage once she left the borders of her country and especially so when she was in the U.S., an "inner circle" country according to Kachru's (1990) categorization of English-speaking nations.

Despite these localized notions and acceptances, Sophia's and Chen's narratives in Excerpt 14 further substantiated that in the ELT profession, whiteness along with native-speakerism as a

well-established collective, institutional ideology, represents a widespread “cultural disbelief” (Holliday, 2015, p. 11), which puts non-white, non-native English teachers in a disadvantageous position in the job market, especially in English speaking countries or when they have to compete with so called “native” speakers for the same jobs. To dismantle being positioned as the non-native speaker subaltern, Kumaravadivelu (2016) advocates that individual multilingual preservice teachers need more guidance from the teacher education administration to learn, reflect, and act in a non-coercive context to become transformative learners and teachers. The following excerpt from Chen’s LLA in Winter 2019 partly displayed the raising of such an awareness after one quarter of study in the MATESOL program.

Excerpt 15 (from Chen’s LLA, Winter 2019)

*Through my learning experiences, I believe that interaction and communication is very
 → important for language learners because those are the chance for learners to use the most
 basic function of languages. [...] I also think accent is not the most important thing. I am
 a Chinese and it is fine for me to keep the variety that I represent. We do not need to feel
 → ashamed about this. I would also tell my students in the future that if you can communicate
 → with others smoothly, you do not have to erase your accent and pursue the British or
 → American accent.*

In Excerpt 15 quoted from the conclusion of her LLA, Chen expressed different attitudes towards “*accent*” and English proficiency from those she had stated in the interview and group meeting. In the first interview with me, as quoted in Excerpt 3, she emphasized the importance of “*speaking ability*,” which, in her explanation, was native-like, “*good pronunciation*.” Similarly, in the group meeting she asserted, “*In China, I don’t have an accent*” (quoted from Excerpt 2) when being compared with most English learners there. In contrast, in Excerpt 6 above, Chen explicitly

stated that “*interaction and communication is more important for language learners*” and expressed her acknowledgement of the English variety she represented. She went on to relinquish her future students’ possible desires to “*erase [their] accent and pursue the British or American accent*”. The dichotomy displayed in Chen’s narrative could be partly interpreted based on her different roles, identities, and multiple voices (Bakhtin, 1986) associated with different settings. When self-positioning as an EFL learner in the Chinese education context, she consciously or unconsciously embraced the prevalent idea of native speakers being more effective language teachers, as shown in Excerpt 9. As a potential job seeker in the Chinese market, she privileged her accent and the MATESOL degree acquired in the West, as shown in Excerpt 14. After she was exposed to the critical theories of English language learning and teaching during her MATESOL studies, her engagement with these ideas as part of her graduate work might have been instrumental in her understanding of the concept World Englishes and developing a more equitable, non-hegemonic outlook towards her own variety of English.

Fairclough’s (2001) critical language awareness (CLA) approach advocates the importance of raising “consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation” (p. 1). Chen’s reflection on her English learning experiences quoted in Excerpt 6 did show her increasing awareness of the hegemonic status of English and the assumption and hidden biases that shape her self- and other positioning. One of the goals of the teacher education program is to guide multilingual preservice teachers to examine and reflect on their conscious or unconscious alignments which help to reproduce existing language teaching practices and social inequities in terms of language, culture, race, and ethnicity. To further cultivate such an awareness is dependent on a curriculum based on praxis which encourages “a constant reciprocal relation between theory and practice” (Pennycook, 2001, p. 3) and fosters continuous self-reflection and self-conscious actions. This intended implication for MATESOL education will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

3.3.3 Hana: “No, I’m not a native English Speaker.”

Hana was an international student from South Korea when entering the MATESOL program. Different from Jing and Chen, and from most international students I knew who held an F1 student visa, Hana had spent a considerable amount of her life in The West. She spent two years studying in Canada at the elementary school level, i.e., from Grades 5 to 6. After that, she moved to the USA and had lived there till her graduate studies. She was also the only preservice teacher in my research who had ESL teaching experience in the U.S. before entering the MATESOL program. She had taught English part-time in a local community college for five years before she joined the MATESOL program. I identified Hana as an ideal participant for my project when I heard her self-introduction in the program orientation: “*I’m an international student from South Korea, though I’ve spent most of my student life here in the U.S. English is not my native tongue, though I’ve spoken it as my primary language for 15 years...*” (quoted from Yan’s Research Journal, 10/23/2018). I could not help but wonder, what stories does she have to tell to justify these apparently contrasting experiences. With the question playing around in my mind, I reached out to her by email and invited her to be one of my focal participants. I was pleasantly surprised and quite happy when, she responded to me immediately and agreed to be part of my study, showing great enthusiasm for the topic of my research. In the rest of the section, I will examine and analyze Hana’s narratives in her written documents and our conversations and construct a rich profile of her language learning and using experiences.

3.3.3.1 *Evolving from a marginalized ESL student to a caring teacher*

Hana consistently adopted a critical and self-reflective stance in her memoirs, interviews, and group discussions on the ELT contexts of her lived experiences as well as on TESOL as a larger field. When examining her LLA and LTA and reviewing our conversations, I began to form an

understanding of how her immigrant experiences might have influenced her identities in terms of language, culture, ethnicity, and nationality. In the following excerpt from her language learning autobiography (LLA), she describes an early English learning experience from Grade 5 which occurred when she first moved to Canada with her family.

Excerpt 16 (from Hana's LLA, Winter 2019)

- *After assessing my English proficiency, the first school I attended in Canada informed me that I needed to be placed in intermediate level ESL class, but they did not have one yet; Speaking only few words in English, I was placed in a regular English class. [...] I still get*
- *upset when I reflect on the seating arrangement of the classroom. The teacher gave all the*
- *“native” students individual desks and chairs, whereas the rest of the students who were*
- *not fluent in English were placed at one big, round table in the back of the room. Even though I was a student who had low proficiency in English, I raised questions regarding the seating arrangements: Why are the ESL students isolated from the rest of the class? Why do we not have our own desks? Are we different from others? [...] It felt like I was thrown out in the space, where everyone was secured in their space suits and I would be the only one panicking as I discover a hole in mine.*

Hana in this excerpt vividly recounted one of the earliest alienating and othering experiences she encountered as a young language learner. Because of the unavailability of proper ESL classes, she was placed in a regular English class, where she and other students “*who were not fluent in English*” were treated differently by being placed “*at one big, round table in the back of the room.*” Hana metaphorically narrated her feeling about the treatment as “*I was thrown out in the space, where everyone was secured in their space suits, and I would be the only one panicking as I discover a hole in mine*”. Hana did not articulate in her LLA the teacher's purpose for arranging

the seats in that way or its actual teaching effect, but the image of English language learners (ELLs) isolated physically at the back of the classroom was not a sign of a safe learning environment where all students would be comfortable and respected. Hana's metaphor of a spaceperson with a hole in her spacesuit displayed her loneliness and helplessness in this English class, where she and other ESL students were blatantly othered and discriminated against in terms of the distribution of the material resources of the classroom. Their individuality was stripped from them. They were all grouped together in an undifferentiated, homogenous group. The only identity of any relevance that was assigned to them in this class was that of non-fluent ELLs. Everything else they possessed, e.g., in terms of their literacy and educational and cultural backgrounds was deemed to be inconsequential. At the end of Excerpt 16, Hana raised the questions about the unequal treatment she and other ESL students had to face: "*Why are the ESL students isolated from the rest of the class? Why do not we have our own desks? Are we different from others?*" These questions present Hana's criticism and reflection on discriminating discourses and practices through which ESL learners are marginalized in English speaking countries. Hana recalled a similarly unpleasant experience in which ESL students were marginalized in English speaking countries in her language teaching autobiography (LTA) when she moved from Canada to the U.S. in Grade 7.

Excerpt 17 (from Hana's LTA, Fall 2018)

- *Again, there was no ESL class offered at the public middle school I attended. By that time,*
- *I was able to notice grammatical errors as I was conversing with others, though I continued to make countless blunders. I received C+ on my first English essay in 7th grade. My*
- *English teacher humiliated me in front of the class by reading some of my sentences with*
- *glitches out loud. As an introvert that time, I ended up crying in the classroom. Another discrimination occurred in the 9th grade, when I saw my classmates laughing at my accent as I participated in English class.*

It seemed that Hana’s unpleasant experiences associated with learning English as an immigrant K-12 student did not end after she moved from Canada to another English-speaking country, i.e., the U.S. Although she had made progress in English learning, “*I was able to notice grammatical errors as I was conversing with others*”, she was still not able to get satisfactory grades for English class. It was not articulated what standard was used to measure ESL students’ language proficiency in her school, but the ranking system obviously frustrated Hana greatly. An even more frustrating and painful experience in Hana’s story was the discouraging action from her English teacher, who “*humiliated me in front of the class by reading some of my sentences with glitches out loud*”. It was not surprising that Hana “*ended up crying in the classroom*”. For any young English learner in a new learning setting where the language is unfamiliar, the discouragement and discrimination from their teacher and peers would definitely make the learning process more difficult, frustrating and needlessly frightening. Fortunately, Hana’s language story had an upbeat ending. A turning point came in Grade 9, as she described later in her LLA:

Excerpt 18 (from Hana’s LLA, Winter 2019)

→ *Fortunately, my 9th grade English teacher was a heart-warming instructor. She often used her office hours to help me improve English skills. She also encouraged me to have confidence in becoming a bilingual. This became a turning point of learning English. With*
 → *greater self-esteem, I began to participate more in her class despite humiliation from my*
 → *classmates. My adolescent years shaped me to seek my identity as a bilingual; I promised myself to never forget my Korean background. I was no longer ashamed of my accent—for it showed my ethnicity and confirmed that I am a bilingual.*

In Hana's narrative, "*a heart-warming instructor*" led to the turning point in her English learning journey enabling her to transition from a lost, helpless learner as described in Excerpt 16 to an active learner with "*greater self-esteem*". Norton Pierce (1995) has already pointed out that a learner's ability to invest in the target language is closely related to the specific discourse where the conditions of power vary. The change of Hana's investment in English learning, e.g., her willingness to "*participate more in the class despite humiliation from classmates*", was the outcome of her "*heart-warming*" teacher's encouragement, which fostered not only her confidence and courage to ignore humiliation, but equally importantly, facilitated the nurturing of a more positive imagined self-image as a bilingual speaker. With these different, evolving conceptions of herself emerging from her varying lived experiences, Hana started embracing her previously (self) marginalized identity of an EFL/ESL learner with a Korean background and accent for "*it showed my ethnicity and confirmed that I am a bilingual*".

Hana's language story depicts Norton Peirce's (1995) conceptualization of investment as a state of flux, complexity, and contradiction. More importantly, it shows how being positioned in different learning contexts with different power dynamics, the language learner's multiple identities change over time and space. As a product of the situation in which it operates, one's identity is "distributed" (Bruner, 1990, p. 107) and reproduced in situated social interactions (Norton, 2000). A learner identity, as Mercer (2016) argues, is constructed through social interaction within the community of practice (e.g., EFL/ESL classrooms) and developed through being recognized and acknowledged. Coll and Falsafi (2010) also state that "having an identity is to have a sense of recognition as someone" (p. 217). The lack of an affirmative self- and other recognition in Hana's early stages of English learning threw her into an unsafe situation. Fortunately, her 9th Grade instructor encouraged and prompted her agentic reflection and actions empowering her to seek, establish, and embrace her new identity as a bilingual speaker, which she valued as an asset in her later ESL learning.

It should be noted that Hana's LLA was not a spontaneous product during her English learning period, but a course assignment produced for certain readers, i.e., her professor, peer reviewers, and me as the researcher. According to the assignment prompt of the course Theory and Practice of TESOL in Winter 2019, this assignment was "*designed to create a space that supports connections between teachers' lives and teachers' intellectual theorizing*" (quoted from the syllabus). In this sense, Hana's LLA was not only a personal linguistic memoir, but also a site for her to consciously reconstruct stories in a more meaningful way, after one quarter's study, to reconceptualize and reinternalize new understandings of self and social settings. This narrative agentive sense of self was linked to larger socio-cultural practices, as shown in the following excerpt from our conversation in the first interview, when I brought up the question of Hana's motivation to become an ESL teacher.

Excerpt 19 (from Interview 1 with Hana, 10/25/2018)

1. Y: *What motivated you most to become an ESL teacher?*
2. H: *I think it was my own experiences. I enjoy helping students [who are] struggling*
3. *to improve their English skills. Since I took ESL classes myself and was from the*
- 4. *same background as my students, [it] made me understand them better I can offer*
- 5. *them my empathy and experiences of learning English.*
6. Y: *What do you think is the most important quality for an ESL teacher?*
- 7. H: *Respect, definitely. You should show respect to cultural and language*
- 8. *differences students brought to the classroom. I saw some colleagues, in the*
- 9. *college I'm working, showing, you know, prejudice or stereotyped*
- 10. *understanding to certain cultures or nations. It's really terrible.*

Hana had rich teaching experiences in teaching “*a wide range of students in terms of culture and age*” (quoted from Hana’s LTA, Fall 2018) before and during the MATESOL program. During her undergraduate studies, she worked as a volunteer TA in a local community college for four years. Then she worked as an English literature teacher teaching Grade 5-8 students at an international school in Seoul, South Korea, for one year after graduation. When studying in the MATESOL program, she was hired as a part-time teacher in the same community college where she had volunteered during her undergraduate studies. In this conversation Hana expressed that her motivation for becoming an ESL teacher emanated from her own experiences, which, considering her narrated language stories in her LLA and LTA, were obviously related to her unpleasant experiences of English learning during her adolescent years. Experiencing similar struggles and frustrations as her students did in taking ESL classes, she was able to “*offer them my empathy and experiences of learning English*” (lines 4-5). The “*turning point*” as she narrated in Excerpt 3 when meeting a supportive ESL instructor must have also contributed to her growth as a confident bilingual speaker and prompted her to have empathetic feelings for students.

Hana’s motivation differed greatly from what Chen narrated in the previous section. Chen was motivated to become an English teacher for the real-world benefits and the capital associated with English learning. As she stated, “*I would help more people to know the charm of English*” and “*help those who want to use English to chase their dreams*” (quoted from Interview 1 with Chen, 10/18/2018). The two preservice teachers’ different language lives obviously serve as foundations to inform and shape their identities, including different desires for the “*promise of English*” (Pennycook, 1997) which contribute to their different beliefs and practices in classroom teaching, as I will discuss in detail in Chapter 4. In Excerpt 19, Hana stated that the most important quality of an ESL teacher is the ability to “*respect cultural and language differences students b[ring] to the classroom*” (lines 7-8). She showed non-affiliation with her colleagues’ “*prejudice or stereotyped understanding [of] certain cultures or nations*” (lines 9-10). It can be stated that

Hana's language learning experiences increased her awareness of the inequalities and power dynamics in ELT and were instrumental in shaping her unique identities and beliefs about language learning and teaching,

Preservice teachers' experiences are "a valuable resource that provides material for reflection on professional practice, help in understanding learners' trajectories, and assistance in meeting learners' diverse needs" (Ellis, 2018, p. 3). Through reflective narratives in her LTA, LLA and our conversations, Hana outlined her transformation from a marginalized English learner to a caring ESL teacher. Early and Norton (2012) state in their study on language learner stories and imagined identity, "Narratives are a fertile ground in which language learners, particularly those who have or are experiencing asymmetrical relations of power and legacies of discrimination, can link to the past and yet explore new identity formations and possible worlds through their imagination" (p. 199). In Hana's case, she reflected on her past experiences and linked them to a new identity of a caring, motivated ESL teacher. Her narratives allowed her to reconstruct her experiences in a more meaningful way and provide active agency for her to resist and understand her relationship to the world in empowering ways as discussed further in the following section.

3.3.3.2 Resisting/Negotiating a native speaker identity: Conflicts and resolutions

As discussed at the beginning of the previous section Hana had spent a considerable amount of her life in the West, but as an international student instead of a citizen. As mentioned above, she described this somewhat conflicting status in an ironic way in the introduction section of the first class I observed, "*I'm an international student from South Korea, though I've spent most of my student life here in the U.S; English is not my native tongue, though I've spoken it as my primary language for 15 years...*" (quoted from Yan's Research Journal, 10/23/2018). The theme of nativeness and the conflicts associated with it had been an outstanding theme in Hana's written

and oral narratives throughout the study. For example, in her letter to *Nativeness*⁶, Hana expressed her complicated feelings about this omnipresent term in English teaching and learning:

Excerpt 20 (from the Hana's TIPS Letter for Practicum Seminar, Spring 2019)

Dear Nativeness,

→ *I have been thinking a lot about you lately. I've encountered you here and there; it seems*
 → *like you're all over the place! [...] It seems like you, nativeness, can be useful to students*
 → *who want to better understand English but could sometimes be used as a weapon to those*
 → *who are not native speakers of American or British English. [...] I've personally*
 → *experienced many misjudgments and discriminations just because I didn't meet someone's*
or some institution's standard of a "native English speaker" [...] At this point, I'm kind of
lost about what that even means anymore. I wonder how you would define that. I'll hand it
over to you since it was distressing for me to even construe the meaning of it.

In this letter to "*Nativeness*" in Excerpt 20, Hana articulates her doubt, concern, query, expectations, and distress connected to this term. On the one hand, it "*can be useful to students who want to better understand English*", but on the other hand, it "*could sometimes be used as a weapon to those who are not native speakers of American or British English*". Her personal experience with "*Nativeness*" was not a pleasant one either, as she described, "*I've personally experienced many misjudgments and discriminations just because I didn't meet someone's or some institution's standard of a 'native English speaker'*". At the end of the letter, Hana expressed her distress to define what "*Nativeness*" means and even to "*construe the meaning of it*". Obviously,

⁶ This is an optional assignment for the course of Practicum in TESOL in Spring 2019, in which students were encouraged to write a letter to whoever they would like to talk to about their language learning and teaching experiences.

her distress over the denotation of “*Nativeness*” not only originates from the ambiguous, context-related theoretical constructs surrounding the term, but also from the practical myth associated with “*Nativeness*” which has influenced her language life and multiple related identities.

While Hana’s language story as she narrated in Excerpt 16-18 presents her experiences of being marginalized and discriminated against as a nonnative speaker in the school setting, her later lived experience in the U.S. for 15 years and competence in English seem to supply her with an identity of a native speaker in others’ eyes, e.g., to her colleagues in the MATESOL program and her colleagues when she worked in South Korea (which will be discussed in Excerpt 21). In one group discussion I observed in the course Theory and Practice of TESOL in Winter 2019, the discussion was around the question “Do native speakers make better teachers of a language?”. When discussing “what are native speakers?”, Marie (pseudonym), a female American MATESOL student, commented assertively to Hana, “*Of course, you’re a native speaker of English.*”, while Hana insisted, “*No, I’m not*” (quoted from Yan’s Research Journal, 02/25/2019). Similarly, in one group meeting with Hana, Jing, and Chen in Fall 2018, when I asked how they defined their linguistic identity, Hana stated that she preferred to be defined as “*a multilingual speaker of English, Korean, and Spanish*”, while Jing commented, “*but you’re still a native English speaker. The only difference is just an American passport*” (quoted from Group Meeting 1, 12/06/2018).

It can be seen from the interactions above that Hana’s self-positioning and other positioning in terms of “native speaker” contradicted in many ways. These conflicts between self- and other positioning reflected her conscious resistance to the designated identity imposed on her based on her language competence, as well as her attempt to negotiate her linguistic identity in the sociocultural setting where she interacts with others. Kubota and Fujimoto (2013) discuss the complexity, interaction, and diversity of identity by noting that for individual language teachers, identity construction is “not influenced solely by race or language in isolation, rather race, language, nationality and other social categories intersect in complex ways in social interactions

to shape their experiences” (p. 204). This social sense of identity was further manifested on several other occasions when we addressed the issue of native vs. non-native English speakers. In the following excerpt from our conversation in the first interview in Fall 2018, I brought up the question explicitly about Hana’s conception of her linguistic identity.

Excerpt 21 (from Interview 1 with Hana, 11/02/2019)

1. Y: *[...] so in this way, you’re a native English speaker, since you’ve spoken English*
2. *as your primary language since very young.*
- 3. H: *No, no ... I don’t think I’m a native English speaker, because it’s hard to define,*
- 4. *you know, what is native? And who is native? According to where one was born?*
- 5. *Her language competence? Or what else? As an ESL teacher, I don’t like the*
- 6. *distinction between “native” and “non-native teachers”, as it seems like a bar*
- 7. *for deciding whether you’re a “credit” or “non-credit” teacher. I prefer the*
8. *wording of “multilingual speaker teacher”, which means I speak more than one*
- 9. *language, and it could benefit my students with the similar background.*
10. Y: *Have you ever experienced being addressed as a “non-native English teacher”?*
- 11. H: *Yeah, definitely. I mean, by my appearance. I’m not a Caucasian, you know, with*
- 12. *blonde hair, blue eyes ... I had students in my first class, walking to me and*
- 13. *greeting me in such a way like, “Hey, you’re the teacher?” I don’t think they*
14. *meant to be offensive, but they definitely thought I was an Asian and I was not an*
15. *ideal English teacher.*

In the first half of the conversation in Excerpt 21, Hana explicitly expressed her resistance to the identity of “a native English speaker”, “because it’s hard to define what is native? And who is native” (lines 3-4). She reflected on the issue of the relationship among race, ethnicity, and

language by pointing out that neither one's birthplace nor language competence could be used to determine one's nativeness (lines 4-5). She went on to criticize the dichotomy between "native" and "non-native" speaker teachers because this dichotomy represented "*a bar for deciding whether you're a 'credit' or 'non-credit' teacher*" (lines 6-7). By self-defining as a "multilingual speaker teacher", Hana expressed her favored attitude toward the term for it acknowledges the linguistic repertoire those teachers represent and the benefits this can bring to students with similar backgrounds (lines 8-9). As Hana's letter to "*Nativeness*" quoted in Excerpt 19 and the conversation in Excerpt 21 display, her agentic reflection on her language learning experience led to more conscious resistance to the imposed identities either as a marginalized ESL learner or as a so-called native speaker based on her language competence. This consciousness not only helped her handle adverse experiences, but opened opportunities for her to seek and develop her multiple identities.

In the latter part of the conversation, Hana told a small story from her teaching career that displays how she negotiated her multiple linguistic, racial, and social identities in different interactions. In the story, her ESL student who greeted her with doubt, "*Hey, you're the teacher?*" (line 13) had obviously internalized the linguistic and racial construct of an ideal ESL teacher. To him or her, Hana's appearance and her Asian race, as Hana described, "*not a Caucasian ... with blonde hair, blue eyes*" (lines 11-12) could not be an indicator of a qualified ESL teacher, at least at first sight. In her narrative, Hana expressed her understanding of the student's, hopefully, unconscious bias about her role as an ESL teacher. But the dominant ideology of privileging white native speakers represented by the student's articulated doubt cannot be easily ignored or understood as normal for its great threat to NNESTs. Thus, Hana reported in the letter to nativeness, "*I've personally experienced many misjudgments and discriminations just because I didn't meet someone's or some institution's standard of a 'native English speaker'*" (quoted from Excerpt 20). During the process of struggling for the ownership of the English language and for

the legitimacy to teach it, multilingual teachers like Hana need to consistently navigate among the situational and contextual emergence of their identities, and conflicting positionings ascribed to them by questioning, resisting, negotiating, and (re)constructing the sense of “who am I” within their interactions with colleagues, students, researcher, and others.

The conflicts in negotiating her multiple identities around her linguistic and racial background which manifested in Hana’s narrative is further complicated in different settings of her life. Hana had to leave the U.S. upon the completion of academic studies because she had not acquired a fulltime job offer or an Optional Practical Training (OPT) position by then. After all her applications for a teaching position in different-leveled schools were rejected, Hana returned to South Korea and spent one year working as an English literature teacher in an international school in Seoul. We talked about her living and teaching experiences there in our second interview.

Excerpt 22 (from Interview 2 with Hana, 02/21/2019)

1. Y: *How did you like the experience of returning to South Korea after so many*
2. *years?*
3. H: *I did love it, you know, going back to the place where I was born and seeing*
4. *my old friends. I especially love the experience of working in the international*
- 5. *school. I was treated like, you know, a real English teacher, although I*
- 6. *thought I still lacked teaching experiences and skills.*
7. Y: *Was it easy for you to get the teaching position immediately after graduating*
8. *from college?*
- 9. H: *Oh, yes. I don’t think it took much time or trouble. I applied for the job online*
10. *and got the offer soon. I suppose it was because I speak both English and Korean.*
- 11. *And you know, they had preference for teachers with overseas background.*
12. Y: *Did the school have native English speaker teachers? I mean, teachers from*

14. *America, Canada, or other English-speaking countries?*
15. H: *Sure, they did, white Americans and Canadians.*
16. Y: *How did you like working with teachers from different backgrounds?*
- 17. H: *Erm...actually, we didn't talk a lot, about teaching stuff or what. We belonged*
- 18. *to different groups. You know, I don't look like a native speaker, but, [pausing*
19. *and laughing], I didn't belong to the other group either, the group of local*
20. *teachers.*

Hana in Excerpt 22 expressed her enjoyment for her work and life in South Korea. Besides seeing old friends, the treatment she received “*as a real English teacher*” (line 5) in the international school was obviously another source of gratification. The fact that she acquired the teaching position without “*too much time or trouble*” (line 9) also enhanced her work experience. The real reason behind her being hired was unknown, but Hana assumed her bilingual background and the school’s preference for “*teachers with overseas background*” (line 11) must have played an essential role. These initial experiences contrast vividly with what she experienced in the U.S. where all her job applications came to naught. Although Hana did not depict in detail how she was treated in the international school by her colleagues and students, her statement that she was treated “*like a real English teacher*” revealed that her legitimacy to teach English was acknowledged in the international school in South Korea, despite her lack of “*teaching experiences and skills*” (line 6). While the story she narrated in Excerpt 20 of the student asking if she was really the teacher, and her experience of being rejected when applying for multiple teaching positions in USA displays the negative other positioning imposed on her, it cannot be said that the seemingly welcoming treatment she received in South Korea was a positive sign of a more equitable and just English teaching environment. Like Chen’s belief that she would be easily hired in China, her home country, with a MATESOL degree gained in the States (as discussed in Section 3.3.2),

Hana's experience also manifested the prevalence of existing hierarchies and discriminations within ELT and the job market globally. In both their cases, a MATESOL degree from the USA resulted in easy jobs. One is left wondering about the fate of teachers who graduate from similar programs in South Korea and China. Are they also offered jobs with such ease? What emerges from such questions is not only the divide between native and non-native English teachers but also the hierarchy of teacher education programs in relation to their location in the 'desired' Western, English-speaking countries as opposed to programs located in Kachru's outer and expanding circles.

Another theme that emerged from Hana's story in the latter part of Excerpt 22 needs some analysis. When talking about her interactions with her colleagues in South Korea, Hana noted that there seemed to be two groups of teachers, i.e., the white native speaker teachers from the U.S. or Canada and the local teachers from South Korea. Hana self-positioned in-between the groups, saying, "*You know, I don't look like a native speaker, but, I didn't belong to the other group either, the group of local teachers*" (lines 17-18). In her narrative, Hana seemed to have encountered the tangible conflict between the self-chosen and imposed positionalities. It was similar to the Japanese American native English-speaking teachers in Kubota and Fujimoto's (2013) study, who experienced two-way racial exclusion, marginalization and Othering when teaching in Japan. However, different from the participants in Kubota and Fujimoto's study (2013), who self-identified determinedly as Americans of Japanese descent or white Americans, Hana was in the process of resisting and negotiating her identity in terms of nationality, culture, and language. As discussed in Excerpt 20, she rejected being positioned as a native English speaker by her Caucasian colleagues in the MATESOL program. It could be that Hana's feeling of being excluded were not only because of her immediate surroundings, but emanated, at least partly, from her previous language learning experiences. Although having left South Korea as a child, it was easily understandable that she did not have the same exposure to and enculturation and socialization as

that of her South Korean counterparts. In the same way, having been consistently marginalized and othered in the Canadian and US contexts of her lived experiences, it was not surprising that Hana continued to feel alienated from her racially white-presenting American and Canadian colleagues while in South Korea.

Hana's narrated stories demonstrated how one's language lives in their early stage of language learning, especially in a transnational, globalized world cast long, sometimes very dark shadows on their later linguistic, cultural, and professional identity formations. In the next chapter I will discuss how the positive and negative dimensions of these "complex, multi-faceted emotional experiences" (Lasky, 2005, p. 901) play an important role in Hana's professional identity construction and agency, and how an emotional approach offers the opportunity for pedagogical transformation in her teaching practice.

3.3.4 Gloria: "The opportunities closed in front of me."

Gloria was an international student from Spain. She had obtained two other master's degrees before coming to the MATESOL program: one in Education in Spain and the other in Hispanic Studies in the U.S. Alongside her diverse educational background, she also had rich language teaching experiences in both Spanish and English. She had three years of experience working as a Spanish language instructor in the same college where she was enrolled for MATESOL and two years of experience interning as an English language TA in Spain.

3.3.4.1 Desire of leaning and teaching English

Gloria's English language learning experience, like Chen and Jing, was largely in formal EFL settings starting at a very young age in her home country. As mentioned in Section 2, since the beginning of this century, Spain has introduced reforms related to the teaching of foreign languages, with English as one of two additional languages as a compulsory subject in elementary

school. In fact, Spain is one of the few European countries where English is taught earliest in their education (Caraker, 2016). Gloria’s narrative of her early English learning experience in her LLA depicts how English was valued and desired in Spain, an “expanding circle” context (Kachru, 1990).

Excerpt 23 (from Gloria’s LLA, Winter 2019)

—→ *Since my first English language class in third grade in elementary school, I could see*
 —→ *foreign languages and cultures were going to play an essential role in my ordinary life.*
 —→ *Coming from a small town in southern Spain, neither did my friends nor I had the chance*
 —→ *to take English courses beyond school. I remember being excited every time I heard our*
 —→ *teacher speaking the “Shakespearian language”—as we referred to it in class— or*
 —→ *watching movies in [British] English without subtitles or dubbing and I relistened the songs*
our teacher used to play in class. [At that time], my main goal was to be like the native
speakers in the English textbook. When my English teacher told us anecdotes about when
he used to live in England, I realized English would offer me a way to leave my small town
and discover new places around the world.

At the beginning of her LLA as quoted in Excerpt 23, Gloria depicted an image of a young Spanish student desiring English and the cultural, economic, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1987) associated with learning English. For Gloria and her friends in a small town in southern Spain, English was a magical instrument that would “*play an essential role in my ordinary life.*” They were excited at hearing their teacher’s “*Shakespearian language*” or watching the original versions of English movies with British accents. All their love for this foreign language evidently originated not merely from the language itself, but from the desire for the promise of the language. For Gloria, it was, “*to be like the native speakers in the English textbook,*” to live a life as her

English teacher, and more importantly, to get an opportunity to “*leave my small town and discover new places around the world*”.

Ahmed (2010) defines desire as “both what promises something, what gives us energy, and also what is lacking, even in the very moment of its apparent realization” (p. 31). In Gloria’s case the desire to learn English is what promises something – to “*leave my small town and discover new places around the world*”, and what is lacking – to be “*like my teacher and the people in movies*”, and “*to be like the native speakers in the English textbook*”. However, the lack, according to Ahmed (2010), is felt even when one attains the desire. This suggests that there is something in the conceptualization of this desire that will make it impossible to be fully attained. Thus, Gloria’s desire to be like the characters in the movies she watched or the books she read, or to live the imagined lives of her English teacher, all of whom were native speakers of English is a desire, which, no matter, how much proficiency she attained in English, will probably remain at some level unattainable because she cannot transcend her ethnic and national origins and transform into these native British speakers, nor will she ever be able to sound exactly like them as we know learning accents are largely constrained by biological age. Thus, even were she to gain full proficiency in English (which she, in fact, possesses), the complex intersectionalities of her ethnic, linguistic, and national identities and the manner in which these are adversely positioned in diverse global contexts will remain barriers to her gaining admission into her imagined communities symbolizing her desire of living the lives of the native speakers she mentions.

Such desires for English as shown in Gloria’s narrative can be described as “postcolonial desires for colonial English” (Motha and Lin, 2020), a phenomenon observed in many independent societies. Proposing a revisioning of TESOL that places desire at center, Motha and Lin (2020) point out such desires are naturalized and normalized by many practices in dominant ELT discourses, e.g., the curriculum representing the hegemony of English. In Gloria’s story, the teaching materials in their English class, i.e., English movies with British accent and the images

of native speakers in their textbooks are such “curriculum artefacts” (Gray, 2010) used in English education, consciously or unconsciously reinforcing the ideology of new capitalism and neoliberalism. Nevertheless, for individual learners, it is an almost impossible task to resist the desires without explicit critical pedagogy. At that age these desires unsurprisingly motivated Gloria to invest in learning English and pursue a degree in English Philology in college, which in return, rewarded her investment with a potentially promising future, as Gloria narrated in the later part of her LLA:

Excerpt 24 (from Gloria’s LLA, Winter 2019)

*I received a three-week scholarship to study English in Newcastle. The time I was waiting
 → for all the previous years had arrived; I was going to be able to leave my little hometown
 → and discover a new place. All these years I had been fighting for my dream, finally my hard
 → work was paid off. This time I could travel to English speaking countries and focus only on
 → teaching English. Once I finished, I would be able to teach English in Spain. As Motha
 (2014) points out, “English language carries enticing meanings and is connected to social
 advancement, opportunity, modernity, wealth, enlightenment, Whiteness, and
 cosmopolitanism.”*

Gloria in Excerpt 24 displays how her investment in learning English was rewarded. Having received “*a three-week scholarship to study English in Newcastle*” in the U.K., Gloria believed her dream of “*leaving [her] little hometown and discover a new place*” would come true. She “*could travel to English speaking countries and focus only on teaching English* and then she “*would be able to teach English in Spain*”. Benesch (2013) points out that desire is not only a natural emotion emerging from people’s inner self, but it is actually created through interactive personal and social elements in particular settings. Because of the “indisputable status [of English]

as a world language” (Dörnyei et al. 2006, p. 23), it is inevitable that “the acquisition of English is saturated by the particular meanings that the language carries globally in today’s world” (Motha & Lin, 2014, p. 331). For Gloria, her desire to learn English, especially native-like English, was exactly what learners associate with the language: the promise of a career and a bright future.

It is interesting to note that Gloria in her LLA explicitly expressed her awareness of the desire for English by quoting Motha’s (2014)’s comments. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Gloria had taken two core courses of the MATESOL program and two relevant courses in Education before she was formally enrolled in the program. In Spring 2017 when taking her graduate studies in Hispanic Studies in the same college, she selected a colloquium course in TESOL focused on race and English language. Obviously, she had been exposed to these critical theories and was able to integrate them in her reflexive autobiographies in thoughtful ways. The critical scholarship students read during their coursework along with their reflective autobiographies contributed to the reconstitution of their desires for English and facilitated development of professional identity (Yazan, 2019). In her LLA, Gloria also reviewed and reflected on her attitudes towards different English varieties and their implications as displayed in Excerpt 25.

Excerpt 25 (from Gloria’s LLA, Winter 2019)

When I was thirteen, it was the first time I learned about the preference of one English variety to another. My English teacher at that time corrected one of my classmates because
 → *she used the word “elevator” instead of “lift,” giving preference to the vocabulary and*
 → *pronunciation of British English. Years later, during my first year of college, my teacher*
spoke American English, and I realized one of the things I wanted the most was to finish
 → *my degree having an American English accent. To pursue that, I did one-semester study*
abroad at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. After reading Canagarajah (1999a)
I understood why American English and the economic opportunities that will open to me

- *were attractive, but I did not realize at that time the Alabamian English was considered*
- *Periphery and would not open to me many doors to the rest of American English speakers.*

In Excerpt 25 from her LLA, Gloria depicted how different English varieties were valued and desired in different settings in her English learning process. While her school setting worshipped “*the vocabulary and pronunciation of British English*” as the teaching norm, her experience in college study inspired her desire for “*having an American English accent*”. In Excerpt 24 Gloria also reports her desire for her schoolteacher’s “*Shakespearian English*” and the teacher’s “*anecdotes about living in England*” when she was in elementary school. After entering college and gaining the opportunity to “*leave my small town and discover new places around the world*” as Gloria stated in Excerpt 24, she developed a new desire for an American accent, which represents “urban and socially attractive” (Carrie, 2017, p. 442) lifestyles according to Carrie’s (2017) findings in her study on college students’ preference for English varieties. Carrie (2017) also suggests that while Spanish EFL students associated British Received Pronunciation (RP) with their future profession, they displayed greater solidarity and stronger affiliative feelings towards General American (GenAm) because of the powerful influence of USA’s culture in the form of Hollywood, popular songs, TV shows, celebrities, sports, etc.

At the end of this excerpt, Gloria expressed her awareness of the economic capital associated with American accent after reading the scholarship of Canagarajah (1999a), but at the same time, by stating that “*Alabamian English was considered Periphery and would not open to me many doors to the rest of American English speakers*”, Gloria was demonstrating that she too has internalized the dominant discourse that creates a hierarchy of different varieties of American English. In this hierarchy, English varieties spoken in the U.S. South are less prestigious. This suggests that besides reading critical scholarship and engaging in autobiographic reflection, student teachers need more theoretical and practical guidance to deconstruct the dominant

discourse by consciously resisting the reproduction of hegemonic ideology in ELT and rethinking the purpose of ELT beyond its instrumental aim.

3.4.4.2 Investment in other additional languages

It is discussed in Section 2 that Spain, as many other EU countries, is under the influence of the dominance of English particularly in education and business. Nonetheless, there have been continuous efforts across the country to promote linguistic diversity and for a revival of local languages (Llurda & Doiz, 2015). In a study of college students' attitudes towards multilingualism in two bilingual universities in Spain, Llurda and Doiz (2015) found that students needed more opportunities to learn foreign languages other than English and that a range of cultures should be presented while teaching these languages. Gloria in her LLA also portrayed her experience of learning French, Italian, and Russian in different settings.

Excerpt 26 (from Gloria's LLA, Winter 2019)

[In middle school] I was eager to learn this other language [French], since the previous summer I learned some French words with a French family I met in a vacation in the south of Spain. [However,] the experience was not appealing. I hated to memorize verb → conjugations, grammar and how we needed to pronounce according to the different vowel → combinations. I had to study French for six years, and I thought I could get rid of it once I → finished high school and started university. [...] I believe the formal instruction scenario I had with French determined I was not particularly eager to study the language. If I had more exposure to the language without focusing specifically on grammar, I would have felt more motivated to keep exploring the language.

In this excerpt Gloria depicted a different image of herself as a French learner from that of an English learner. While she invested much time and energy in English learning, as she described earlier in her LLA, “*I relistened the songs played in the class [...]. I loved decoding the new words and every day I learned new words and sentences so one day I could be like my teacher and the people in the movies*” (quoted from Gloria’s LLA, Winter 2019), her enthusiasm for French did not seem to reach such a level. The difficulty in learning the language such as memorizing “*verb conjugations*” and “*vowel combinations*” surpassed her interest which originated from a meeting with French speakers to such an extent that she was eager to “*get rid of it*”. Gloria went on to analyze the reason that dampened her interest as “*the formal instruction scenario*” in which grammar was overemphasized without enough exposure to the language. While it is unknown what kinds of teaching methods or strategies were applied in Gloria’s high school to teach her the French language, it could be safely assumed that they were not as “interesting” as those in English language teaching which seemed to stimulate and motivate her to a greater extent. With English as lingua franca and one of the main instructional languages in schools and colleges, the Communicative Language Teaching Method (CLT) sponsored by the Council of Europe has been increasingly promoted in ELT in formal educational settings since the beginning of the century. Criado and Sánchez’s (2009) survey of ELT textbooks on the secondary and adult level in Spain shows the prevailing communicative nature of all the materials, which was above 50%.

Therefore, Gloria’s different investment towards learning English and French could be attributed to different philosophies and approaches in teaching the two languages in Gloria’s educational setting. When learning English, students might have more exposure to and interaction with the language, such as listening to songs, watching movies, and “*speaking practices*” as Gloria mentioned in her LLA. It should be noted that more interaction-oriented methods employed in ELT do promote students’ interest and “communicative skills” on one hand, but on the other hand, it reinforces the cultural stereotype and other features of neoliberalism as many researchers warn

(e.g., Motha and Lin, 2014). It has been an emerging task for both individuals and the state to develop multilingualism without subscribing to the historical and contemporary hegemony in language teaching and learning.

Besides the review and reflection on teaching methods in learning foreign languages, Gloria also discussed her motivation for different languages, as displayed in Excerpt 27.

Excerpt 27 (from Gloria's LLA, Winter 2019)

→ *My experience learning Italian was different from that of English and French. I did not*
 → *plan to study Italian. My roommate [when I lived in Estonia], who later became my best*
 → *friend, was an Italian. Therefore, my first exposure to this new language was through my*
 → *friends by speaking and listening. Due to its similarity to my first language, I learned it*
fast. My Italian friend said I sounded like a native speaker. So, once I went back to my
home country, I decided to enroll in a formal scenario. My best accomplishment in learning
this language was when I worked for three months in Rome. Learning the language and
catching up with Italian friends has been a hobby instead of a duty. I can say that my
experience of learning this language was based on the interest and motivation I showed to
it. [...] With English and Italian, I feel motivated to study them and I am eager to become
 → *like a native speaker of them.*

As Gloria told in Excerpt 27, her Italian learning started from an unplanned meeting with an Italian roommate and her “*first exposure to this new language was through [her] friends by speaking and listening*”. Her friend’s comment that she “*sounded like a native speaker*” further encouraged her to learn the language formally. The “*best accomplishment*” came from the three months of working in Italy by “*catching up with Italian friends*”. Gloria concluded that as learning

English, her Italian learning was motivated by interest in the language and eagerness to “*become like a native speaker*”.

While Gloria conveyed the same interest in English and Italian learning, it could be seen that the interest originated from different sources. English, as lingua franca of the European Union and one of the dominant instructional languages in educational settings in Spain, cast its “charm” or might have worked as a “curse” in Motha and Lin’s (2020) words on the country and individuals by means of its hegemonic status and apparently inductive promise. The narrated language stories of Jing, Chen, and Gloria, though with unique traces of their respective living and working settings, all bore the distinctive marks of English imperialism and fallacies associated with ELT (Phillipson, 1992). While Gloria states that she was eager to “*become like a native of them [English and Italian]*”, her eagerness for the latter was more related to her interest in using the language, as she did in Rome, rather than to any cultural, economic, or social capital (Bourdieu, 1987) associated with the language. However, the desire for speaking English like a native speaker or acquiring the native-like accent, as expressed in Jing, Chen, and Gloria’s narratives, was not merely an indicator of being bilingual or multilingual, but a desire to be included in the imagined community represented by NESs and therefore to gain the ownership of the language and legitimacy to work as a “real” English teacher.

Gloria’s uneven language learning experiences and different investments in foreign languages showcase the challenge faced by the advocates of linguistic diversity. The ELT/TESOL field needs to liberate itself from its native speaker fetishes by simultaneously undoing native-speakerism and achieving cultural continuity and linguistic diversity. Only in a counter discourse, are multilingual learners and teachers able to safeguard their identities and their sense of who they are (Kumaravadivelu 2003). In addition, student teachers need to be guided and encouraged to reexamine their investment in learning language, making “a meaningful connection between

[their] desire and commitment to learn a language and their changing identity” (Norton Pierce, 1995, p. 354).

3.3.4.3 Identity (re)construction in language learning

Besides narrating her experiences in learning different languages in terms of desire and investment, Gloria also depicted the interwoven relationship among the languages in her life as a language learner and teacher. In particular, she reflected on the different relationships between English and her other languages. Her discussion and reflection in the following excerpt display how her multilingual identity changed and was (re)shaped in different settings.

Excerpt 28 (from Interview 1, 11/07/2019)

1. Y: *Which language you think is your second language?*
- 2. G: *It depends where I'm. When I was in Spain, it was English, but when I'm here,*
- 3. *I'd say Italian is my second language.*
4. Y: *Why is it that? I mean, what's the difference between ...*
- 5. G: *In the academic situation in America, I don't feel comfortable in speaking English*
- 6. *and I don't trust my language skills, but I feel more confident in speaking Italian.*
7. *But when I was in Spain, I taught English. You know, in the high school I interned*
8. *students loved me. They loved the game I brought to the class. When I left after*
9. *the internship, they said I was one of the best English teachers they had.*
10. Y: *So, it depends on the contexts, right?*
11. G: *Yes and no. It also depends on the language. When I speak English here, I try*
- 12. *to be way more, how to say, cautious, because it's not my first language and*
- 13. *I don't want to say wrong words to make people uncomfortable. But when I*
- 14. *speak Italian, you know, Italians have a special proudness of their language, so*

- 15. *I must behave like that. I feel confident when I speak Italian with Italian*
 16. *friends here.*
17. Y: *So, you mean you have better proficiency in Italian than in English?*
- 18. G: *No, no. I speak English better than Italian now. It's not about the proficiency,*
 → 19. *you know. Here in the academic situation, I don't feel comfortable when*
 → 20. *speaking English, because I sometimes can't find the right words, but I should*
 21. *be more fluent, you know, as a MATESOL student.*

The conversation in Excerpt 28 displays Gloria's changing identity related to language use in different settings. As a multilingual speaker of Spanish, English, Italian and French, she expressed her different relationships with those languages. While she defined English as her second language (L2) in the setting of Spain, she preferred to claim Italian as her L2 when she was in America (lines 2-3). We could see from her explanation that the context in which the language was used partly played a role in this switch. She taught English in Spain and was a beloved English teacher to her students, but in the academic setting in America, she somewhat lost the confidence as she stated, "*I don't feel comfortable in speaking English and I don't trust my language skills*" (lines 5-6). Her behavior towards speaking English was "*very cautious*" because "*it's not my first language, I don't want to say wrong words to make people uncomfortable*" (lines 12-13). As for Italian, although it is not her L1 either, she displayed more confidence, which she attributed to the language itself, "*Italians have a special proudness of their language, so I must behave like that*" (lines 14-15).

Besides the context and the languages themselves, Gloria's changing identity obviously played a more important role in her relationship with English and Italian. She assigned herself different linguistic identities depending on geographical situations and her other social identities. While her reflective self-positioning and interactive other positioning (e.g., by her students in the high school she interned) was of a successful English teacher in Spain, her identity as an EFL

teacher was seemingly self-deprived in the academic setting in America, and her reflective self-positioning became that of an international student with Spanish as her L1 and Italian as her L2. Although Gloria did not mention how she was positioned by others, such as her colleagues, students, instructors, etc., in terms of her linguistic identity in the U.S., it could be assumed from her concern that “*I don’t want to say wrong words to make people uncomfortable*” (line 14) that she was attempting to avoid a negative other-positioning image. By impacting the whole “repertoire of acts one has access to” (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003, p. 5), this kind of interactive other positioning affected not only Gloria’s investment in learning a particular language, but also her access to particular identities in different settings so that some identity positions were strategically claimed or abandoned in some discourses depending on her geographical situatedness.

In the latter part of the conversation, Gloria further displayed that her linguistic identity was more influenced by the context-related reflective self-positioning than her language competency. Although she thought “*I speak English better than Italian now*” (line 18), she didn’t feel comfortable with speaking English “*here*”, “*in the academic situation*” (lines 19-20). Obviously, this anxiety was not merely from that “*I can’t find the right words*” (line 20), but also from the disparity between her “actual self”, i.e., the one that currently prevails, and “ought self” or “ideal self”, i.e., the one positioned by society or an external group as the ideal goal (Lauriala & Kukkonen, 2005). Although Gloria sounded a very fluent speaker to me, her ideal self, that of a more fluent speaker of English because she was a MATESOL student and a prospective English language teacher suggested that she had a still higher expectation from herself regarding her proficiency in English. It seems that she felt that this more exalted proficiency would also help her gain membership into her desired community of English language teachers in the U.S. Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004) point out that identity formation involves struggle and negotiation of multiple positions in relation to an individual’s self by stating that (preservice) teachers “have to

make sense of varying and sometimes competing perspectives, expectations, and roles that they have to confront and adapt to” (p. 115). All such struggles are evident in Gloria’s narratives.

The support and scaffolding preservice multilingual teachers could get from their immediate study settings, i.e., from faculty members in MATESOL, practicum mentors, their peers in their cohort, and the students they teach, could make the sense-making process easier to navigate. At the end of her LLA, Gloria actually expressed her thoughtful reflection on this process, as shown in Excerpt 29.

Excerpt 29 (from *Gloria’s LLA, Winter 2019*)

→ *I see nowadays that through media and textbooks everything is linked to native speakerism. In other words, as Kumaravadivelu (2016) says: “native speaker’s presumed language competence, learning styles, communication patterns, conversational maxims, cultural beliefs, and even accent as the norm to be learned and taught” (p. 8). [...] Later, after reading Kubota and Lin (2006) and Kumaravadivelu (2016) I realized things were very hard and different for non-native speakers of English to find a job and the necessity to work together as a group to make society aware of these injustices. [...] There are, of course, forces and frustration I need to face in this path of becoming a language teacher. The first one would be to reflect about not becoming a native speaker of a language but to be proficient in it. Besides, as I try to implement these ideas in my own language learning experience, I should transmit to my students in order to avoid the same frustration I have experienced along the years in my pursuit to become a native speaker of a language.*

Akin to Jing’s disillusionment with her career prospect in the U.S. as she reported in our group discussion, Gloria expressed the similar frustration, “*I realized things were very hard and different for non-native speakers of English to find a job*”, but at the same time Gloria displayed

her reflection on the concept of “native speakerism” during her observation that “*through media and textbooks everything is linked to native speakerism*”. By quoting Kumaravadivelu’s (2016) comment on this hegemonic concept, Gloria critically reexamined her previous aspiration to “*become a native speaker*”. She went on to advocate for a more actionable movement such as “*the necessity to work together as a group to make society aware of these injustices* and the implication for her future teaching, i.e., “*I should transmit to my students in order to avoid the same frustration I have experienced along the years in my pursuit to become a native speaker of a language*”. It could be seen that the exposure to the critical scholarship against the dominant discourse in ELT cultivated Gloria’s awareness of the inequity in this field. More importantly her agentic reflection on her multilingual identity provided her more agency to use the narrative as a site “for transformation and resistance” (Zembylas, 2005, p. 214). Llorca (2009) observes that NNSTs appear to have “accepted formulations, proposals, and attitudes that relegate them to mere spectators and at times executioners” of native speaker norms (p. 119). Gloria’s story witnessed the necessity and importance of exploring NNEST preservice teachers’ multilingualism, rather than merely focusing on their status vis-à-vis through a monolingual lens (Moussu & Llorca, 2008). In the next chapter, I will examine and discuss how this aspect of Gloria, i.e., her multilingualism, contributed to her language teaching belief and practice.

3.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have endeavored to demonstrate the uniqueness of each of the four participants’ narrated language stories and how they engage in a continuous process of (re)constructing their language-related identities in their narratives. Despite belonging to the same so-called, over-homogenized identity category of “NNESTs”, their stories demonstrate complicated, discursive, fluid, and contextual processes of identity (re)constructions. For example,

while both Jing and Chen were international students from China with somewhat similar language learning contexts and language proficiency levels, their reflective self-positioning and future self-images varied in distinct ways. Chen categorically stated, “I don’t have an accent in China” but Jing concluded rather despairingly, “I’m not a native speaker here and couldn’t find a job”. Hana, despite being positioned by her fellow cohort member and local colleagues in South Korea as a native English speaker, faced and continuously struggled with profound challenges to her legitimacy as an English language teacher. While many of these conflicts were related to how she was positioned by others based on race and nationality, some of these doubts also seemed to emanate from her own conflicted self-positionings. Gloria rediscovered and embraced her multilingual identity, but still felt at a loss as to how to assess her linguistic repertoires and employ her multilingualism in her language learning and teaching practices.

It can be seen from these narrative language stories that each of these women preservice teachers negotiated and navigated their linguistic, professional identities through different reflexive self and interactive other positionings while engaged in the process of (re)inventing and resisting notions of (non)nativeness and linguistic inequity. These resistances and negotiations suggest that dichotomous native and non-native categories are too simplistic, static and lack nuance. What we see instead are stories that reveal the fluid, context-embedded and extremely complex processes implicated in identity reconstructions. Simply categorizing these women with their long, complex histories and diverse individual lived experiences as non-native speakers would diminish the uniqueness of their lived realities. It would continue the deeply hegemonic and inequitable practice of othering international students whose linguistic backgrounds are a rich bricolage of diverse languages and English varieties.

CHAPTER 4: BECOMING A LANGUAGE TEACHER -- IDENTITY (RE)CONSTRUCTION IN TEACHING PRACTICE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Many teacher educators and researchers have reiterated the essential role of the practicum and the teaching opportunities it provides to preservice teachers in teacher education (e.g., Bloomfield, 2010; Ferrier-Kerr, 2009; Grudnoff, 2011; Johnson & Golobek, 2013; Smith and Lev-Ari, 2005). Not only does it afford sites for student teachers to integrate theories into practice, but the practicum teaching also creates a valuable space where student teachers learn teaching through “meaningful feedback and constructive criticism of teaching performance” (Smith & Lev-Ari, 2005, p. 299) from their apprentice mentors. It also provides a site for student teachers to (re)form and (re)visit their teaching beliefs and assumptions. Since learning to teach is more a “process of becoming” (Britzman, 2003) than merely a “process of acquiring” (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009), more researchers approach the issue of teaching practicum from the analytical view of identity (e.g., Kayi-Aydar, 2015; Miller, 2007; Trent, 2010, 2013; Yazan & Peercy, 2018; Yuan, 2016). During the “process of becoming”, “one’s past, present, and future are set in dynamic tensions” (Britzman, 2003, p. 31), such as the ones “between knowing and being, thought and action, theory and practice, knowledge and experience, the object and the subjective” (Britzman, 2003, p. 26). For student teachers, navigating the process hence constitutes challenging experiences involving struggle, conflict, a sense of achievement as well as of deep frustration and loneliness, in which they have to “make sense of varying and sometimes competing perspectives, expectations, and roles that they have to confront and adapt to” (Beijaard et al., 2004, p. 115).

It is not hard to imagine that multilingual preservice teachers, due to their conventionally marginalized positions in the NES-dominant ESL/EFL field, would encounter even more

challenges in their teaching practicum in terms of emotion, professional legitimacy, and institutional structure. As an essential part of a teacher education program, it is not sufficient for the practicum to work merely as providing opportunities for teaching practice (Grudnoff, 2011). Rather, it should function as “joint enterprise” and “shared repertoire”, and, as Wenger (1998) describes in their communities of practice framework, to support student teachers to interact and express their identities as members of a particular mutual engagement group. Although possessing the same features concerned with “practice, meaning, and identity” (Barton & Tusting, 2005, p. 2), as a school-based practice, the practicum could be potentially marginalizing. This suggests that there might exist conflicts within communities and asymmetric relations of power (Barton & Tusting, 2005). These might manifest themselves variously within interactions between student teachers and their students, mentors, program faculties and institutional authorities. During the process of data collection for my current study, I witnessed how focal participants struggled to (re)construct their professional identities in all these interactions. Of particular salience was the complex, multidimensional site of identity formation within practicum activities. I observed or was informed of how they managed and sometimes failed to navigate and overcome the challenges to discover their “identities-in-practice” (Varghese et al., 2005). In the following sections, I will demonstrate and analyze the complex journeys of each focal participant in detail.

4.2 THE PRACTICUM IN THE MATESOL PROGRAM

According to the website of the MATESOL program where I conducted the research, the Practicum in TESOL, as a core course of the program, “involves a supervised teaching experience and seminar attendance” for two quarters. The supervised teaching is usually placed in an ESL program affiliated to the university, which I name as the “Language Learning Center” (LLC) in my research. As a profitable program, LLC provides courses of ESL, academic English, and

business English at different levels for international students who want to “experience student life in America before committing to a longer stay” or “develop the advanced language skills needed for top academic performance” (quoted from the LLC website). Besides the regular classroom practice scaffolded by a cooperating teacher, the practicum course involves a weekly seminar section, which includes “observations of other experienced teachers, journaling, observations of peers, reflective inquiry, discussion, group support in regular seminars, videotaped microteaching, and analytical lesson reports” (quoted from the course syllabus). In Spring 2019, three focal participants, Jing, Chen, and Hana, were placed in different levels of ESL classes of the program with different supervisors. In Winter 2019, however, because of ongoing labor negotiations between the teachers’ union and the university, Gloria was not placed in an ESL class as usual, but in a class teaching academic writing in the Expository Writing Program in the Department of English.

It is also worth mentioning that for the MATESOL students in the second year, there is a limited number of competitive TAs positions, which enable students to teach their own English classes in the LLC. Besides the general and additional English language proficiency requirement designated by the Graduate School of the university for NNES applicants, all the NNES students in the program were informed that they should fulfill the additional spoken English language proficiency requirement with a test score of 80 out of 80 in the Versant English Speaking Test (Versant) administered at the university, though the MATESOL Program can appeal a high (but not perfect) grade and have the candidate interviewed in person. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Versant is an automated language test produced by the Pearson PLC, which, according to the producer, “provides a sophisticated and unbiased way to evaluate communication skills with pinpoint accuracy” and “prove true language capabilities” by “using advanced voice recognition system” (Pearson.com). It especially stresses its viability and reliability by claiming that “specially designed AI captures candidates’ speech and analyzes what is being said and how it is said as

compared to *a native speaker*” (Pearson.com., emphasis added). In Fall 2018 and Winter 2019, three of four preservice teachers, Chen, Hana, and Gloria, took the test more than once (Chen took it three times and Hana and Gloria took it twice), but all of them were unable to obtain the required full score. Jing refused to take the test from the offset despite a strong recommendation from the program advisor. In later sections, I will describe in more detail the focal participants’ mixed attitudes towards the test and its considerable impact on their practicum and as well as other aspects of their student lives.

4.3 THE PRESERVICE TEACHERS’ JOURNEY OF IDENTITY (RE)CONSTRUCTION IN TEACHING PRACTICE

As discussed above, teacher learning is a discursive process of identity learning. This section will explore in detail how the four preservice teachers navigated the process that constituted challenging experiences. The excerpts extracted from their autobiographic narratives and interactive narratives silhouette their unique developmental journey that involved struggle, conflict, a sense of achievement as well as deep frustration and loneliness.

4.3.1 Jing: From a “born teacher” to an “incompetent NNES teacher”

Jing was placed in an intermediate ESL public speaking class in the LLC in her Spring 2019 practicum. It was a 10-week short-term English program (STEP) designed for students to “*practice English and learn about American culture*”, in which students were supposed to “*improve [their] English vocabulary through a variety of listening and speaking activities, practice English in real-life situations, and learn American expressions and idioms*” (quoted from the LLC’s website). Jing’s supervisor of the practicum, Emily (pseudonym), was a white female with more than 30 years of ESL teaching experience, who had worked for the LLC since the 1990s. Jing showed a

strong interest and expectation for her upcoming practicum placement in one of our conversations in the spring break 2019. She announced in the group meeting in Spring 2019, *“I can’t wait to take the practicum. You know, it’s kind of the experience I’ve never had, to listen to the real ESL class taught by an experienced teacher and practice teaching in a real ESL classroom”* (quoted from Group Meeting 2, 04/08/2019). Consistent with the enthusiasm was her passion for teaching displayed in the narratives in her LLA, LTA and our interviews, as she stated in one of them, *“it [my passion for teaching] is probably rooted in the fact that I was born and raised at a high school campus, where both of my parents worked as teachers. When I was very little (probably at the age of 5), I used to gather all my friends and ‘taught’ them to write Chinese characters. Teaching feels like something I was born to do”* (quoted from Jing’s LTA, Fall 2018). At the same time, however, Jing also expressed much concern, distress, and pessimism in her narratives about her teaching practice and her future career prospects. Her ever-evolving, love-hate attitude towards ESL learning and teaching, demonstrated her conflicting self-positioning in her narratives and clearly demonstrated how LTI is a fluid, dynamic, complex, and socially constructed concept. In the following sections I present my analysis of these conflicts Jing underwent during her experience in the program. particularly during her teaching practice while completing the teaching practicum.

4.3.1.1 Confrontation between inclusion and exclusion

As discussed in Chapter 3, a prominent theme in Jing’s narratives about her experienced language lives is “conflict”: the conflict among her reflective self-positioning in different contexts in relation to different “others”, and the conflict between the enthusiasm and pessimism she showed for becoming an ESL teacher. For example, in our first interview, when talking about her linguistic identity, she assertedly embraced the identify of a *“bilingual speaker”* and a *“bilingual teacher”* on the one hand, but on the other, she emphasized that *“but here [in the U.S.], of course, I’m a non-native speaker if I try to teach English and it’s impossible for me to get a teaching job”*

(quoted from Interview 1 with Jing, 10/18/2018). It showed her conscious or unconscious alignment with the native speaker myth (Canagarajah, 1999a; Phillipson, 1992), especially with the assumption that NESTs are more desirable instructors of language students. I noticed since the very beginning of our interactions that this perception and belief created deep self-exclusion for her from her desired community and career plans and prospects. In our introduction meeting in the first week of the program, she told me decidedly, “*I’m not going to work as an English teacher here, anyway*”, after asking me whether I could connect her to a MATESOL alumnus, who, she heard from others, had succeeded in transferring to a different department in the second year of the program. In our first formal interview, I brought up the question again to see whether her perceptions had changed to any extent after three weeks of study in the program.

Excerpt 1 (from Interview 1 with Jing, 10/18/2018)

1. Y: *In our first conversation at the beginning of the quarter, you mentioned that*
2. *you might consider of transferring to a different department. What do you think*
3. *of it now?*
- 4. J: *I don’t know. Actually, I’m still thinking. My husband always suggests I take*
- 5. *some other subjects, you know, accounting, CS, or others, so it’s easier to get*
6. *a job. but I don’t know whether I like them.*
7. Y: *But you know you love teaching, right?*
- 8. J: *Yes! As I said, I was born to teach [giggling]. And I like the program, you know,*
9. *the classmates and professors. They’re very nice and very friendly It was*
10. *surprising at first to see non-native speaker professors in the English*
- 11. *Department. It’s like, you know, I feel I’m not alone, and I’m included.*
12. Y: *How about the courses? How do you like them?*
- 13. J: *They’re interesting and helpful. We learned many critical theories about English*

- 14. *teaching. I've never heard about most of them before, such as linguistic*
- 15. *imperialism, the native speaker fallacy, and so on. We didn't learn them in*
- 16. *China. All I learned before was how to use English like a native speaker.*
- 17. Y: *So, have they changed your thoughts about ...?*
- 18. J: *I don't know. These are in class, you know. It's different outside.*
- 19. Y: *How?*
- 20. J: *If I were an ESL student here, I'd like to learn authentic English. But I don't*
- 21. *look authentic at all, you know, as a non-native English speaker.*

In this excerpt, Jing expressed clearly her mixed feelings about English teaching and the MATESOL program. She loved English teaching – “*I was born to teach*” (line 8), but at the same time she thought of transferring to a different program because her husband suggested “*it's easier to get a job*” (lines 4-5). In terms of the program courses, she praised the critical theories taught in the program like “*linguistic imperialism, the native speaker fallacy*” as “*interesting and helpful*” (lines 13-14) but commented nevertheless that “*it's different outside*” (line 18). Finally, although the presence of non-native speaker professors in the department made her feel “*not alone*” and “*included*” (line 11), she still self-identified as “*not authentic at all*” and a “*nonnative English speaker*” (lines 20-21), who would not be welcomed by her imagined ESL students. It is obvious that her previous exposure to the native/nonnative speaker dichotomy together with an internalized belief that the former holds an automatic advantage as English language teachers impacted largely on her experience in the program. Despite her strong feeling of inclusion in the program, such an internalized belief produced the equally strong feeling of being excluded from her desired community of NESTs and a future ESL teaching career. In a case study exploring membership, belonging, and identity among ELTs, Piller and Takahashi (2011) note that the feeling of inclusion means a sense of belonging, “community participation and a sense of empowerment” (p. 372).

Motteram (2016) also points out the changing nature of belonging and identity would prompt or discourage ELTs from becoming engaged in practice. Jing's narrative clearly displays how her mixed feelings of inclusion and exclusion affected her community engagement and her sense of empowerment, which is further demonstrated in her later attitudes and behaviors in the practicum placement teaching practice.

In an informal group gathering with Jing, Chen and I in the Spring 2019, Jing and Chen mentioned their incoming practicum in Spring Quarter. Jing showed great excitement about the fact that her mentor included her name in the syllabus as "Co-instructor". She said, "*I really appreciate that, you know, not as a 'practicum graduate student' or 'intern' or nothing at all. It makes me feel I'm an eligible instructor to teach*" (quoted from Group Meeting 2, 04/08/2019). As discussed in much scholarship, teacher identity is narratively (re)constructed through the process of reflective self-positioning and other positioning (e.g., Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Cohen, 2010; Flores & Day, 2006; Wortham, 2001), and it is heavily influenced by the "significant others", including students, classmates, mentors, and teacher educators (Martel & Wang, 2015). As one of the most "significant others", mentors clearly exert great impact on the development of preservice teachers' professional and pedagogical identities by legitimizing their teaching eligibility in the practicum class and providing feedback on their teaching performance (Crasborn et al., 2011). Obviously, Jing's mentor including her as the co-instructor of the class greatly supported Jing's sense of belonging. However, despite the encouragement and support she received from this inclusive action, in our later conversation Jing showed much concern about her legitimacy to teach English. After that gathering, Jing contacted me several times via phone call or text message to share her concerns and ask for advice. When I reassured her that she would do well with her years of teaching experience, she responded immediately as the following:

Excerpt 2 (from Yan's Research Journal, 03/20/2019)

- *No, no. It's different. In China, I was an experienced teacher, but here, I'm an international*
- *student, a non-native English speaker. [...] You know, I'm worried about my mentor. I*
- *know they're all experienced, native-speaker ESL teachers. They'll think, [pause], they'll*
- *know I don't know what I'm talking about.*

Jing expressed in this excerpt her concern about her seemingly conflicting identities – “*an experienced teacher*” in China and “*an international student, a nonnative English speaker*” here in the U.S. After crossing her national border geographically, she thought she had lost her professional identity as “*an experienced teacher*”, which deprived her of confidence and even the legitimacy to teach English. Jing’s concern was also partly caused by her mentor’s identity and how she would be positioned by her mentor – “*They’re all experienced, native-speaker ESL teachers. They’ll know I don’t know what I’m talking about*”. As discussed in Chapter 3, the dichotomy between NES and NNES and the language teaching legitimacy assumedly associated with the former group has seemed a long-standing theme in Jing’s written and oral narratives. Even before practice teaching formally started, Jing had self-positioned as a potentially illegitimate ESL teacher due to her NNES identity, which not only caused her stress and deprived her of confidence, but also led to an identity conflict with her previous identity of being “*an experienced teacher*” and of her self-positioning as a “*born teacher*” and “*an encouraging, passionate and optimistic teacher*” (quoted from Jing’s LTA). It also impacted her imagined new identity in the upcoming practicum – “*they’ll know I don’t know what I’m talking about*”. By using “*they*” instead of “*she*” or the mentor’s name, she constructed a desired community from which she was excluded – “*experienced, native speaker teachers*”. This is similar to what Norton (2000) found in her study, that is, the self- or other imposed labels of NES and NNES restrict multilingual preservice teachers’ inclusion into a particular imagined community of practice.

As for facilitating the process of professional identity (re)construction for preservice teachers, Reis (2012) stresses the significant role of teacher educators in helping multilingual preservice teachers with internalizing certain scientific concepts to move beyond their everyday conceptualizations of the NES/NNES dichotomy and the nativeness myth. Besides theoretical education in the MATSEOL program, practical support and guidance from mentors in preservice teachers' day-to-day teaching activities obviously play a role as important as, if not more than the course professors, since in the "collaborative endeavor" of the practicum (Grudnoff, 2011), mentors would facilitate preservice teachers learning to teach in terms of the negotiation of "conflicting visions, disparaging considerations, and contesting interpretations" (Britzman, 2003, p. 26) during the process of becoming a teacher. With the questions of whether and how Jing's mentor facilitated her identity work in terms of navigating the conflicts, I interviewed Jing's mentor, Emily, in the third week of Spring 2019, after my first-time observation of Jing's teaching. The following excerpt is part of our conversation at the beginning of the interview:

Excerpt 3 (from Interview 1 with Emily, 04/22/2019)

1. Y: *What do you think are [Jing's real name]'s strengths and weakness in teaching*
2. *practice?*
3. E: *You know, I don't think I feel entirely confident to assess her strengths and*
4. *weakness at this point, but I have concerns, maybe not valid concerns. My initial*
- 5. *concern was her style. You know, in the East and West we have different teaching*
6. *styles. In the East, I'm speaking of it very generally, the teacher is fond of the*
- 7. *knowledge and dispenses the wisdom. The power dynamic is really clear about*
- 8. *the role of teacher and role of students. In the West, every teacher is different*
- 9. *in different classes, but generally, we try to be more facilitators, focusing on the*
- 10. *positive, trying to be as encouraging as possible. My first concern is that she*

→ 11. *seems to be [pause], erm... acts much more of authority of the class than I do.*

It is interesting to note that in this excerpt, instead of directly commenting on Jing's strength and weakness in teaching, Emily compared the different teaching styles between "*the East*" and "*the West*" first (line 5) and concluded that in the East, though in the general sense, the teacher tends to "*dispense the wisdom*" and "*the power dynamic is really clear about the role of teacher and role of students*" (lines 7-8); while in the West, "*we try to be more facilitators, focusing on the positive, trying to be as encouraging as possible*" (lines 9-10). Therefore, her concern about Jing's teaching at that point was "*her style*" (line 5), that she "*acts much more of authority of the class than I do*" (line 11). Through the contrast and comparison of "the West" and "the East", Emily suggested that Jing's teaching style – "*acting much more of authority of the class*" – was more related to her cultural and geographical origin rather than her personality and teaching skills and/or ability and that the former of these was incompatible with the Western style. By using "*we*" in "*we try to be more facilitators*" (line 9), Emily also suggested that Jing might belong to a different group – the Eastern-styled teachers. Since I did not have the chance to access the after-class interactions between Jing and Emily, there was no first-hand data to show how Emily's "othering" attitudes towards Jing's teaching style might affect Jing's identify work in terms of inclusion and exclusion, but it was hard to believe that this attitude did not exert any influence on Jing's feelings and behaviors in their day-to-day interactions. When arguing the important role of mentors in the professional identity development of preservice teachers, many scholars (e.g., Beck & Kosnik, 2000; Carver & Katz, 2004; Glenn, 2006) point out that mental and pedagogical support from mentors would create a secure, inclusive space for preservice teachers to (re)construct and negotiate their professional identities. According to Jing, her mentor's effort to include her in the syllabus as "co-instructor" did create an inclusive, legitimate role for her in the practicum class, as she mentioned in our conversation that "*[it] makes me feel I'm an eligible instructor to teach*"

(quoted from Group Meeting 2, 04/08/2019). Meanwhile, she also mentioned in some other situations that her mentor's attitudes and feedback on her teaching concerned her. In a group meeting with Chen, Jing, and I in Spring 2019, we talked about their ongoing teaching practice. The following excerpt is part of that conversation.

Excerpt 4 (from Group Meeting 3, 04/21/2019)

1. Y: *How many classes have you taught in practicum so far?*
2. C: *Twice, only. Erm... I don't know how to teach multicultural students. I need*
3. *to learn more from my mentor.*
4. J: *I've taught many times. Once or twice a week. Actually, I started teaching in*
- 5. *the first week, but because my mentor said Melissa [pseudonym of the professor*
- 6. *who instructed the practicum seminar] hoped we practicum students could*
7. *start teaching soon. But so far most of my teaching was facilitating the class*
8. *discussion. Walk around and answer questions. I have a feeling that my mentor*
- 9. *didn't like me to "teach" too much. She must be afraid I would teach something*
- 10. *in the wrong way [giggling].*

It needs noting that during the study, these female preservice teachers, especially Jing and Hana, developed an increasing intimacy with me and tended to confide in me their concerns, complaints and other emotions related to the program. I included those conversations in my research journal as part of the data with their permission. In this excerpt, Jing expressed some of her emotions, which were quite different from our formal interviews where she had claimed her mentor was very helpful and supportive. When talking about her earlier kickoff of practice teaching, she added that she could teach from the very beginning of practicum because "*Melissa hoped we practicum students could start teaching soon*" (lines 5-6). By using "*but*" she seemed to

suggest that it was not her mentor's intention but the prompt from the MATESOL program faculty. It would be arbitrary to conclude that Jing thought her mentor was reluctant to let her teach earlier, but it does show Jing's feelings of self-doubt about her role and her relationship with her mentor in the practicum class.

Another more striking point in the conversation is her interpretation of the assigned task in her class teaching. She tended to interpret the task of "*facilitating class discussion*" as more of distrust from her mentor – "*she must be afraid I would teach something in the wrong way*" (lines 9-10) rather than other factors, e.g., the mentor's teaching style or class management strategy. It is hard to tell the origin of this kind of distrust or self-doubt revealed in Jing's narrative, but it does indicate a complex interaction between one's reflective self-positioning and positioning from others. When addressing the complexity of LTI, Duff (2016) and Martel (2016) have noted that LTIs are deeply rooted both inside the individual teacher and in the outside social, cultural, and educational world, and the inside-outside relationship is complex in different settings. Jing's case demonstrates this interconnected relationship between her internal emotional state and external student experiences. The fragile, resistant emotions betrayed in her narrative could be both the origin and consequence of her sense of exclusion, which was somewhat strengthened in the practicum and potentially impacted not only her agency and subjectivity in her teaching practice, but many other high-stake decisions which she took in the program, e.g., her decision not to take the Versant test.

As discussed in the section above, in order to become eligible for the TAship application, all the non-native speaker students in the program were expected to take the Versant test and get a full score of 80 to fulfill the spoken English language proficiency requirement designated by the LLC. The Versant test designed by the Pearson Company was focused on test takers' "*communicative ability*" compared with "*native speakers*" (quoted from Pearson.com, emphasis added). Despite the strong recommendation from the program advisor and encouragement from

her peers, Jing categorically refused to take the test. The excerpt below is from our conversation about this issue in the group meeting at the end of Winter 2019:

Excerpt 5 (from Group Meeting 2, 12/06/2018)

1. Y: *Have you taken the Versant test yet?*
2. C: *Yes, but I didn't get a full score. I'm thinking of taking it again, but I'm not sure*
3. *when ...*
- 4. J: *[mockingly] Why bother? You can't get a full score anyway.*
5. Y: *[to Jing] so you haven't ...*
- 6. J: *No! I'm not going to take that humiliating test over the phone! You're not even*
- 7. *talking to a real person. It's stupid!*
8. Y: *but ...*
9. J: *I know [Hana's real name] took the test, but she didn't get a full score. Even*
- 10. *her! She's like a native speaker in every way. [turning to me] How about you?*
11. *Did you get a full score in the test?*
12. Y: *No, I didn't, but that doesn't mean ...*
13. J: *See? Nobody could get a full score. You're better than I, but you didn't get a*
14. *full score. Did they give you TAship in LLC?*
15. Y: *[pause] No, but it's different ...*
- 16. J: *I won't take the test. They won't give me the TAship. I know that.*

In this conversation, Jing expressed her dismissive attitude towards the Versant test – “*I'm not going to take that humiliating test over the phone!*” (line 6). Her refusal was partly due to the test itself – “*You're not even talking to a real person. It's stupid*” (lines 6-7). It was also based on her self-assessment in relation to others. For example, she says that Hana, who “*is like a native speaker*

in every way” (line 10), did not get a full score in the test. She also says that I (i.e., Yan), who she thought was “*better*” than her, did not get a full score either. More importantly, Jing showed her fierce resistance against the practice that the test was used as a gatekeeping criterion for the TAsip application when she mocked Chen’s plan to retake the test – “*Why bother? You can’t get a full score anyway*” (line 4). In her comments on the test itself and others’ performance in the test, she created an imagined community to which she did not belong of the invisible “others” who would not give her a TAsip: “*They won’t give me TAsip, anyway*” (line 16). In her narrative, “*they*” were the powers that be at LLC where MATESOL students did their practicum and the TAsips. “*They*” could also be interpreted as the authoritative discourses embedded in the contexts where Jing was studying and living. With her resistance to the test, Jing expressed her dissatisfaction and sense of powerlessness and exclusion when encountering this unfair institutional standard. Meanwhile, Jing (re)constructed her imagined identity by interacting with these sets of institutional practices and conditions, which resulted in her feelings of inclusion or exclusion in complex ways.

In one case study of how one NNEST struggled to (re)construct his professional identity as an ESL writing instructor at a large American University, Reis (2012) points out the essential role concerted and systematic efforts from the teacher education program would play in claiming and asserting NNEST’s professional legitimacy. Lee, the focal participant in that study, through participating in the professional development experiences offered by his education program, (re)constructed his professional legitimacy and gained subjectivities by using critical theories to “rethink, reorganize, and rename his experiences” (Reis, 2012, p. 46). Jing’s narratives show how this process could be both discursive and non-discursive, progressive, and retrogressive. It also indicates that more support other than theoretical guidance is needed to secure an inclusive discourse in which multilingual preservice teachers would feel empowered and legitimized.

4.3.2.2 Confrontation between linguistic and professional identities

The previous section discussed Jing's mixed, often-conflicting emotions of being both included and excluded in the MATESOL program. The cause of this exclusion seems to have emanated from her experience in the teaching practicum. The impact of these experiences on the (re)construction of her professional identity were discussed at length. On the one hand, she felt included and motivated to participate in the teaching practice, but on the other hand she expressed her feelings of being excluded from her desired community. As discussed in Chapter 3, Jing reflected deeply on the critical theories she learned in the program in her narratives, but meanwhile she consciously or unconsciously showed that she had internalized the conceptions about NEST/NNEST dichotomy and of the native speaker myth due to her previous exposure to these discourses, particularly the notion that NESTs are necessarily more effective and legitimate English language teachers than NNESTs. Under the influence of these dominant extrinsic discourses and self-persuasive intrinsic discourses, Jing's narratives display a great deal of conflict and struggle between her linguistic and professional identities. In the excerpts below, I will examine Jing's narratives along with those of her mentor's and discuss how Jing's reflective self-positioning and other positioning (re)shaped her professional identity in the practicum. The first excerpt is from a group meeting with Jing, Chen, Hana, and I in early Spring 2019, in which the three preservice teachers shared their excitement as well as worries about their ongoing practicum teaching.

Excerpt 6 (from Group Meeting 3, 04/21/2019)

1. Y: *How do you like your practicum teaching so far?*
2. C: *I haven't taught much yet. I need to learn more from my mentor.*
3. J: *It's fun. I do enjoy it, to teach real ESL students, in a real ESL classroom.*
4. Y: *Is there anything that worries you in your practicum teaching?*
- 5. J: *My language, my accent, you know. I don't worry about the teaching itself, such*

- 6. *as designing teaching plans, organizing class activities, and providing feedback*
- 7. *to students. [...] Although I know I must be better than the students in language,*
- 8. *I'm still worried. My mentor said, or hinted, you know, most non-native speaker*
- 9. *student teachers she mentored before had perfect pronunciation. I know I don't*
- 10. *have the authentic pronunciation as a native speaker.*

In this excerpt Jing expressed her concern about practicum teaching, which did not originate from the teaching itself (line 5), but from her worries about her language proficiency or her “*accent*” (line 5). Moreover, her mentor’s hint that she was somehow “[in]authentic” in pronunciation when compared to previous non-native student teachers (lines 8-9) further strengthened her concern. Although Jing was confident in her teaching ability, as she stated, “*I don't worry about the teaching itself, such as designing teaching plans, organizing class activities, and providing feedback to students*” (lines 5-7), her confidence was overshadowed by her self-discrimination due to her accent or inauthentic pronunciation. Obviously, Jing, as well as her mentor, regarded language proficiency, particularly some mythical “perfect” pronunciation, as an indispensable condition for a qualified language teacher. This belief inevitably leads to the conflict for non-native preservice teachers between their linguistic and professional identities, as many scholars note in their studies. For example, Murdoch (1994) claims that both self-positioning and being positioned by others as experts in the language they teach is essential for preservice language teachers’ professional identities, especially for non-native speakers. Nunan (2017) also points out, “identifying oneself, or being identified by others, as a less than competent user of the language they are teaching can pose professional challenges that are somewhat different from those faced by, say, a teacher of Mathematics who is teaching the subject in a language other than her first” (p. 165-166). In Jing’s case, her self-identification as a less competent English user who did not possess “*authentic pronunciation*” significantly impacted her self-image as a professional. Her

mentor's judgement of her pronunciation as imperfect also played a significant role in challenging Jing's confidence and legitimacy as an ESL teacher.

Jing's feeling shown in this excerpt is quite similar to a case study conducted by Bayliss and Vignola (2007), in which a group of non-native French as a second language (FSL) preservice teachers in Canada were researched regarding interrelations between their self-perceived language competence and professional identities. The preservice teachers in the study tended to interpret any criticism of their language expertise as a challenge to their professional identities as language teachers. In Jing's case, her professional identity was challenged not only by her self-denial as a competent language user, but also by her mentor's assessment of her pronunciation. As discussed in much scholarship, teacher identity is narratively (re)constructed through the process of self-positioning and other positioning (e.g., Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Cohen, 2010; Flores & Day, 2006; Wortham, 2001), and it is heavily influenced by the "significant others", including students, classmates, mentors, and teacher educators (Martel & Wang, 2016). As one of the most "significant others", mentors exert great impact on the development of preservice teachers' professional and pedagogical identities by legitimizing their teaching ability in the practicum class and providing feedback to their teaching performance (Crasborn et al., 2011). Many scholars have also confirmed that one of the most essential roles for mentors in teacher education is to encourage student teachers to overcome concerns and develop pedagogical strengths (e.g., Beck & Kosnik, 2000; Garza et al., 2014; Izadinia, 2015). Jing's narrative partly shows her mentor's discouraging influence on her development of professional identity. With the aim to get a glimpse of how her mentor, Emily, perceived Jing's language proficiency and its relationship with Jing's teaching performance, I brought up the issue of "language proficiency" in the first interview with Emily in April 2019. The following excerpt is part of the conversation that happened after we discussed Jing's strengths and weakness in teaching performance (c.f., Excerpt 4) in that interview.

Excerpt 7 (from Interview 1 with Emily, 4/19/2019)

1. Y: *How about her language aspects? Do you have any concern about her language*
2. *proficiency, because she is..., English is not her first language?*
- 3. E: *I think [pause], she is fully fluent in the language. She's successful in an*
4. *English-speaking academic, graduate-level environment, so I don't have any*
5. *concerns about her fluency. I think it's possible [pause] that in some classes,*
6. *where, in my opinion, I don't think there is any issue necessarily in the reading*
7. *or writing class, but, if what I want to teach is a pronunciation course, I have to*
- 8. *think about that, especially vocabulary and idioms. Idiomatic language is so*
- 9. *embedded in culture, history, usage, and so forth. Again, I have to think about*
10. *that. Actually, I think she would be the best person to consult about whether she*
11. *felt she could do that. I also know that students have their own prejudice. She*
- 12. *would have to think about it. Could she persuade them that she has the automatic*
- 13. *authority in this field? I don't know. She's not the first non-native English-*
14. *speaking ESL teacher we have. We have a handful, but they all have nearly*
- 15. *perfect accent, nearly perfect American accent. She's the most accented, I think,*
- 16. *non-native English-speaking student teacher we have.*

Emily's perception of Jing's language proficiency and its relationship with her teaching performance is clearly shown in this excerpt. At first, she acknowledged Jing's English proficiency as "fluent" and "successful" (line 3) for an academic graduate-level environment. When it came to teaching English, however, she expressed her concern about Jing's ability of teaching "a pronunciation course, especially vocabulary and idioms" (lines 8-9) for three reasons: 1) students would "have their own prejudice" (line 12); 2) Jing lacked "automatic authority" (line 13) in this field because "idiomatic languages are embedded in culture, history, usage and forth" (lines 8-9);

and 3) Jing didn't have "*nearly perfect American accent*" and was "*the most accented*" (lines 15-16) compared with other non-native English-speaking student teachers.

Obviously, Emily's concern about Jing's legitimacy in teaching was mainly based on Jing's linguistic rather than her pedagogical identity. Emily's assumptions that Jing lacked the "*automatic authority*" to teach certain courses like pronunciation reflect the persistent "native speaker myth" (Philipson, 1992) maintained in the TESOL field. Emily was not the only mentor who justified the myth by suggesting that students preferred to have native speakers as instructors. Chen's mentor, Della, made a similar comment in our first meeting before the practicum teaching class I was to observe. When I showed her my brief research proposal and requested an interview, she commented to herself half-jokingly while reading my proposal, "*you should interview students, not the teacher, about their preference and expectations when learning English*" (quoted from Yan's Research Journal, April 21, 2019). Due to the time and resource limitations, I did not access the first-hand data from the ESL students in the class I observed, but many scholars (e.g., Beckett & Stiefvater, 2009; Canagarajah, 2013; Cook, 2000; Mahboob, 2004) do provide data collected through questionnaire survey and students' essays about students' perceptions. Cook (2000) reported, "Nowhere is there an overwhelming preference for NES teachers. Being an NES is only one among many factors that influence students' views of teaching" (p. 331). Despite the findings that indicate that native speakers are not necessarily better ESL teachers than non-native speakers, Jing's case and Chen's case (which will be discussed in the next section) show that the "native speaker fallacy" (Philipson, 1992) is still firmly held among some preservice teachers' mentors.

In the excerpt above, Emily also expressed her concern that lacking "*perfect American accent*" and knowledge about "*idiomatic language*" would impact Jing's teaching if she was to teach certain courses. This view resonates with a typical form of division of labor that many scholars (e.g., Menard-Warwick, 2008; Park, 2008; Rudolph, 2012) criticize, i.e., NESTs are better teacher for teaching speaking, listening, and writing courses that require "insider" knowledge, while

NNESTs are designated to teach grammar and reading. Besides perpetuating the dichotomy between NESTs and NNESTs, this fixed, firm, and mutually exclusive pattern “leaves no room for contextualized negotiations of the borders of linguistic, cultural, and professional identity” (Selvi, 2014, p. 586). The “comparative fallacy” (Mahboob, 2004) that views NNESTs as deficient, incompetent language users is also a persistent theme in Jing’s written and spoken narratives, as she stated in her LLA, “*As a learner of English for over ten years, I believe I could never reach the mountain top -- the native level*” (quoted from Jing’s LLA, Winter 2019). This “I-am-not-a-native-speaker syndrome” (Suarez, 2000) generated by the native speaker fallacy held in the dominant discourse damaged Jing’s self-esteem and persona in her teaching performance. Golombek and Jordan (2005) point out one of the essential roles of teacher education programs is to help multilingual preservice language teachers develop strengths other than pronunciation to establish legitimacy, such as command of subject knowledge and pedagogical knowledge. In Jing’s case, there seemed a lack of support and encouragement in this aspect from her mentor. It led to several challenges for Jing to (re)construct her professional identity during the practicum and caused multiple conflicts between her self-image as the language teacher she wanted to be and her self-doubt about her legitimacy to be such a teacher.

In contrast to Jing’s self-doubt and concerns in her narratives about her teaching legitimacy, my observation of her teaching practice witnessed her ability in many teaching-related aspects. When I observed Jing’s teaching practice for the first time in April 2019, I was deeply impressed by her well-prepared and well-organized classroom activity. The following description is quoted from my research journal entry on that day:

Excerpt 8 (from Yan’s Research Journal, 04/19/2019)

In the 30 minutes of teaching, Jing guided a discussion activity by creatively employing teaching sources and designing discussion prompts. At the beginning of the class, she distributed to each student a half piece of a photocopied picture, asking them to move around to find the other half to match what they had by describing their own piece and asking questions to their classmates. The students displayed great interest in the activity, developing heated conversations during the “puzzle game”. After the activity, Jing declared that all the pictures were taken by her father, an amateur photographer. (It received loud “wow” from students.) And then by telling an anecdote of her father’s works being used in a publication without acknowledgement, she introduced why and how we should credit the original author in academic writing and speech, which was the focus of that class.

From my observation, Jing created a terrifically engaging activity and effective teacher-students dynamics in the classroom. Her practicum seminar instructor, Melissa, after observing the same class, also commended Jing’s well-planned lesson in the following manner:

Excerpt 9 (from Melissa’s written comments to Jing’s practicum teaching, 05/01/2019)

- > *This was a well-conceived and well-planned lesson with activities. [...] Students were*
- > *consistently engaged. Your opening activity generated vocab nicely and led to an engaging*
- > *personal story about your father, which I think all of your students enjoyed connecting with you in this way. [...] You did a good job of circulating, stimulating discussion, offering scaffolding, and making sure that students had something to contribute to the discussion as they were considering whether they thought the plagiarism of your father’s photo was a big deal.*

The excerpt above showcases Jing's Practicum Seminar instructor, Melissa's, approval of Jing's teaching ability in terms of conceiving and planning a lesson, particularly in "*circulating, stimulating discussion, offering scaffolding*" and engaging students in activities, which coincides with my observation finding. In order to understand more about Jing's self-assessment about her teaching, in the follow-up interview one week after the class, I asked Jing whether she could elaborate her teaching philosophy behind the activity:

Excerpt 10 (from Interview 4 with Jing, 04/26/2019)

1. Y: *What inspired you to create such an engaging activity?*
2. J: *I like class activities that require physical movement. I think it's very important*
- 3. *to keep the classroom in energy. Teachers often focus on too much what they*
- 4. *expect students to learn, but sometimes they ignore students' willingness to*
- 5. *learn. So, it's important to get students work more in class. Also, I love to share*
- 6. *stuff in my real life with students, like, using the photos my father took to talk*
7. *about copyright.*
8. Y: *What do you think of the effect of this class activity?*
- 9. J: *I'm confident it worked very well. I could see that from students' reaction. They*
10. *talked a lot with each other and shared their ideas.*
11. Y: *Was there anything you think that was not so satisfactory or could be done*
12. *better?*
- 13. J: *Well... I noticed many grammatical mistakes in students' dialogues when I*
- 14. *walked around. I think I should've pointed them out and mentioned them in the*
- 15. *lecture, but I'm not sure. You know, my mentor, they don't like grammar*
16. *teaching things.*

In this excerpt, Jing expressed her teaching philosophy which consisted of ensuring “*students’ willingness to learn*” (line 4) by creating an engaging class “*to keep the classroom in energy*” (line 3) and “*to get students work more in class*” (line 5). She also mentioned her strategy of “*sharing stuff in real life with students*” (line 6) for such a purpose. As for the teaching efficacy, she showed much confidence that the activity she designed “*worked very well*” (line 9) by noticing students’ active reaction. Regarding what could be improved, she hesitated a bit in the conversation, and then admitted her uncertainty in dealing with “*many grammatical mistakes in students’ dialogues*” (line 13). Her uncertainty, however, was not purely about teaching approaches, as she commented, “*I think I should’ve pointed them out and mentioned them in the lecture*” (line 14). It was more from her concern that it might contradict to her mentor’s teaching style or expectation – “*my mentor, they don’t like grammar teaching things*” (line 15).

Jing’s narrative displayed her awareness and concern about the disparity between her preferred teaching approach and her mentor’s teaching style in terms of grammar teaching. In her Statement of Teaching Philosophy created for the same practicum course, Jing even stated, “[...] *I love teaching grammar and speaking. Grammar seems to be an extremely boring and difficult thing for most students, but I found it fun and useful. Although meaning and use are more important than just the form, Teaching requires logic*” (quoted from Jing’s Teaching Philosophy, Spring 2019). She also expressed a similar concern in her LTA created for the course on the Theory and Practice in TESOL, in which she reviewed her teaching experience in a junior middle school in China. She recalled, “*Another thing is that teachers cannot give students any grammar-related exercise. [...] Though I hate it, Part of me understands the rule because we are too scared to be labeled as those who can only cultivate ‘mute English’ learners!*” (quoted from Jing’s LTA, Autumn 2018). These narratives about grammar teaching in different contexts showcase the contradictions Jing encountered between her own teaching beliefs and the dominant, institutional discourses within which she was situated at different times. Although she loved teaching grammar and developed

the rationale that “*teaching requires logic*”, she persuaded herself to accept the rule of not teaching grammar because “*we are too scared to be labeled as those who can only cultivate ‘mute English’ learners*”. Similarly, in the practicum teaching class I observed, she chose not to point out students’ grammar mistakes as she thought she should have done because of her mentor’s preference, “*they don’t like grammar teaching things*”. Besides, by using “*they*”, Jing established again an imagined community that represents a norm for ESL teaching or at least, an authority in the classroom, which she thought she had to follow without being able to engage in any negotiation to dismantle it.

This contradiction and the feeling of “not belonging to the same group” with her mentor reveal that the power dynamic in the classroom and practicum context limited the opportunity for Jing to implement her preferred teaching style and thus limited her professional identity formation. Similar experiences of contradictions have been documented and analyzed in scholarship on preservice language teachers’ identity formation in the practicum. For example, Dang (2013) and Nguyen (2016) described in their study of how the participants, NNES preservice language teachers, developed their professional identity through their negation of contradictions in practicum activity. They also stress the role of contradictions in motivating transformations through innovative resolutions (Dang, 2013; Nguyen, 2016). However, in Jing’s case, despite her reflection on these contradictions, she was largely confined to the dominant discourse. The confrontations between what she taught and what she thought she should teach obviously formed an obstacle for her to develop her ideal teaching identity (Trent, 2010; Yuan, 2016). Kanno and Stuart (2011) examine how preservice teachers’ professional identities are (re)shaped through the process of situated learning and at the same time how their emerging identities shape their subsequent teaching practice. During these complex, mutually impacted processes, preservice teachers often develop a “mental image or model of what ‘being a teacher’ means” (Pennington, 2015, p. 17), and mentors obviously play an important role in serving as a guide and by mediating student

teachers' negotiation of their identity development (Brogden & Page, 2008). However, in Jing's case, it seems that she was not provided much space where her linguistic and cultural legitimacy issues could be acknowledged, expressed, and deconstructed by her mentor. These, as we know from extant literature in the area are significant in preservice teachers' identity construction (Reis, 2012).

4.3.2 Hana: From a marginalized ESL student to a caring ESL teacher

As discussed in Chapter 3, the most outstanding theme in Hana's written and oral narratives about her language learning experiences is her struggle and fight against linguistic discrimination as an ESL student in Canada and the U.S. In her LLA, Hana described her early English learning experience as "*fear and alienation*". To be specific, it was like "*where everyone was secured in their spacesuits and I would be the only one panicking as I discover a hole in mine*" (quoted from Hana's LLA, Winter 2019). At the same time, Hana showed much critical reflection and observation of the ELT settings she grew up in as well as of the entire ELT field. As for her linguistic identity, despite being positioned by some of her cohort peers in the MATESOL program and colleagues in South Korea as a native English speaker, she expressed in many situations her nonalignment with this positioning and preferred to self-position as *a multilingual speaker*. In terms of teaching legitimacy, Hana also emphasized in her narratives the linguistic and cultural assets a multilingual teacher possesses to become a qualified, and sometimes a better, ESL teacher than a NEST. In the following sections, I will examine how these identities she established in her prior language learning and teaching experiences contributed to her professional identity (re)construction in the coursework and practicum teaching in the MATESOL program.

4.3.2.1. Development of agency from the program

Since Hana showed much critical reflection in her LLA on her language learning experiences as an ESL student who was marginalized and sometimes discriminated against during her elementary and middle school studies in Canada and the U.S., in our second interview in Spring 2019, I brought up the question about whether and how her studies in the MATESOL program contributed to her critical reflection and teaching practice, particularly on the issues of nativeness and race and language.

Excerpt 11 (from Interview 2 with Hana, 02/21/2019)

1. Y: *Do you think what you learned in the program influenced you in your teaching*
2. *philosophy and practice?*
- 3. H: *Sure, yes, especially the theories we learned in Theories and Practice in TESOL,*
4. *such as race and language. I didn't even think a lot about them, even nativeness.*
5. *When I was learning it, I kind of regretted how I taught in [the college she worked*
6. *as a volunteer ESL teacher] because I sometimes told my students, "Yeah, this is*
7. *how you're going to hear outside the class; this is how we say it". I didn't realize*
- 8. *I was teaching them nativeness. If I could go back, I would teach in a different*
- 9. *way, like, telling them not to be ashamed of their accent.*
10. Y: *Are there other things in the program that influenced your teaching practice?*
11. H: *Oh, yeah! I like the course of Pedagogical Grammar. It was really good to learn*
- 12. *the refreshing grammar stuff. As a teacher, I think we should have some grammar*
- 13. *knowledge, especially about some confusing terms. [...] And the teaching demo.*
14. *I think it was really effective. It was nice to get feedback from Beth [the*
15. *pseudonym of the instructor] and classmates. They did say something I was not*
16. *aware of. I think Beth pointed out that I had this tone when I was teaching – a*
- 17. *caring, warm tone, which was a significant element for a teacher's persona. I*

18. *didn't realize that. I wasn't doing that on purpose, you know.*

In this excerpt, Hana mentioned three major influences of the program's courses on her theoretical and practical understanding about language teaching. Firstly, she was motivated to reflect critically on such terms as "*race and language*" and "*nativeness*" (line 3), which prompted her to reevaluate her previous unconscious practices of "*teaching nativeness*" (line 8) to ESL students and led to a wish to revise them in the future, such as "*telling [students] not to be ashamed of their accent*" (line 9). Hana's narrative reflects the transformative role of critical classroom reading and discussion for preservice teachers' ideological self-positioning. By exploring the discourses that influenced her beliefs and actions in relation to teaching and learning, Hana developed more awareness on the tensions in language education and identity formation. Asher (2007) advocates consistent, explicit interrogation of such topics as the interactions of race, culture, and gender in classroom discourses, asserting that by self-reflexive engagement, "student teachers can open up more meaningful, situated ways of knowing self and other and rethinking extant relations of power (p. 66). Besides developing such a critical awareness, Hana also mentioned the pragmatic knowledge she learned from the program courses, e.g., the "*refreshing grammar knowledge about confusing terms*" (lines 12-13). Most importantly, through the class teaching demo, she was able to realize her strengths as a teacher that she did not spot before, such as having "*a caring, warm tone*" in teaching (line 17), which helped her to establish a positive teacher persona. Overall, Hana's narrative showcases the essential role of the critical courses in forming her sense of belonging and (re)constructing her reflexive professional identity, which is in line with Pavlenko's (2003) study, who proposes the notion of imagined identity and imagined professional communities and emphasizes the significance of classroom discourses in shaping multilingual preservice teachers' membership and agency. Similarly, Golombek and Jordan (2005) also suggest teacher education programs need to afford possibilities for multilingual preservice

teachers to imagine their new identities and support them to develop pedagogical identities. Hana's narrative, as well as Jing's in the section above, show that the theoretical study in the program allowed for their positive imagined identity and fostered professional identity development, at least in the classroom. This positive influence is also manifested in Hana's critical reflection and proactive behaviors in her teaching practice in the program, particularly in the case of a TAship application.

As discussed in the section above (Section 4.2), a milestone event for the MATESOL students was the application for a TAship in LLC, which was actually one of the few opportunities for the MATESOL students to get financial support for their second-year studies. Hana, even though she had lived in America for most of her life with English as her primary language, had to undergo the same application process as other international students from non-English-speaking countries due to her non-U.S. citizenship. One of the gatekeeping criteria designated by LLC for NNES applicants was to obtain a full score in the Versant test to meet the language proficiency requirement. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Jing's attitude towards the test was of total rejection, as she claimed in one of our group meetings, *"I'm not going to take that humiliating test over the phone! You're not even talking to a real person. It's stupid!"* (quoted from Group Meeting 2, 12/06/2018). Hana expressed the same disfavor towards the test, but she adopted a different strategy from Jing. She took the test, though sadly she did not get the required full score in either of the two tests. In one of our informal meetings in Winter 2019, I brought up the issue about the Versant test and her application for the TAship.

Excerpt 12 (from Informal Meeting 2 with Hana, 01/25/2019)

1. Y: *What do you think of the test-taking process?*
- 2. H: *It was really humiliating. You know, to speak over the phone, repeating the*
3. *phrases and sentences and answering stupid questions like "how many wheels*

4. *does a bicycle have?''.*
5. Y: *Did you get a full score in it?*
6. H: *No, of course not!*
7. Y: *So, what are you going to do for the TAship application?*
- 8. H: *I'll fight, definitely. I'm not going to say it's a stupid test, but it does lack*
- 9. *the validity and reliability to demonstrate one's language proficiency. I agree*
- 10. *that pronunciation is an important quality to a language teacher, but should I*
11. *be a perfect language speaker to be a language teacher?*

Similar to Jing, Hana also used the word “*humiliating*” (line 2) to describe the Versant test. Besides criticizing the “*validity and reliability*” (line 9) of the test as a means against which to measure one’s language proficiency, she went further to question the ideology behind the TAship recruitment benchmark, asking if one needed to be “*a perfect language speaker to be a language teacher*” (lines 9-10). As mentioned in the previous section, Jing showed her resistance to the TAship recruitment process by refusing to take the test at all; Hana, in contrast, chose to take the test and then “*fight*” (line 8) for a TAship. Armed with the critical theories she had read about in the program, Hana managed to exert more agency in establishing her legitimacy to teach and develop her professional identity. Golombek and Jordan (2005) present a similar process in a case study of two international students in a TESOL graduate program in America. They examine how the focal participants (re)establish their identity as legitimate(d) English speakers and teachers through a pronunciation pedagogy course. While seeking to improve their pronunciation, the student teachers creatively use other ways, such as knowledge of students’ L1, personal experiences, etc. to resist the dominant NES model and re(construct) their legitimacy. In Hana’s case, although she agreed to take the test and admitted the importance of pronunciation, she managed to break the confinement imposed on NNES preservice teachers and criticized

particularly the ideology behind the TAship recruitment that privileged native-like pronunciation. During the process, Hana was exerting her agency to establish her legitimacy and resist the racial and linguistic biases that exist in ELT.

Hana mentioned in our later conversation that the core courses she learned in the program did offer her the theoretical knowledge and support to confront the TAship recruitment bias based on racial and linguistic identities. She said, *“I don’t think I had the courage to do it [to resist the unfair policy] before. I would give up and think, ‘Ok, I’m not good enough’”* (quoted from Yan’s Research Journal, 03/05/2019). Besides the theoretical knowledge, Hana contributed her critical awareness to the practical support she received from the program faculty during her *“fight”*. She preferred not to elaborate the process in detail but stressed, *“their support offered me a big sense of agency and belonging”* (quoted from Yan’s Research Journal, 03/05/2019). After the appeal and negotiation with LLC and passing two rounds of written tests and interviews, Hana was finally offered a TAship. When I expressed my congratulations, Hana simply responded, *“I don’t think it’s because of my personal efforts. You know, it’s too hard to fight against the system as an individual”* (quoted from Yan’s Research Journal, 03/05/2019). Since we both read one of Golombek and Jordan’s (2005) papers, *“Becoming ‘Black Lambs’ Not ‘Parrots’: A Poststructuralist Orientation to Intelligibility and Identity”* and discussed it in one core course in the program, I mentioned the article in our conversation by half jokingly analogizing Hana as a *“black lamb”*, which she denied by stating she was not so brave or rebellious, but she stressed, *“I wouldn’t become a parrot, definitely”* (quoted from Yan’s Research Journal, 03/05/2019).

It might be this *“becoming-not-a-parrot”* attitude that prompted Hana to make another decision in the second-year funding application: to reject the recommendation from her peers to apply for TAship as a Korean language teacher in the Department of Asian Languages and Literature. Both Jing and Chen applied for TAships as a Chinese language teacher in the same department (but both were unsuccessful in the end); and the other preservice teacher Gloria was

working at that time as a Spanish language teacher in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese Studies. When we talked about her decision in the same conversation, Hana said,

Excerpt 13 (from Informal Meeting 3 with Hana, 03/05/2019)

- *I know I may have a better chance to get a TAship to teach Korean language. I'm bilingual with Korean as my primary language. But I won't apply for that position.*
- *I'm studying at MATESOL to learn teaching English. I deserve to get a chance to practice in this field, instead of teaching Korean because of my nationality.*

Although Hana, as discussed in Chapter 3, was still influenced by the notion that equated Whiteness with native speakers in some of her narratives, it could be seen from the above excerpts that she was able to consciously challenge the dominant ideologies in language teaching that native speakers possess automatic privilege. And more importantly, she explicitly challenged the existing unfair institutional policies by claiming that “*I deserve a chance to practice in this field [of teaching ESL]*” and refusing to apply for the TA position of teaching Korean, though it apparently might have been an easier option for her. All these attitudes instilled a greater sense of agency in her later teaching practice.

4.3.2.2. Transformation from an ESL student to a caring teacher

As discussed in Chapter 3, Hana's narratives in her LLA, LTA and our interviews reveal her strong empathy and understanding towards ESL students, which also partly motivated her to become an ESL teacher and greatly informed her teaching practice. As she narrated in her LTA:

Excerpt 14 (from Hana's LTA)

On the first day of class, I always introduce myself as a former ELL student and that

- *English is my second language. This is one of my strengths as a language teacher because*
- *I can easily relate to students by drawing connections and reducing anxiety levels. ... It also creates an intimate atmosphere where students can easily approach me to ask questions.*

In this excerpt, Hana reveals how she explicitly uses her identity as “*a former ELL student*” with “*English as her second language*” as a pedagogical and linguistic asset – a “*strength as a language teacher*”, for it enables her to relate to her students emotionally and creates an intimate class atmosphere by “*reducing anxiety levels*”. With the question of when and how she overcame her initial “*fear and alienation*” of being an ELL student and transformed her identity into a supporting, caring ESL teacher, I approached the topic in our second interview:

Excerpt 15 (from Interview 2 with Hana, 02/21/2019)

1. *Y: Now you work as an ESL teacher, do you think your learning experiences*
2. *influence your teaching philosophy or practice?*
- 3. *H: Yeah, for sure. I always told my students not to be afraid of making mistakes.*
4. *When I started learning English, you know, my experience was not fun. I*
5. *stopped raising my hand in class since the ESL teacher laughed at my*
- 6. *pronunciation mistakes. I even encouraged my students to make mistakes*
- 7. *purposely in class. [...] I wanted to give them space, you know, to create*
- 8. *intimate atmosphere in the classroom. [...] Also, I encouraged students to*
- 9. *embrace their cultural root, their first language. I told them, “It’s part of you;*
- 10. *it’s where you’re from. Even if you end up becoming an American citizen”, you*
11. *know, most of my students were immigrants, “you still have that root”. I shared*

12. *with them my experience of being discriminated, but I also told them not*
13. *everyone was like that.*
14. Y: *How did you overcome your fear and become confident as an ESL teacher?*
15. H: *Well, at some point, I don't know, [laughing]. I guess, it was after I became the*
16. *volunteer instructor and I started sharing my experience when some students*
17. *told their stories of being discriminated. At first, I was afraid of that, you know,*
18. *I was afraid that students would make judgements on me, and they might think,*
- 19. *“she's not perfect. She's not good enough to teach English.” But then, I realized*
- 20. *that students appreciated my sharing, and I kind of overcome my fears.*

It can be seen from this excerpt how Hana's previous English learning experiences and her reflection on them contributed positively to her transformation from a shy, timid ESL student who refused to raise her hand in class to a caring teacher who empowers students' multiple identities. Because of her own unpleasant experience of being laughed at by a teacher for her accented pronunciation, she “*told students not to be afraid of making mistakes*” (line 3) and “*even encouraged them to make mistakes*” (line 6) in order to “*give them space [and] create [an] intimate atmosphere in the classroom*” (lines 7-8). Her own struggle associated with her linguistic and national identities contributed to her empathetic support for students' multiple identities which were usually marginalized, as she suggested to students, “*it's part of you; it's where you're from. Even if you end up becoming an American citizen, you still have that root* (lines 9-10)”. Most importantly, by sharing her similar learning experience with students, she established a connection between her identity and the class, which, she thought not only engaged students and but helped her overcome her fears (lines 19-20).

Hana's transformation did not happen automatically though. It was instead the result of the theoretical guidance she obtained in the program (as she narrated in Excerpt 11), the emotional

negotiation, and sometimes even painful reflection on her experiences. As Douglas Fir Group (DFG, 2016) observes in their study, “language learning is an emotionally driven process at multiple levels of experience” (p. 36). As a former ESL learner who experienced discrimination, Hana’s reflective and strategic employment of her affective responses from her lived language experience not only served as linguistic and pedagogical assets from which she drew agency, but also resulted in her constructing a much more positive professional identity for herself. This is in line with Zembylas’s (2007) notion of emotional ecology, in which he addresses the inextricable role of a teacher’s emotional knowledge on teaching and learning in the ecosystem of teacher knowledge. With this emotional knowledge situated in socio-cultural contexts, Hana developed teaching practices that cultivated her cultural fluidity and sensibility toward ESL students, which I witnessed in a video recording she shared with me. It was an ESL class she taught in a community college while taking the MATESOL program. In that class for beginning adult ESL learners, when she was instructing the grammar of third-person singular verbs in the present tense, one of the students raised such a question, “*Teacher, why we don’t say ‘I is’, since ‘I’ is also a singular person?*”. With a smile on her face, Hana responded, “*You know, ‘I’ is unique and we are all unique, actually, so we need a special verb for ‘I’* (quoted from the video recording, 11/15/2018).

Hana explained why she started providing learning tips to students in our second interview, when I asked whether she could elaborate her teaching philosophy behind this teaching strategy:

Excerpt 16 (from Interview 2 with Hana, 02/21/2019)

I created such learning tips for my students. For one thing, I myself used to feel
 → *overwhelmed by all the grammatical rules and structures in English. I hoped I could create*
 → *some “shortcuts” for my students. More importantly, I hoped I would raise my students’*
awareness of identity. That is, they’re not only different from English speakers, but they’re
unique in their language identities.

In the excerpt above, Hana demonstrated her empathy to ESL students and her strategic use of identity as pedagogy in her teaching practice. Not only by creating “*shortcuts*” for students to help them avoid being “*overwhelmed by all the grammatical rules and structures in English*”, she also strategically generated a secure setting for ESL students enabling them to embrace their identities. Reis (2015) in her study of NNEST’s development and emotions points out that “if ESL/EFL students at large repeatedly encounter ESL/EFL teachers whose practices are heavily influenced by their fears and insecurities, the vicious cycle of powerlessness in the face of NS myth is likely to continue” (p. 34). In Hana’s case, it could be seen that by negotiating the meanings of teaching and learning, she managed to establish a virtuous cycle in the classroom, which would facilitate students’ language learning as well as produce positive consequences for her identity work.

4.3.2.3 Struggles in becoming a legitimate, independent teacher in the Practicum

In spring 2019, Hana was placed in an advanced academic reading and writing class in LLC for her practicum. Her mentor, Diana (pseudonym), was a female teacher with over 20 years of ESL teaching experience. After watching two classes of Hana’s teaching practice, I requested an in-person interview with Diana, which she politely declined because of her busy schedule, but she accepted an email interview at the end of the quarter and offered brief responses to my questions. I quote and discuss some of them in the following as a contrast to Hana’s narratives about the same issues.

Similar to Jing, Hana expressed much enthusiasm for the practicum teaching in our group meeting in the winter break 2019. She told us excitedly, “*you know what, the mentor who will supervise me has the same name as my mentor in the community college four years ago. What a coincidence! I hope she is as caring as the other Diana [laughing]*” (quoted from Group Meeting

2, 12/06/2018). After observing two of her practice teaching classes, I took an interview with Hana in April 2019, in which she showed more concern than excitement about the issues rising from her practicum teaching, as discussed in the following excerpts.

Excerpt 17 (from Interview 3 with Hana, 03/27/2019)

1. Y: *Do you remember how your mentor introduced you to the class?*
2. H: *Yes. She said in our meeting before the class that she would introduce me as the*
- 3. *second instructor, but she changed it, you know, in the class, saying, “there’s a*
- 4. *teacher trainee from MATESOL”.* *She explained afterwards why she said*
- 5. *that. She said students would do course evaluation towards the end of the*
- 6. *quarter. She didn’t want them to think they were evaluating me. It made sense*
- 7. *to me. I didn’t get offended for that. “A teacher trainee?” [giggling] It’s not a*
- 8. *bad term.*

In my email interview with Diana, I asked the similar question, “*What do you think is student teacher’s position in the classroom?*”. Diana responded, “*She is a second teacher, if you will*” (quoted from email interview with Diana, 06/02/2019). For some reason, she changed the way to introduce Hana in the class, as displayed in the excerpt above. Facing her mentor’s inconsistent expression of her role in the practicum class, from “*the second instructor*” (line 3) to “*a teacher trainee*” (line 4), Hana expressed total understanding, “*It made sense to me. I didn’t get offended for that*” (lines 6-7) and accepted her mentor’s explanation that it was related to course evaluation (line 5). From Hana’s somewhat sardonic tone when she joked that “*teacher trainee*” was “*not a bad term*” (lines 7-8), I could tell that she was not totally convinced by the excuse, but she seemed not to take it personally or let it be an obstacle.

When being asked the same question, another preservice teacher, Jing, expressed great appreciation that her mentor's effort to include her in the syllabus as a "*co-instructor*", which she thought "*offered her a great sense of inclusion and belonging*" (Group Meeting 3, 03/27/2019). As a former MATESOL student, I had exactly the same feeling when I took the practicum teaching, where my mentor introduced me to students as an experienced ESL teacher and the second instructor of the class. The authority I gained from my mentor's acknowledgement did empower my agency and confidence in teaching. In a qualitative study by Gray, Wright, and Pascoe (2018), the authors address the important role of a mentor's emotional support, particularly their welcoming reception, in preservice teachers' professional and pedagogical development. While the study's focus is on drama education, it is very similar to language teaching in their highly interactive and relational nature. In Hana's case, although she did not display a negative affective response to this incident, it obviously did not facilitate establishing a close, trusting relationship between the mentor and mentee. Johnston (2016), in his study of preservice teachers' experience of problematic school placements as guests or learners, points out that mentors' failure to validate preservice teachers' participation and need to belong creates unwelcoming contexts making it increasingly difficult for preservice teachers to negotiate their professional identity development. Graham and Roberts (2007) also state that a positive dynamic interplay between student teachers and their circumstances would help the former assimilate from the periphery to center and suggest that preservice teachers behave as active agents in the interplay.

In Hana's narrative below in the same interview, she demonstrated an awareness of the need to enact proactive strategies to raise student awareness, albeit in a somewhat elided fashion, of some of the inequities extant within TESOL.

Excerpt 18 (from Interview 3 with Hana, 04/12/2019)

I. Y: What do you think is your main goal in practicum teaching?

- 2. H: *Since it's part of the program, I hope I would apply or try what I learned to*
- 3. *practice, though not all of them, not "native-speaker fallacy" or this stuff*
- 4. *[laughing], but at least, to raise students' awareness of their cultural and*
- 5. *linguistic identities. Also, it's a chance to prove I'm able to teach in LLC, you*
- 6. *know, to be a real TA.*

Regarding the role of practicum teaching, I proposed similar questions to all my preservice teacher participants and their mentors, aiming to understand better how their perceptions of teaching practices guided and impacted their actions. Diana responded to my interview question about the role of microteaching as, “*Giving them a chance to try out activities and practice various teaching skills, e.g., giving directions, classroom management, etc.*” (quoted from the email interview with Diana, 06/02/2019). Hana, as she stated in the excerpt above, obviously expected more beyond practicing teaching skills. She hoped to “*apply or try what I learned to practice*” (lines 2-3) and “*to raise students' awareness of their cultural and linguistic identities*” (line 4). While Diana focused more on basic teaching skills such as “*giving directions, classroom management, etc.*” (quoted from the email interview with Diana, 06/02/2019), Hana expected to achieve a higher goal at the curriculum level, like introducing critical awareness to the classroom. In fact, Hana was not the only preservice teacher who mentioned a discrepancy between their theoretical study in the coursework and the practical teaching in practicum. The most frequently mentioned disjuncture was the one about the attitude towards the “nativeness fallacy”. In Jing’s case, for example, her mentor in our interview stated that “*students have their own prejudice [against NNESTs]*” when discussing Jing’s teaching performance as a multilingual speaker teacher (c.f. Excerpt 3 in Section 4.3.1). Another preservice teacher (she preferred to keep anonymous on this issue) mentioned that in her first meeting with her mentor, she was advised, “*to forget what I learned in the coursework and face the reality [that students prefer a NEST]*”. Such disconnection

between preservice teachers' theoretical education and practice obviously results in ideological conflicts and exerts a negative influence on their professional identity development (Trent, 2019; Yuan, 2016).

Hana's narrative in Excerpt 18 reveals her awareness of the existing disparity and attempt to resolve the contradiction. Although she hoped to "*apply or try what I learned to practice*" (line 2), at the same time she joked, "*though not all of them, not 'native-speaker fallacy' or this stuff*" (line 3). In this way, she found her own strategy to negotiate with the dominant context beyond the theoretical coursework. Due to her difficult experiences when applying for a TAship in LLC, it is not surprising Hana also instilled another personal goal in practicum, "*to prove I'm able to teach in LLC, to be a real TA*" (lines 5-6). Practicum for her was not only an opportunity to practice teaching, but also a chance to assert her teaching identity. Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004) point out that teacher identity is an ongoing, dynamic process in which individuals negotiate external and internal expectation as they attempt to make sense of themselves and their teaching practice. In Hana's case, the contradictions she experienced as a result of varying expectations from different directions imposed some confinements on her teacher identity, but also provided opportunities for her to exercise agency. By drawing on personal values, experiences, and beliefs, she managed to develop her agency to make her practice teaching experience more meaningful. During this process of preservice teacher's agency enactment, a supporting mentor plays an essential role in addressing the preservice teachers' learning and emotional needs (Crasborn et al., 2011). Mentors need to know about their student teachers' perceptions and expectations to create a positive relationship and space for preservice teachers to solve any possible conflicts. From Hana's and her mentor's narratives, it could be seen there existed disparity between their conceptions and expectations in terms of practicum teaching. In the following excerpts, I explore and discuss whether and how both sides negotiated these disagreements to establish a positive

mentoring relationship, and how the failure of doing so contributed to Hana's negative emotional responses, such as fear, alienation, and vulnerability.

Excerpt 19 (from Interview 3 with Hana, 04/12/2019)

1. Y: *Is there any difference between your current teaching in practicum and your*
2. *previous teaching?*
- 3. H: *Yes, sure! It's good to teach with a mentor. I learned a lot of strategies from her.*
4. *But it's hard at the same time. I talked with Karen (pseudonym of another*
5. *MATESOL student) and she had the same feeling. We both have teaching*
- 6. *experience, but in practicum, we feel like we need to act in the classroom like*
- 7. *we know nothing, because we're under the guidance and we're not supposed to*
- 8. *conduct activities. We need to follow the mentors' instructions, housekeeping*
- 9. *rules, etc. It's hard to find the balance. You know, I didn't want to take her*
- 10. *position in the classroom, but at the same time, I didn't want students to think I*
- 11. *was just another student.*

In this excerpt, Hana described the challenges she felt in the teaching practicum. On the one hand, she appreciated the teaching strategies learned from her mentor (line 3), but on the other hand, she experienced constraint for she thought she needed to “*act in the classroom like we know nothing*” (lines 6-7). This presumption came from her understanding of the relationship between mentors and mentees, “*We're not supposed to conduct activities. We need to follow the mentors' instructions, housekeeping rules, etc.*” (lines 7-8). The conflict inevitably led to difficulty for her “*to find the balance*” (line 9) as well as resulted in bafflement as to how to position herself in the classroom. Hana's concern revealed the conflicts among her emerging multiple identities in the practicum class. One such conflict was between her already-existing identity as an experienced

ESL teacher and a trainee who needed to act like she knew nothing. The other conflict emanated from her designated roles in the classroom – “*I didn’t want to take [mentor’s] position in the classroom, but at the same time, I didn’t want students to think I was just another student*” (lines 9-11).

Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004) describe the dilemma preservice teachers encounter in the process of becoming a teacher. They state, “Professional identity formation is often presented as a struggle, because (student) teachers have to make sense of varying and sometimes competing perspectives, expectations, and roles that they have to confront and adapt to” (p. 115). In a similar vein, Sinner (2012) suggests that the multiplicity of identities is challenging for preservice teachers to negotiate as the various roles often subvert one another. Hana’s struggle and attempts to reconcile such multiple identities reveals how she (re)constructed her professional identity when trying to make sense of her role in the complex activity system. Her awareness, together with the natural inclination towards a coherent identity (Dang, 2013) served to further motivate her professional identity development. In the following excerpt, Hana shared more details of the challenges she encountered in the teaching practicum.

Excerpt 20 (from Interview 3 with Hana, 04/12/2019)

1. Y: *How comfortable do you feel teaching in the current practicum class?*
- 2. H: *I feel confident enough, but today I was, [...] nervous at the end. I kept glancing*
3. *at my mentor ...*
4. Y: *Yes, I noticed that.*
5. H: *Because she ever cut me down, you know, when students asked questions.*
- 6. *She shut me down beforehand, before I answered. It was like, “Ok, I can*
- 7. *answer that question.” Sometimes she said the opposite stuff to what I had said*
- 8. *in front of students. So that’s why I kept glancing at her to make sure this was*

9. *right, or this was the answer she wanted. Whenever I showed her my planned*
- 10. *activity, she would say, “Yes, go ahead and take your time”. But I felt she wasn’t*
- 11. *offering enough time. When the thirty minutes was running out, she was like,*
- 12. *glancing at the clock every five seconds. I felt awkward and apologizing. I could*
- 13. *tell her facial expression was not so pleasant.*

At the beginning of this excerpt, Hana expressed a contradiction in terms of confidence levels. While feeling “*confident enough*” to teach presumably quite often, she admitted she was “*nervous*” (line 2) at the end of a specific class. This self-assessment echoed Diana’s response to one of my interview questions.

Q4: What do you think are the student teacher’s strengths and weakness in teaching?”

A4: Strengths: confidence, previous teaching experience

Weaknesses: sometimes quite nervous

(Quoted from the email interview with Diana, 06/05/2019)

Diana praised Hana’s strength in teaching by enumerating her “*confidence*” and her “*previous teaching experience*” and pointed out Hana’s weakness as “*sometimes quite nervous*”. She did not elaborate in the email interview the reason why Hana displayed such contradictions in her teaching performance. Hana’s narrative provided some understanding of the source and nature of her contradictory feelings and behavior. She felt nervous because of the way Diana provided feedback on her teaching not after the lesson was over but while Hana was teaching. As she stated, “*She [the mentor] shut me down before I answered [students’ questions]*” (line 6) and “*Sometimes she said the opposite stuff to what I had said in front of students*” (lines 7-8). The other reason was Diana’s inconsistent attitudes towards the time-related flexibility granted to her. On the one hand,

Hana was encouraged to “*go ahead and take your time*” (line 10), but on the other, “*when the thirty minutes was running out, she kept glancing at the clock every five seconds*” (lines 11-12), which made Hana feel “*awkward and apologizing*” (line 13). It could be that Hana’s nervousness might not have been from teaching related issues, such as unfamiliar subject content or teaching methods, but due to her mentor’s feedback and her *in situ* response to her teaching. She showed a lack of confidence by constantly “*glancing at [her mentor]*” and hoping to get approval from her to “*make sure that was the answer she wanted*” (line 8). Carver & Katz (2004) point out that as the preservice teachers’ immediate supervisor and supporter, mentors would facilitate the process if they provide mentoring that synthesizes pedagogical assistance with keeping mentees accountable. In Hana’s case, however, there seemed to be a lack of such assistance and the mentee was left in a position of loss and isolation.

In much scholarship that studies preservice teachers’ interaction with mentor teachers (e.g., Beck & Kosnik, 2000; Cattley, 2007; Engle & Faux, 2006; Ferrier-Kerr, 2009), it has been noted that mentor teachers have the potential to support preservice teachers’ professional identity (re)construction by creating social spaces and flexible practices that empower their greater sense of agency and foster their active participation. In many cases, however, as Beck and Kosnik (2000) find in their study, despite the intentions of the mentors to support their mentees, in reality they were inflexible and required the preservice teachers to closely follow the predetermined curriculum and even their own styles. Hana’s narrative does reflect how the lack of such an encouraging support would impact and hinder preservice teacher’s development of professional identity. It also shows how the “teacher voice” (Izadinia, 2016) inside her was dismissed and suppressed because of the lack of authority and ownership of the class due to the unequal power dynamic existing in the practicum class (Kanno & Stuart, 2011).

4.3.3. *Chen: “I’ll be a welcomed EFL teacher in my country.”*

As mentioned in Chapter 3, before coming to the MATESOL program, Chen spent all her language learning and teaching practice in her home country, China. Growing up in the late 1990's and 2000's, when the country launched the nation-wide top-down ELT reform with the focus on developing students' "communicative competence and cultural awareness" (Requirement, 2004), Chen's English learning experience was inevitably marked by the contemporary language policy and ideology, which advocated the "promise of English" (Pennycook, 2007; Tollefson, 2006) and privileged native-English speaker teachers. In her LLA and LTA, Chen's reflection on her English learning and teaching experiences displays her budding awareness of the hegemonic status of English and the assumption and hidden biases that shape her self- and other positioning. Along with this, her narratives also displayed her conscious or unconscious alignments that help to reproduce existing language teaching practices and social inequities in terms of language, culture, race, and ethnicity (c.f., Section 4.2 in Chapter 3). In light of such conflicted evidence, it seems apparent that any nascent recognition of the injustices prevalent in TESOL would require further cultivation in a curriculum based on praxis "in all its contexts as a constant reciprocal relation between theory and practice" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 3) that fosters more self-reflection and self-conscious actions. The following section is to discuss how the MATESOL program Chen attended, particularly the mentored practicum teaching, facilitates this process in terms of her professional identity (re)construction or fails to do so in some settings.

4.3.3.1 Struggling to inhabit a teacher's role in practicum teaching

Chen was placed at a beginning-level speaking and listening class in LLC in Spring 2019. Her mentor, Alice (pseudonym), was a white female instructor with more than 20 years of ESL teaching experience. Different from Jing's and Hana's mentor, who showed a welcoming reception towards my request for interviewing them and observing the student teacher's teaching practice, Chen's mentor was a bit resistant to my request, in fear that my presence in the classroom "would

distract the students” (cited from Yan’s Research Journal, 04/12/2019) and granted me only one class to observe Chen’s teaching practice. She also declined my request for an in-person interview due to her busy schedule. In our first meeting before Chen’s practice teaching, which I was to observe, she commented to herself after reading my research proposal, “*you should ask students, not the teacher, about their preference in learning English*” (quoted from Yan’s Research Journal, 04/12/2019). But my oral request for interviewing the students via email was rejected, because it “*would make the students feel more vulnerable*”. As a result, the data collected about Chen’s teaching practice were mainly from one class I observed, two interviews with Chen, three group meetings, and her written materials for the practicum course.

In a group meeting with Chen and Jing in the third week of Spring 2019, we talked about their ongoing practicum. Jing expressed her appreciation of her mentor’s effort to include her in the course syllabus as the “co-teacher”, which allowed for her a legitimate role in the classroom. She jokingly cited one of the Chinese great philosophers, Confucius’s big idea of “rectification of names”, saying, “*if we are not given a right title, our speech will not be sound*” (quoted from Group Meeting 3, 04/08/2019). By contrast, Chen hesitantly expressed her concern that she was not mentioned at all on the syllabus, and she had no idea about how to start her first teaching class:

Excerpt 21 (from Group Meeting 3, 03/27/2019)

1. J: *How did your mentor introduce you to the class on the first day, then?*
2. C: *Erm.... She didn’t introduce me. She just mentioned my name in one word. I*
- 3. *thought the students didn’t even know who I was and why I was there. They*
- 4. *must think I am also a student, like them.*
5. Y: *How did you feel about that?*
- 6. C: *I think it’s ... OK, not a big deal. Maybe it was difficult to introduce me. I am*
- 7. *not a real teacher, after all. I plan to take two minutes to introduce myself*

8. *when I begin my first teaching class next week.*
9. Y: *How are you going to introduce yourself?*
10. C: *A MATESOL graduate student. Well, I don't think the title worries me a lot.*
- 11. *I'm worried the students don't trust me because I'm not a native speaker.*
- 12. *You know, the students might wonder why I'm eligible to teach them since*
- 13. *English is not my primary language.*
14. Y: *[to Jing] Did you have the same concern when teaching?*
15. J: *Yeah, at the beginning [...], but I feel more confident now, after teaching one*
- 16. *class last week. After all, I've had teaching experience. And my mentor hinted*
- 17. *to my students that they "get a good deal" in this class because they've got*
18. *two teachers.*

In this excerpt, Chen expressed her concerns for the ongoing teaching practice. One was about her ambiguous role in the classroom. Except for mentioning her name in one word, her mentor did not introduce her formally to the class, which made Chen worried that *"the students didn't even know who I was and why I was there"* (lines 3-4). She then immediately dismissed it as *"not a big deal"* (line 6) and tried to justify her mentor's action: *"Maybe it was difficult to introduce me. I wasn't a real teacher, after all"* (lines 6-7). The greater concern for Chen, however, was from her linguistic identity, as she stated, *"I'm worried the students don't trust me because I'm not a native speaker. The students might wonder why I'm eligible to teach them since English is not my primary language"* (lines 11-13). Chen's narrative in this excerpt shows how she tried to negotiate her multiple identities of an NNES, a MATESOL student, and a preservice teacher when they conflicted in the practicum. This process demonstrates the complicated interaction between her reflective self-positioning and other positioning.

When discussing the social nature of identity, Cohen (2010) notes that LTI is communicatively and discursively constructed with others, including colleagues, students and the broader socio-cultural context involved. According to the dialogical approach to identity (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011, Hermans, 2001), during the process of (re)constructing their identity, individuals often negotiate, integrate, and travel between multiple self-positionings and other positionings. Despite the discontinuous feature of identity, one's self is not always fragmented due to people's natural tendency to maintain self as a coherent construct (Hermans & Kempen, 1993). It is through constant internal dialogues (Linell, 2009) and internally persuasive discourse (Ilieva, 2010) that one creates the unity of self by weaving others' voice into their own words and as part of their reasoning and acting. In Chen's narrative, when she said that "*it is OK [for the mentor not to introduce her to the class]*" because she was not "*a real teacher*" (lines 6-7), she was obviously trying to create a persuasive self-dialogue to make sense of her identities as well as other positioning. Similarly, by speaking the words of the group and the context she worked in, she tried to rationalize the possible questioning from students about her legitimacy to teach English since "*English is not my primary language*" (line 13). In Jing's narrative, by contrast, although she expressed a similar concern about her apparently conflicting identities of being an NNES and an ESL teacher, she mediated it in her narrative with internal reasoning based on her "*teaching experience*" (line 16) and external aids from her mentor's support – she "*hinted to the students that they 'get a good deal' in this class because they've got two teachers*" (lines 16-17). This establishes that as the immediate supervisor of preservice teachers, mentors play an essential role in fostering preservice teachers' professional identity by granting them legitimacy and providing them emotional support.

Arvaja (2016), in her study exploring new teacher identity negotiation in the context of pedagogical studies, notes that when teachers position themselves in their working contexts, either a match or mismatch happens among their different self-positioning and other positioning in

relation to the work context. Although an aligning relationship is ideal for fostering new teachers' positive sense of self, the misalignment has its merit in leading to transformative identity and instigating individuals' agency to question or even modify the unreasonable aspects of the work context (Hana's proactive narrative and actions as discussed in Section 4.3.2 are a case in point). In Chen's case, when she encountered disfavoring other positioning from her mentor, and the imagined student community, her agency was not fully exerted partly because of the strong influence of her lived language experience, in which the English hegemony and nativeness myth were rationalized and consented to by her (as discussed in Chapter 3). More essentially, the unequal power dynamics in the practicum class between her and her mentor might have been just too overwhelming for her to resist. This hierarchy was further manifested in one of her teaching practices which I observed. The following excerpt is from one of my research journal entries documented on the day of the observation ("A" is abbreviation of "Alice" in the excerpt below).

Excerpt 22 (from Yan's Research Journal, 04/19/2019)

12:25 *I arrived in the classroom 5 minutes early. Chen was already there, **in her seat, scrolling through her cellphone**. Her mentor, Alice, was distributing test papers to students and making jokes with them about the incoming long weekend.*

1. 12:31 *(Chen went to the platform desk; Alice was sitting among students.)*

2. A: *[To students] Today, [Chen's real name] is going to teach the first part of the day.*

4. *Chen gave direction to students to discuss their homework in pairs.*

5. A: *[to the male student beside her] Henry is absent today, so I'll be your partner.*

→ 7. A: *[to Chen] **Could you explain to them what they're supposed to***

→ 8. ***talk about? What is the actual practice?***

9. C: *We're practicing how you show agreement to a positive statement*
10. *or negative statement, like "I like soccer", "so do I".*
- 11. 12:33 A: ***[talked to the whole class, clarifying the prompt]***
12. *[...] Remember to pay attention to the negative statement. When*
13. *your partner says, "I don't ...", you should use ...*
14. *Student 1: [calling out] Neither!*
15. A: *Yes! Neither do I. Neither am I. Right?*
16. *[to Chen] You just do the brief review.*
17. 12:35 A: *Ok, let's do this part of ...*
- 18. A: ***[interrupted Chen and turned to one of the students] What did***
- 19. *you say? [...] I don't study French, and [looking at the student] ...*
- Student 2: Neither do I.*
20. A: *Correct!*
- (Chen walked around the students, but didn't participate in their talk,***
- and then returned to the platform desk, watching students. Alice was practicing with two***
- students next to her.)***
21. 12:41 C: *OK. Time is up [students are still talking]. If you haven't finished,*
22. *it's fine ... [there's no sign from students of stopping talking.]*
- 23. A: ***Ok. Let's stop! (The class became quiet.)***
24. 12:43 C: *[while writing on the blackboard "I live along"] How about this*
25. *one? I live alone.*
- 26. A: ***[Chen's real name]! It's "e", not "g"! a-l-o-n-e, not g. Let me***
- 27. ***tell you, it's very hard to talk and write on the blackboard at the***
- 28. ***same time.***
29. C: *[laughing apologetically] Yes! I was wrong. [Corrected the word*

to talk about and what the actual practice is” (lines 7-8). Then she restated it to the class and demonstrated with an example (lines 11-13). At 12:35, when Chen was trying to give students more directions, Alice interrupted her again and started practicing with the students next to her (lines 18-19). When Chen failed to bring the class to stop the group discussions (line 21), Alice stepped in by calling *“Ok! Let’s stop”* (line 23). The last one happened at 12:43, when Alice pointed out Chen’s misspelt word on the blackboard and gave her instruction immediately, *“Let me tell you, it’s very hard to talk and write on the blackboard at the same time”* (lines 26-28). The most salient moment on that day was Alice and Chen’s conversation after the class, when Alice commented on Chen’s teaching performance with several students still present in the classroom, *“You know, you are too much alike, you and the students. You’re young and also an international student”* (lines 32-34).

I had a follow-up interview with Chen the same afternoon of the class, in which I raised questions about the salient incidents I noticed during observation with the aim to learn about Chen’s perception and interpretation of them. At first, I asked Chen about her communication with her mentor regarding two things: 1) whether and how instructions on teaching contents and skills were provided; and 2) how her mentor assigned her role in the class.

Excerpt 23 (Interview 4 with Chen, 04/19/2019)

1. Y: *So far how many times did you teach and how long for each time?*
2. C: *Twice. The first one was 15 minutes and today was 25 minutes, half of the class.*
3. Y: *What orientation did your mentor give you before the class?*
- 4. C: *We actually didn’t have any orientation. On the first day of the course, I came*
- 5. *to the classroom and she gave me the syllabus, telling what this class was for,*
- 6. *its aim, etc.*
- 7. Y: *Did you meet before each class or before you taught?*

- 8. C: *No. But on Mondays she gave me a brief introduction before the class, about*
- 9. *what we're going to do this week.*
10. Y: *Did your mentor communicate with you about your role in the class, like a*
11. *trainee, a practicum student, or else?*
- 12. C: *No, but I am quite clear about my role. I'm also a learner, like her students.*
13. *They're learning how to use English and I'm learning how she teaches.*
14. Y: *But did you mentor mention that?*
- 15. C: *[pause] Erm ... No. Because I think we're quite sure about what my role is.*
- 16. *Actually, she must feel it's unnecessary for her to mention that again.*

In the interviews with the other two preservice teachers, Jing and Hana, I asked the same questions about the pre-teaching guidance they received. They both reported that they had pre-class orientation and regular personal meetings with their mentor. By contrast, Chen did not receive any orientation from her mentor, nor did they meet regularly. The only scaffolding she got was the briefing on the syllabus “*on the first day of the course*” and short introductions “*on Mondays*” about “*what we're going to do this week*” (lines 4-9). From the perspective of social constructivism, effective learning occurs in a social process where learners are presented with knowledge or skills beyond their current skill level and where learning is scaffolded by the educator through the zone of proximal development (ZPD) (Vygotsky, 1978). As one of the most essential components in this process of learning to teach, Chen's mentor failed to provide such support either pedagogically or emotionally. In the class I observed, Chen was presented with tasks that apparently went beyond her current teaching skills and knowledge. It seemed she had been called upon to organize a class discussion about a topic about which she did not seem to have enough knowledge. For example, she did not seem to have a clear understanding of what the discussion prompt was and when she gave directions of pair discussion, she overlooked the fact

that there were odd-numbered students in the classroom. Her mentor noticed that and then made a pair with the student next to her (lines 5-6 in Excerpt 22).

The single factor of lack of teaching experience cannot provide a complete explanation of Chen's not-so-satisfactory teaching performance in class. The absence of sufficient guidance and facilitation from her mentor also contributed to this result. In her research on the role of mentoring language teachers, Asención Delaney (2012) stresses the significance of mentors in helping preservice teachers plan their lessons, providing them with scaffolding and constructive feedback about their teaching performance. In a similar vein, Arnold (2006) points out the importance of quality time spent by mentors with their mentees to work collaboratively. A mentor's guidance to help preservice teachers focus on students and prepare for and be involved in lessons is particularly essential for multilingual teachers. In Chen's case, there was a serious lack of such support and time commitment from her mentor. What made it worse was the lack of a legitimized role for Chen in the class, which further deprived her of ownership and authority and left her vulnerable, thus setting her up to have an unfruitful teaching practicum experience.

The other thing that stood out for me in the interview conversation was Chen's submissive attitude towards the assigned positioning ascribed to her in the practicum class by her mentor teacher. As mentioned in the discussion of Excerpt 1 from a group meeting, Chen stated that "*It is OK [for the mentor not to introduce her to the class]*" because she was not "*a real teacher*" (line 10 in Excerpt 21). Similarly, in this interview conversation, when being asked how her mentor communicated with her about her role in the class, Chen reiterated, "*I'm quite sure about my role. I'm also a learner, like her [mentor's] other students*" (line 12). By saying "*her students*" rather than "*my students*" or "*our students*", Chen also displayed a lack of ownership of the class. When I persisted in asking whether her mentor addressed the issue in the same way, she avoided answering my question directly by stressing: "*I think we're quite sure about what my role is*" and "*she [mentor] must feel it's unnecessary for her to mention that again*" (lines 15-16). By self-

positioning as “*not a real teacher*” and “*a learner*” like other students in the class, Chen rejected or surrendered her professional identity as a preservice teacher, which, to some extent, aligned with her previous conception of NES being natural language teachers. It also created alignment with her current context so as no conflict existed between her self-positioning and her mentor’s other positioning of her, particularly when she stressed that “*we [she and mentor] are quite sure about what my role is*” (line 15). As discussed above, the misalignment between one’s self-positioning and other positioning sometimes has its merit in leading to transformative identity and an instigation of the individuals’ agency to question or even modify the unreasonable aspects of the work context. In Chen’s case, her narrative does not serve as such a site for her to resist the disfavored positioning from her mentor or develop her agency to reconstruct her professional identity. It also partly explains her relatively passive performance in the class, for example, her failure to participate in the students’ discussion and students’ ignorance to her direction to end the small group discussions (at 12:43 in Excerpt 2). In Chen’s practicum teaching, her mentor’s negative positioning of her, the limited expectations of Chen’s contributions to teaching, and minimal collaboration together with questionable feedback from the mentor to her role must have played quite a salient role in Chen’s formulation of her professional identity. This in turn would have impacted her teaching philosophy and practice, for example, her confidence and strategies in managing class, providing feedback to students, and other pedagogical practices. In the following interview, I brought up the issue of her mentor’s frequent interruption of her teaching so as to have a better understanding about her reaction to this issue.

Excerpt 24 (Interview 3 with Chen, 04/19/2019)

1. Y: *I noticed that in today’s teaching, your mentor helped you with explaining the*
2. *activity to students. What do you think of it?*
- 3. C: *I think it’s necessary. She was obviously able to make it clearer.*

- 4. Y: *Do you mind her interrupting you and correcting you in front of the students?*
5. C: *Erm ... If there was really something I didn't explain clearly, I wouldn't mind.*
- 6. *I hope in the future, if I could teach a whole class, she would leave her class to*
- 7. *me. But for today, as you saw, the students were confused about my direction.*
- 8. *So, I think she jumped in at the right time. And the students also knew I was*
9. *learning to teach.*
- [...]
10. Y: *How much flexibility do you think your mentor teacher gave you in teaching?*
- 11. C: *Erm... 30%, I think. She usually gave me her lesson plan the day before*
- 12. *and I would follow the framework to organize the discussion, but I can decide*
13. *what questions to ask to the students.*

In the excerpt above, Chen expressed her understanding of her mentor's interruption of her teaching by justifying it: *"It's necessary. She was obviously able to make it clearer"* (line 3) and *"If there was really something I didn't explain clearly, I wouldn't mind [her cutting in]"* (line 4). Although she hoped *"in the future she [her mentor] would leave her class to me"* (lines 6-7). Here she accepted her mentor's interference of her teaching in front of the students since *"the students also knew I was learning to teach"* (line 8). She also regarded having 30% of flexibility in teaching and mainly following her mentor's lesson plan as a reasonable process (lines 11-12). Obviously, at the beginning stage of her practicum, Chen's teacher voice, if any, was not encouraged or promoted seriously due to multiple, interactive internal and external factors. A teacher's voice, according to Sutherland, Howard, and Markauskaite (2010), is *"the measure of the extent to which a person can articulate a personal practical identity image of himself/herself as a teacher"* (p. 456). Izadinia (2013) points out having *"teacher voice"* is an essential element for preservice teachers to form and construct their professional identity when she defines preservice teachers' professional

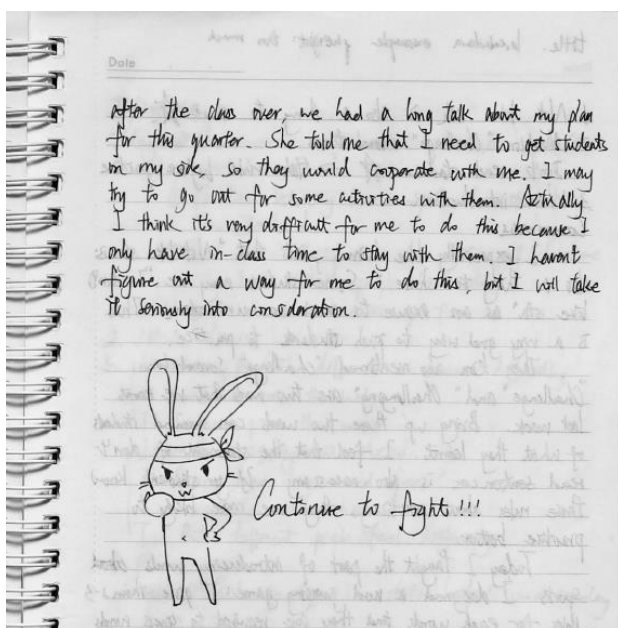
identity as “their perceptions of their cognitive knowledge, sense of agency, [...] and relationship with the significant others and as shaped by their educational contexts, prior experiences and learning communities” (Izadinia, 2013, p. 708). The shaping of teacher voice, definitely, does not occur overnight, but develops over time at the “day-to-day, real-time level” (Lichtwarck-Aschoff et al., 2008, p. 396) in a complex, dynamic process involving shifts between varied and even contradictory voices (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). During the process, the guidance, support and feedback from the program faculty and mentor teacher plays an indispensable role. In Chen’s case, it seems that she got quite limited support from her mentor in the practicum. It is particularly noteworthy that when her mentor gave her instructions about the blackboard writing, “*Let me tell you, it’s very hard to talk and write on the blackboard at the same time*” (at 12:43 in Excerpt 22), it served more like an immediate blame rather than a constructive guidance at the time. At the end of the class, Alice commented on Chen’s teaching performance in front of students as lack of confidence after indicating that “*you are too much alike, you and the students*” (line 31 in Excerpt 22). I doubted the positive effects of the comments provided in such a negative way. All these factors, contributed partly, if not completely, to a teaching practice that was not so successfully performed.

4.3.3.2 Managing to establish teacher identity in an unfamiliar setting – leaning on previous language teaching experience

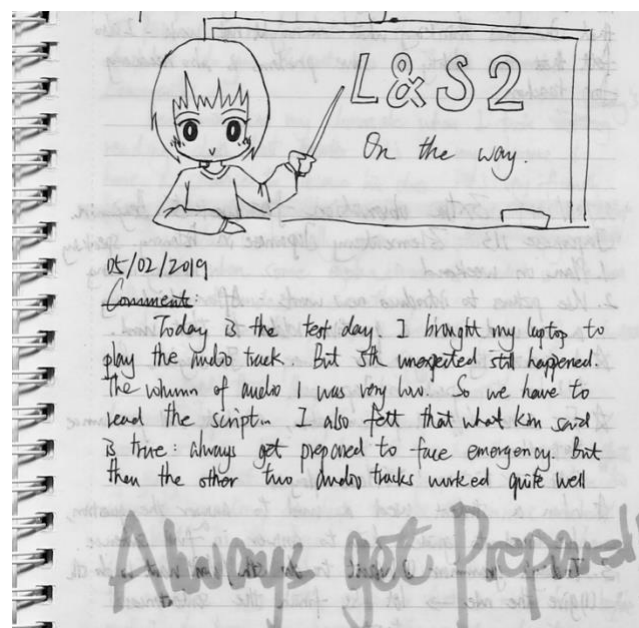
It has been discussed above how Chen’s perception and context-related factors affected her teaching performance and hindered the process of learning to teach. However, it is too hasty and arbitrary to conclude that Chen failed at all to develop her teacher’s voice or (re)construct her professional identity, though she showed an obedient attitude during interactions with her mentor and accepted the seemingly disfavored other positioning. In my research journal, I also reflected on the impact of my involvement in the construction of Chen’s narratives. In our interactions, my

multiple roles and identities as a researcher, a senior cohort member, an international student with the same L1 as her, one of her friends in daily life, etc., might partly have contributed to the defensive way Chen narrated her experiences. In our interviews and group meetings, she self-positioned as a learner and managed to defend her mentor's somewhat dominant behaviors. It could be interpreted as a “face-saving” strategy to protect her self-esteem and soft-pedal the negative positioning ascribed to her by the significant others in her practicum, i.e., her mentor. In fact, when I was reading Chen's written documents created for the Practicum Seminar, such as her teaching practice journals, teaching philosophy statement, and two TIP letters, I noticed her reflection, criticism, and resistance to the learning and teaching context which were expressed in varied ways. The following excerpt from her teaching practice journal is one such example:

Excerpt 25 (from Chen's Teaching Journal, Spring 2019)



Entry 1 (04/20/2019)



Entry 2 (05/02/2019)

In Entry 1, Chen wrote that her mentor suggested, “I need to get students on my side, so they would cooperate with me. I may try to go out for some activities with them”. She also wrote, “I

will take it seriously into consideration.” In an informal meeting after Chen sent me the journal, I asked her how she thought about Alice’s suggestion after consideration. She told me that although she did not express disagreement in the meeting with Alice, she would not “*go out with students*”, since “*I don’t think I need to hang out with my students to get their cooperation. I’m not their classmate*” (quoted from Yan’s Research Journal, 05/09/2019). Obviously, Chen was trying to resist the designated positioning from the authority in the hierarchical setting in her practicum placement class. By stating that “*I’m not their classmate*”, Chen managed to claim her teaching identity albeit only in her journal. Her hand drawing of a bunny and the annotation of “*Continue to fight!!!*” in the journal can be seen as her resistance to the hegemony and her efforts to reconstruct her teaching identity in her practicum teaching. In Entry 2 Chen documented an unexpected event in one of the classes, when she was not able to play the video due to a technological glitch. She then figured out other ways to continue the class activity. At the end of her entry, she annotated, “*Always get Prepared!*”. By reflecting on the incident, Chen displayed her consciousness to learn from her own teaching behavior, which contributed to the development of her teaching agency (Trent, 2013). These two examples from her Teaching Journal show how Chen managed to exert her agency and negotiate her teaching identity during the interactions with her mentor, students, and the teaching context. Toom, Pietarinen, Soini, and Pyhälö (2015) point out that in the process of developing teacher agency, preservice teachers are trying to adapt to their teaching environment, make choices about classroom practices, and, at the same time, actively create an effective learning environment. Chen’s written narrative in her teaching journal showcases the complexity of teacher learning. Norton (2000) notes that as one of the critical components of agency, preservice teachers’ imagined future self also constitutes an important part of their identity (re)construction as teacher-learners. The following excerpt from one of Chen’s written assignments for the Practicum Seminar is a case in point, in which Chen narrated how she negotiated her current identity and future self in a reflective way.

Excerpt 26 (from Chen's TIPs Letter for the Practicum Seminar, Spring 2019)

Dear Confidence,

→ *I am so glad that finally at the end of this quarter we have become good friends. At first, I*
 → *even dared not talk to you. But when I was having a reflection on this quarter, I could trace*
 → *the process of our relationship. The distance between us become closer and closer and I*
 → *think this result is tightly connected with the progress I made this quarter. [...] I still clearly*
remember that at the beginning of this quarter, [my mentor] pointed out that I did not give
students enough examples so sometimes they got confused. But at the end of the quarter,
she was satisfied with the ways how I gave students example like how to describe travel
experiences. When I was teaching, I could feel that my students respected me and trusted
me. [...] I hope that in my future career, you would still be there to support me.

In this written assignment for the Practicum Seminar, students were asked to write a letter to anyone with whom they wanted to share their feelings and emotions in the practicum (syllabus of Practicum Seminar, Spring 2019). In this letter to “*Confidence*”, Chen chronicled her emotional and pedagogical growth during the quarter, from “*daring not talk to you [confidence]*” at the beginning of the quarter, to getting “*closer and closer*” to confidence, and in the end becoming “*good friends*” with confidence. She credited this growth to “*the progress I made this quarter*”. She thought her mentor’s approval of her teaching approaches such as providing examples and getting students’ respect and trust played an essential role in the process. Chen’s narrative in the letter shows again how teaching practice could create a space for preservice teachers to learn to adapt, resist, and negotiate their professional identity (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). From the initial lack of confidence to the final “*becoming good friends with confidence*”, Chen positively (re)constructed her teacher identity through “an understanding of the self” (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009, p. 178) in interactions with the contextual components. The “significant others” in her

immediate context, such as mentor and students, greatly impacted this process. This excerpt also demonstrates how narratives, as a site of negotiation and resistance, provide Chen more space to develop her imagined identity and exert teacher agency. When stating her wish that her confidence “[...] in my future career, you would still be there to support me”, Chen expressed part of her ideal professional identity which she set up as a long-term goal through the work of imagination in line with Lasky (2005) and Yuan and Lee (2016) who point out that the process of teacher identity (re)construction is agentic in nature. The imagination and expectation Chen constructed in her teaching practice exerted a positive influence on her present self-understanding and teacher identity formation (Pavlenko, 2003). As Kanno and Norton (2003) note, “what has not yet happened in the future can be a reason and motivation for what learners do in the present” (p. 248). At the end of the interview conducted on the same day of Chen’s teaching practice, I raised the question about her understanding of her teaching performance on that day and her future career plans. Chen expressed confidence in achieving a promising goal by establishing a positive self-image.

Excerpt 27 (Interview 3 with Chen, 04/19/2019)

1. Y: *You said you thought your teaching performance today was not very*
2. *satisfactory. What do you think are the reasons?*
- 3. C: *I think it’s mostly because of the lack of teaching experience. For example, I*
- 4. *didn’t explain the discussion task very clearly to students. But I’m quite*
- 5. *confident that I’ll do better in the future after I learn more and practice*
- 6. *more. If my mentor teacher were not in class today, I think I would’ve known*
- 7. *from students’ reaction that they were confused, and I would’ve clarified it,*
- 8. *but she took the role from me.*
9. Y: *For your future teaching, what to you are the most important qualities?*

10. C: *Language knowledge, and confidence. You know, I'll go back to China to*
 → 11. *teach. I'll be a welcomed bilingual English teacher there, with my master's*
 → 12. *degree and the teaching knowledge I learned here.*

In this excerpt, Chen analyzed the reason of her “*unsatisfactory*” teaching performance as “*lack of teaching experience*” (line 3), and she added, “*I'm confident that I'll do better in the future after I learn more and practice more*” (lines 4-5). She also noted for the first time in our conversation that her mentor's presence in the class and her action of correcting her in front of the class disrupted her teaching: “*If my mentor teacher were not in class today, I think I would've known from students' reaction that they were confused, and I would've clarified it*” (lines 6-7). By critically reflecting on her teaching performance and the inter-relationship between her performance and “*significant others*” in the practicum teaching, Chen was trying to establish a positive self-image as a confident, qualified language teacher. This positive future self also contributes to her commitment to the teaching profession. By stating that “*she [the mentor] took the role from me*” (line 8), Chen expressed explicitly her awareness of her teaching role in the classroom, showing her attempt to (re)construct her professional identity. Mayer (1999) points out that “*a teaching role encapsulates the things the teacher does in performing the functions required of her as a teacher*” (p. 6) and provides the basis for a preservice teacher to develop her professional identity. Such a view promotes the teacher, particularly the preservice and novice teacher, as a flexible, lifelong learner to participate in an ongoing process of identity construction (Walkington, 2005).

In the excerpt, Chen also displays how her imagination for her future career prospects helped establish her confidence and (re)constructed her professional identity. By stressing that “*I'll be a welcomed bilingual English teacher there [in my home country] with my master's degree and the teaching knowledge I learned here [in the U.S.]*” (lines 11-12), Chen was able to reimagine herself

as a bilingual, multicompetent English teacher and view herself as a legitimate member of the language-teaching community of practice (Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Pavlenko, 2003). It should be noted, however, this imagined professional identity is still associated with her linguistic and national identities. Chen's statement that the most important qualities for teaching are "*language knowledge and confidence*" is partly the result of framing NNES teachers' professional identity in terms of language proficiency, rather than in terms of their pedagogical knowledge and experience. Her confidence that she would be "*a welcomed bilingual English teacher there [in her home country]*" was established on the prospect that she would "*go back to China to teach*" with her "*master's degree and the teaching knowledge learned here [in the U.S.]*" (lines 11-12). By dichotomizing "*there*" and "*here*", Chen's narrative displays her perception that her imagined professional identity is tied to her home country, a non-English speaking country. According to Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999), NNES teachers "did not feel particularly disadvantaged in their work as EFL teachers because of their non-nativeness" (p. 423). However, they experienced great challenges to their professional identity and legitimacy as a language teacher during their studies in the teacher training program in the U.S. For the MATESOL program educators and mentors, it would be a critical task to facilitate the process in which multilingual student teachers reject the deficit view of NNES teachers and transform their identities as language-teaching professionals in both English-speaking and non-English speaking countries.

4.3.4. Gloria: Transforming from a Spanish language teacher to an ESL teacher

Before coming to the MATESOL program, Gloria had had four non-consecutive years of language teaching experiences in different regions. She taught Spanish in Italy for half a year during her undergraduate studies. Then she taught English in a charter high school for half a year as an intern during her postgraduate studies in Spain. While taking a study-abroad program at a university in southeastern America, she taught Spanish Language and Culture as a TA for one

year. At the time of my research, she had been teaching Spanish language for two years at the university where she was enrolled for the MATESOL program. Given her rich language teaching experience, it is of great interest to examine from her narratives how she drew on experiences in different fields to transform and (re)construct her LTI in her teaching practice.

Besides her written narratives and other artifacts produced for three core courses in the MATESOL program, the research data about Gloria also include the video recordings from her practicum teaching classes. Unlike the three other preservice teachers in my research, who took their teaching practicum in LLC co-teaching an ESL course, Gloria was placed differently for her teaching practicum in Winter 2019 because of ongoing labor negotiations between the teachers' union and the university. Positioned in an interdisciplinary writing program (IWP), Gloria co-taught a writing course linked to a 200-level course in Anthropology. The writing course was designed to “*increase students' understanding with the writing process and standards within the discipline*” (quoted from the syllabus, Winter 2019). The students attending the course were mostly undergraduates majoring in or interested in the field of Anthropology. Gloria's mentor teacher, Julia, was a PhD candidate in Anthropology. Imaginably, this change of placement entailed great adjustment on the part of the student teacher in terms of nearly all aspects of teaching, including teaching contents, teaching approaches, students' and mentor's demographics, etc. I analyze in the following section how Gloria navigated and negotiated her LTI in the favored and unfavored conditions in the practicum by drawing on her previous language learning and teaching experiences.

4.3.4.1 Integrating professional and individual identity

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Gloria rejected my request to observe her practicum teaching in Winter 2019 for two reasons: 1). The classroom was cramped, and students would be more susceptible to an outsider; 2). She did not feel comfortable to have a cohort member watching her

teaching a course she was not familiar with. Instead, she shared with me the video recording of two 50-minute classes and her lesson plans for those classes. The following excerpt is quoted from one of my research journal entries after I watched the first video recording.

Excerpt 28 (quoted from Yan's Research Journal, 02/15/2019)

With 16 students, the classroom looks a bit cramped. The chairs and tables are not arranged in rows as in most classrooms, but like several islands, with 4-5 students surrounding one table. For the first ten minutes of the class, Gloria was lecturing in the front. She didn't look at students very often. Occasionally she seemed like reading from the slides. In the group discussion afterwards, Gloria moved from one "island" to another, stopping by frequently to listen. I noticed she said something with one of the groups, and students laughed.

When I watched the video recording, I was drawn firstly by a discovery that Gloria seemed more relaxed when talking to students individually compared with lecturing in the front. I also noticed that in her lesson plan (as shown in Excerpt 29, highlighted by the author) discussion activities accounted for the most part of the class (35 out of 50 minutes). In our interview in Winter 2019, I brought up the questions about her perception about class management and teacher-learner dynamics in the classroom.

Excerpt 29 (from Gloria's Lesson Plan, 01/21/2019)

Time	Organization	Materials
5 mins	INTRODUCTION (Tutor) What have you learned about writing good intros in the past?	BLACKBOARD
10 mins	ACTIVITIES: Handout (google doc) sample intros. Students work in their peer groups . I will assign numbers to <u>them</u> and they will need to respond to the following questions: 1. After reading, what do you think the paper is about? 2. What strategies do you see being used? 3. Is the intro satisfying the requirements? Is the reader getting what they need out of it? 4. What could be improved?	Handout, PPT AND CANVAS (DISCUSSION/GOOGLEDOC)
10 mins	Tutor: What have you learned about good conclusions in the past?	
10 mins	Handout (google doc) sample conclusions. Students work in their peer groups . I will assign numbers to <u>them</u> and they will need to respond to the following questions: 1. If you hadn't read the intro, what would you think is the paper about? 2. How does the conclusion relate to the intro? 3. What strategies are used in the conclusion? Are they effective? 4. What could be improved?	Handout, PPT AND CANVAS (DISCUSSION/GOOGLEDOC)
15 mins	Identity article. Now we are going to be working with some of the concepts you have studied in your anthropology class. After reading the article, try to answer in your group the following questions: 1. What are the identities being talked about here? 2. What is the article's opinion? 3. Why is this article important? /Why <u>it was</u> written? What are the effects of this topic on society? Is there a problem of misinterpretation that needs to be addressed? 4. What is at stake? What can be lost or gain out of this? 5. From what position is the author speaking?	PPT and photocopies/ internet

Excerpt 30 (Interview 2 with Gloria, 02/21/2019)

1. Y: *I noticed you looked more relaxed when talking to students in small groups*
2. *than lecturing to the whole class. Am I right?*
- 3. G: *[laughing] Yes. I don't feel comfortable with lecturing, you know, being*
- 4. *watched by all the students. I'm very shy and I'm not an eloquent teacher. I like*
5. *to talk to students in small groups to know their problems and expectations.*

6. Y: *So that's why you designed more activities in your lesson plan, right?*
- 7. G: *Yes, but also, I think students would learn more from discussion than from my*
- 8. *lecture. I found students often had deeper and more insightful conversation*
9. *than I expected. To be honest, I don't think they learn much from my slides. I'm*
- 10. *as new as them in this field. So, I spent more time planning discussion questions*
11. *rather than slides.*

Excerpt 30 displays how Gloria integrated her personal identity and professional identity in specific teaching contexts. In the narrative, Gloria analyzed her individual identity as “*very shy*” and her teaching identity as “*not an eloquent teacher*” (line 4). Based on her understanding of her own characteristics, she managed to adapt and personalize teaching knowledge to her individual identity and contexts of teaching. For example, admitting that she “*didn't feel comfortable with lecturing*” (line 3) and was “*as new as students*” (line 10) in the field she co-taught, Gloria designed more guided group activities, as shown in her lesson plan (see Excerpt 29) and in the actual class recording I observed, in which the pair/group discussion counted 40 minutes out of 50. Besides being aware of her “*shy*” personality and its influence on the teaching approaches she adopted, Gloria also rationalized her class management in the interview, “*Students would learn more from discussion than from [her] lecture*” (line 7) by having “*deeper and more insightful conversations*” (line 8). Gloria's narrative and performance in the teaching practice showcase her deliberate combination of self-knowledge and teaching knowledge. Palmer (2007) observes, “*Good teaching requires self-knowledge: it is a secret hidden in plain sight*” (p. 3). This awareness of one's strengths and weaknesses and skills of optimizing teaching based on the awareness, according to Pennington (1989), is one of the essential dimensions of teacher knowledge at the core of teaching performance. With the awareness, Gloria placed her focus not only on teaching approaches but also on learners and interactions in the classroom, which Farrell (2009) notes as

one of the essential advances in embellishing a positive teacher identity. As we discussed in the following excerpt in the same interview, Gloria reflected more on the teacher-student relationship in class.

Excerpt 31 (from Interview 2 with Gloria, 02/21/2019)

1. Y: *You said you felt super nervous before your first teaching practicum class. Was*
2. *it because of the unfamiliar content?*
- 3. G: *No, not really. I think it's mainly my personality. I'm too shy. I was also super*
- 4. *nervous before I taught Spanish class, though I taught it many times. But once I*
- 5. *feel connected to students, I'll overcome the shyness.*
6. Y: *I noticed in the video recording that at the beginning of the first discussion*
7. *activity, you spoke something with one of the groups and they laughed.*
8. G: *Did I? [laughing] Oh, yes. I spoke a Spanish word meaning "smart". I know*
9. *that group of students are Spanish speakers, but I won't use Spanish too much,*
- 10. *of course. I think knowing your students is important. For example, in the*
11. *Spanish class I teach this quarter, I know who is more introverted and who*
12. *extroverted, and I assigned different tasks or roles to them in activities.*

In this excerpt, Gloria expressed her specific strategies to manage the classroom and deal with students based on her understanding of her individual identity. She admitted that her shy personality made her “*super nervous*” even before teaching her familiar class (lines 3-4), but at the same time, she found her own way to overcome the shyness by managing to establish connections with students (line 5). For example, in the teaching recording video I viewed, she developed a connection with a group of Spanish speaking students by commenting on their discussion in Spanish. She also noted that “*knowing your students is important*” (line 10) to establish effective

dynamics in the classroom. All her teaching performances and reflections on them showcase Gloria's strategies to optimize her teaching by incorporating her personal qualities and teaching contexts. In this process, her self-knowledge is complemented by knowledge of students, and the focus is transmitted from the teaching contents to learners and interactions in the classroom, which, according to Farrell (2009), is a central element of teaching competence and one of the essential advances in embellishing a positive teacher identity. Gloria's strategies in producing classroom dynamics based on her self-knowledge and knowledge of students are also demonstrated in her Teaching Philosophy Statement, in which she emphasized her favored attitudes towards the student-centered approach in language teaching.

Excerpt 32 (from Gloria's Teaching Philosophy Statement, Winter 2019)

[In grammar teaching] I used a student-centered communicative methodology, so students were able practice the grammar knowledge they learned. One approach I used is the
 → *Flipped classroom. I can demonstrate this was what students wanted and it was a real*
 → *success, as one of my students said, "I was amazed to come to this class at 8:30 and find profesora ready and cheerful; then to have a 50-min fly in the variety of activities".*

Besides her teaching belief that a student-centered methodology would facilitate students' learning by "practicing the grammar knowledge they learned", Gloria also demonstrated in the excerpt above a linkage between her desired teacher identity and positive responses from students, as she cited one of her students' reviews to showcase that "*this was what students wanted and it was a real success*". By showing concerns for students' welfare and adapting her teaching approaches based on students' expectations, Gloria established a positive teacher image and teaching confidence. This sort of learner-focused identity is referred to as "transposable identity" (Richards, 2006, p. 60) which reflects better consideration of teacher-learner dynamics and specific

teaching contexts in teaching (Pennington & Richards, 2016). Pennington (1999) points out that a teacher creates a professional identity by connecting individual characteristics to specific educational and teaching experiences and teaching methods. During the process, teacher education programs play an important role in expanding preservice teachers' knowledge of teaching approaches and skills.

4.3.4.2. *Teaching knowledge and professional identity*

Richards and Farrell (2005) point out that preservice language teachers develop their professional identity through reflective analysis of their teaching practices and examination of personal beliefs, values, and principles. Going beyond that, language teachers' professional development also includes exploration of teaching knowledge in macro and micro aspects. In the following narratives, Gloria demonstrated how she learned and employed teaching knowledge of different aspects in her graduate studies and teaching practices. The excerpt below was from the same interview as the previous, in which Gloria and I discussed how she overcame her “*shyness*” and built a positive teaching identity in her teaching.

Excerpt 33 (from Interview 2 with Gloria, 02/21/2019)

1. *Y: Besides building connection with students, what else do you think help you*
2. *most in establishing confidence in teaching?*
3. *G: I think it's the teaching knowledge. I learned and practiced different teaching*
4. *methods when I took my postgraduate studies in Spain. I still remember*
5. *teaching the second class of Spanish at the University of Alabama. I met my*
- 6. *supervisor 15 minutes before the class, and I asked whether I could make more*
- 7. *activities with students instead of lecturing. You know, I didn't feel comfortable*
8. *with the lecturing way she taught the class. She said yes, and then I had only 5*

- 9. *minutes to plan the activities, but it turned out very successful. I think if I'm*
- 10. *able to apply my knowledge of teaching methods to practice, I feel confident*
- 11. *and comfortable in teaching.*

In this excerpt Gloria stressed the importance of the knowledge of teaching methods in effective teaching. By applying “*the different teaching methods*” she “*learned and practiced*” in graduate studies (lines 6-7), Gloria was able to deliver lessons more confidently and insist on her own teaching philosophy even in relatively unfamiliar settings. Expressing her negative attitude to the traditional approach of lecturing the class as her mentor did (lines 9-10), she showed more confidence in using alternative methods to teach. Although she was left only 5 minutes to prepare, she was still able to plan and implement successful class activities (lines 10-11). It could be seen from Gloria’s narrative that her confidence in applying the knowledge of teaching methods to practice strengthened her self-image as an effective language teacher. Richards (2012) identifies “teaching skills” and “pedagogical reasoning skills” (p. 46) as two of the foundational competences of language teacher identity. These skills, according to Pennington and Richards (2016), “can be seen as operationalizing disciplinary and pedagogical knowledge, integrated with personal and contextual characteristics and knowledge, in the performance of acts of teaching” (p. 15). They also point out that with the practiced and responsive skills, language teachers would become more confident in their sense of professional identity. In Gloria’s case, although she admitted her shy personality made her quite nervous before teaching, her mastery of pedagogical knowledge and her confidence in applying the knowledge of teaching methods facilitated her overcoming her shyness, establish connection with students, and lead successful class activities even when dealing with a relatively new class. Pennington (1999) points out that a teacher creates a professional identity by connecting individual characteristics to specific educational and teaching experiences and teaching methods. During the process, teacher education programs obviously play

an important role in expanding preservice teachers' knowledge of teaching approaches and skills, as Gloria displayed in the following narrative in our third interview in Spring 2019.

Excerpt 34 (from Interview 3 with Gloria, 04/17/2019)

1. *Y: Do you think your linguistic background, I mean, Spanish is your primary*
2. *language, helped to establish confidence in your teaching?*
- 3. *G: Yes, and no. To be honest, I used to think native-speakers are better language*
- 4. *teachers till I took the MATESOL program. When I was in elementary and*
5. *middle school in Spain, we thought the native-like pronunciation was the only*
6. *norm and native speakers must be better teachers. But here in the program, I*
7. *observed various language classes taught by teachers with different linguistic*
- 8. *backgrounds. Good or bad, it often didn't have much to do with whether the*
- 9. *teacher is a native speaker. When I teach Spanish, I find the knowledge of*
10. *teaching skills, like how to manage the class and organize activities to engage*
- 11. *students, is more important. When I can apply the same knowledge to teaching*
- 12. *English, I feel more confident.*

In this excerpt, Gloria reemphasized the important role of knowledge of teaching skills in helping her build her confidence. While admitting her linguistic background as a native speaker of Spanish facilitated her teaching the language (line 3), she also reflected on her transformation from believing “*native speakers were better language teachers*” (lines 3-4) to realizing teaching quality “*often didn't have much to do with*” the teachers' linguistic background (lines 8-9). Drawing on the knowledge she obtained from teaching Spanish, she felt more confident in teaching English (lines 11-12). Richards and Farrell (2005) point out that multilingual language teachers might focus on their “non-native” status and its negative impact on teaching, whereas the transmission

of focus on students and teaching methods can override the former factor and help develop a confident teacher identity. As their study participant Emily, a non-native speaker preservice teacher, narrated in her teaching memoir, “*As the lessons progressed, I became more confident in my teaching and I actually forgot that I was a non-native speaker of English while I was teaching because I became so engrossed in delivering my lessons*” (cited in Richards and Farrell, 2005, p. 18). Gloria displayed a different attitude here, adopting a more conscious resistance to the nativeness fallacy and a deliberate use of pedagogical knowledge. Rather than “forgetting” her non-native speaker status, Gloria emphasized the importance of the practical mastery of teaching skills, which is in line with Brenes-Carvajal’s (2009) perception that practice teaching is an opportunity to apply the knowledge learned in the teacher-training program. In the following excerpt, Gloria displayed her understanding of how the knowledge contributed to her teaching in theory and practice.

Excerpt 35 (from Interview 3 with Gloria, 04/17/2019)

1. Y: *What about the coursework in MATESOL? Did the courses help you much*
2. *in your teaching?*
3. G: *Oh, yes! Particularly the course of Theories and Practice in TESOL and*
- 4. *Pedagogical Grammar. Although I don’t think some theories about the history of*
- 5. *teaching methods in TESOL helped a lot, the concepts I learned like nativeness*
- 6. *fallacy provided me with my much theoretic guidance. I also learned many*
- 7. *more practical teaching skills in the course of grammar teaching, not only for*
- 8. *teaching English, but also for Spanish. I’ve had a better understanding of the*
- 9. *problems of the students speaking different first languages and how to address*
10. *them in my lesson plan.*

In discussing the function of two kinds of knowledge in language teaching, Shulman (1987) notes that disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge play different roles in preservice teachers' practice. While the former is thought essential to gaining membership of the language-teaching profession, the latter provides a basis and resolution for practical issues in language teaching (Richards & Farrell, 2005). In the excerpt above, Gloria reflected critically on the knowledge she learned in the MATESOL program. She thought although some of the theoretical knowledge like "*the history of teaching methods in TESOL*" (line 4-5), i.e., the disciplinary knowledge according to Shulman's (1987) perception, did not help much for her teaching, some other concepts such as "*nativeness fallacy*" provided her with "*theoretical guidance*" (line 6). Like Hana and Jing, Gloria also stressed the essential role of pragmatic knowledge in her teaching practice (line 7). This kind of pedagogical skill, as Pennington and Richards (2016) note, not only builds confidence in new teachers, but also serves as a repertoire of teaching techniques to help them to design lesson plans based on learners' learning problems and expectations. Gloria in the narrative witnessed her awareness of applying pedagogical knowledge to efficient grammar teaching in both English and Spanish courses to students from different linguistic backgrounds (lines 8-9). Furthermore, Johnson (2006) notes that teacher training works as a site to develop teachers as "users and creators of knowledge and theorizers in their own right" (p. 241). In the process of teaching and learning, teachers become more responsive to their teaching practice and learn theorizing from practice. Indeed, in her Teaching Philosophy produced for the course of Teaching Practicum, Gloria witnessed how she used narrative as a site to reflect on her practice.

Excerpt 36 (from Gloria's Teaching Philosophy, Winter 2019)

- *In my elementary and secondary school, I was taught English and French with the*
- *Grammar-translation method. I have always loved languages, but that method was not*

→ *useful. [...] I believe the passion I have about languages is what made me become a*
 → *language teacher. I also believe that transmitting this feeling to my students is the key to*
 → *keep them learning. [...] I know that one of my advantages to the outsider's eyes would be*
 → *the fact of a being a Native Speaker speaking a prestigious variety of the language.*
 → *However, my goal is to balance that aspect by bringing to class other varieties of Spanish,*
 → *as well as other cultures in order to avoid the European centrism in my Spanish language*
class.

In the excerpt above Gloria demonstrated how she integrated teaching knowledge with practice by drawing on her own language learning experience. She commented the “*grammar-translation method*” with which she was taught English as “*not useful*”. She listed “*passion*” as one of the most important elements because she herself benefited from it in her language learning and found motivation to become a language teacher. Based on her own experience, she established the belief that “*transmitting this feeling to my students is the key to keep them learning*”. Furthermore, Gloria demonstrated her awareness of the marginalized identity of second-language learners by critically reflecting on her own linguistic status as a “*a Native Speaker speaking a prestigious variety of the language*”. Cummins (2011) notes that “identity negotiation between teachers and students emerges as a strong influence on [their] academic achievements” (p. 190). Gloria’s teaching philosophy in her statement shows her attention on such an identity-affirming process as a native language teacher of Spanish. By trying to “*bring to class other varieties of Spanish, as well as other cultures in order to avoid the European centrism in my Spanish language class*”, Gloria displayed her value of learners’ linguistic and cultural identity.

4.3.4.3 Subject matter and mentor-related identity

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Gloria was placed at an interdisciplinary writing class instead of an ESL class for her teaching practicum. This unexpected change obviously posed great challenges to the preservice teacher in almost all aspects of teaching, including teaching contents, methods, teacher-learner dynamics, mentee-mentor relationship, and more. In terms of forming a positive teaching identity, research often identifies content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge as being one of the key issues for preservice teachers (e.g., Darling-Hammond, 2000; Thomas, 2000). Teaching “out-of-field” (McConney & Price, 2009) can compromise teaching competence and disrupt a teacher’s identity, self-efficacy and well-being (Pillay et al., 2005). In this section it is analyzed and explored how Gloria negotiated her teaching identity in these apparent disfavoring conditions and how a positive mentee-mentor relationship facilitated the process of negotiation. The following excerpt is from an interview with Gloria in a group discussion with Jing and Chen present in Winter 2019.

Excerpt 37 (from Interview 2 with Gloria, 02/21/2019)

1. Y: *I remember when we discussed the incoming practicum in the gathering with*
2. *Jing and Chen in the winter break, you said how lucky they were being placed at*
3. *an ESL class. Do you still think so?*
4. G: *Did I (laughing)? Well, I did feel lost at first, but then I thought it an*
- 5. *opportunity. After all, I wouldn't have many chances to teach this kind of class*
- 6. *in the future. But still, I was super nervous and worried before and during*
- 7. *teaching. I remember keeping asking my mentor after the first class, “did I do*
- 8. *it well? did I do it right?” I really envy those who were placed in LLC for their*
9. *practicum this quarter. In an ESL class, I can use my experience in teaching*
- 10. *Spanish, but here I'm an outsider, knowing little about what I teach, the*
- 11. *academic writing. However, now I think I can look at ESL teaching from a*

- 12. *different angle with the knowledge I learned here, like rhetoric in writing. Also,*
- 13. *I really appreciate my mentor. She was super helpful, and I learned a lot, a lot*
- 14. *from her.*

Richards (2012) notes that different contexts of teaching provide different kinds of constraints and opportunities for teachers' practice, and such contextual factors have a strong impact on preservice teachers' identity development. In Gloria's case, the disfavoring condition of teaching out-of-field did make her "*feel lost*", "*nervous and worried*" (line 6). Despite her years of teaching experience, she suffered from the diffidence and doubt about her teaching (lines 7-8). Star (1989) theorizes teaching out-of-field as a "boundary-crossing event", which, according to Akkerman and Bakker (2011), leads to "discontinuities in action and interaction" (p. 21). For Gloria, the boundary existed when the differences between the practices and perspectives required to teach the subject were discontinuous. As she stated, "*Here, I'm an outsider, knowing little about what I teach, the academic writing*" (lines 10-11). She was not able to apply her experience in teaching Spanish either because of the boundary. However, Akkerman and Bakker (2011) also point out that this discontinuity can be overcome through a process of reestablishing action or interaction by learning and reflective practice, which ultimately leads to identity evolution. In Gloria's narrative, it can be seen that she managed to develop a more positive, optimistic view toward the disfavoring situation by taking the experience as "*an opportunity*" (line 5) that would provide a different perspective for her future teaching (line 12). Hobbs (2013) argues that such negotiation can provide opportunities for preservice teachers' identity expansion and a re-conceptualization of practice. In Gloria's case, besides individual reflection, a supportive, encouraging mentor played an essential role in facilitating this negotiation. Gloria in one of her teaching journal entries narrated the support she received from her mentor.

Excerpt 38 (quoted from Gloria's Teaching Journal, Winter 2019)

Week 4

[...] I taught a full 60-minute class for the first time this week. The mentor teacher was super nice to offer me the notes she was using in the previous years. Because of that I did not feel worried about teaching new contents that were not in my field. Actually, I was more worried about how students would react about having me as the main teacher. [...] I used more discussion activities in the class and I thought students were engaged. I felt more prepared because of my mentor's materials and the meeting before the class. After the class, luckily, my mentor told me I did a great job, and she also gave me some fruitful suggestions.

Gloria in this excerpt displayed how the mentor's instructional support enhanced her confidence and facilitated her teaching practice, as she stated that she did not "*feel worried about teaching new contents*" and felt "*more prepared because of [the] mentor's materials and the meeting before the class*". Murray-Harvey et al. (2000) argue that student teachers need constant support during the practicum. It is particularly so when the student teacher is placed in a new field where teaching contents, methods, learners, and other teaching-related elements differ dramatically from her trained field. Pennington and Richards (2012) note that when such disfavoring conditions prevail, student teachers' goals and beliefs may become increasingly detached from their actual classroom behaviors and they may lose their motivation in teaching practice. Fortunately, in Gloria's case, her mentor's efforts to offer academic support and her own positive reflection turned the situation favorable in terms of helping her develop a positive teaching identity. Although she still worried about students' reactions to her role as the main teacher, she expressed more confidence about her teaching and interactions with students. The other critical factor that bolsters such a transformation is the mentor's feedback, which, according to Beck and Kosnick (2002), is

an essential aspect of the practicum experience to student teachers. It can be seen from this excerpt that Gloria's increasing confidence was partly the result of the mentor's constructive feedback. This positive mentoring relationship offers the student teacher not only confidence in teaching, but also incentive to take risks and experiment with their ideals and teaching in the classroom. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Gloria's mentor teacher in the practicum teaching, Betsy, was not an experienced ESL teacher, but a PhD candidate in the Department of Anthropology. I interviewed her in Winter 2019 to learn more about Gloria's teaching performance and their interactions in the practicum teaching. The following excerpt is from that interview.

Excerpt 39 (quoted from interview 1 with Betsy, 03/07/2019)

1. Y: *Did you get any training or instruction on how to work with student teacher in*
2. *your class before mentoring [Gloria's real name]?*
- 3. B: *Actually, no. I just got an email from the department, saying they're looking for*
4. *volunteers mentoring student teachers. I responded because I'd like to work*
- 5. *with a student teacher and I thought it would be mutually beneficial. It is, truly.*
6. Y: *What do you think is Gloria's strength and weakness in coteaching this class?*
7. B: *I know she was super stressed. I understand it. She does not have much*
8. *experience in Anthropology, and she is not able attend the lecture that all the*
- 9. *students and I are taking. I tried to brief her before each class by sharing her*
- 10. *the slides and other materials from the lecture. Then we met twice a week, 30*
- 11. *minutes or more each time, to discuss the lesson plan, particularly which part*
- 12. *she felt comfortable with teaching, what kind of assignments she wanted to*
- 13. *assign and grade, etc. She's an experienced language teacher, and her*
14. *consideration about students of different linguistic background informed me a*
- 15. *lot in class management and activity design. It was reassuring to have a*

- 16. *multilingual co-teacher in the class, you know. Her presence made me feel that*
- 17. *we can reach more students. I especially appreciate her way of joining students*
- 18. *discussion, strategically encouraging them to talk. Although she's very shy, she*
- 19. *did very well to build personal connection with students.*

In the interview, I learned that Betsy did not receive any professional training or guidance for mentoring student teachers, nor did she possess any experience of working with student teachers in her writing class (line 3). Betsy's narrative in the excerpt reveals a fact that characterizes other preservice teachers' practicum teaching in my research. That means, in the process of mentoring the student teacher, the mentor had to do so with little guidance from either the department she worked with or the program the student teacher was enrolled in. The mentor understandably must then draw almost solely upon her own core beliefs and possibly her experiences being trained to teach writing in the English Department for supporting the preservice teacher's learning. In this case, Betsy volunteered to mentor a student teacher because she believed "*it would be mutually beneficial*" (line 5). This belief led to a more equal mentoring relationship. She expressed great empathy and understanding of Gloria's stressed emotions and managed to take a supportive role within the relationship. For example, she "*tried to brief [Gloria] before each class by sharing the slides and other materials from the lecture*" (lines 9-10); she also planned regular meetings with Gloria to discuss the lesson plan (lines 10-11). In terms of teaching contents and methods, she offered more flexibility to Gloria, letting her decide "*which parts she felt comfortable with teaching*" and "*what kinds of assignments*" she would like to assign and grade (lines 12-13).

Numerous research (e.g., Beck & Kosnik, 2000; Boswell et al., 2015; Glenn, 2006) has affirmed that the most significant factors in establishing a positive mentoring relationship are encouragement and support, open relationship, and feedback. It can be seen from Betsy's narrative that besides instructional support, she also offered strong emotional support to the student teacher,

which, according to Beck and Kosnik (2002), Rajuan et al. (2007), and Ferrier-Kerr (2009), is more desired by student teachers to establish confidence and develop teaching identity. At the same time, student teachers in some studies (e.g., Beck & Kosnik, 2000; Jackson, 2001; Patrick, 2013) also expressed their desire to feel in charge of their class. In Gloria's case, her mentor Betsy showed substantial respect and trust of Gloria's pedagogical knowledge, which resulted in a safe, collaborative environment where a positive mentoring relationship was able to form and evolve.

The other factor that contributed to a positive mentoring relationship in Gloria's practicum is her mentor's acknowledgement and appreciation of her previous teaching experience. As Betsy stated in the excerpt above, Gloria's multilingual background and language teaching experience, especially "*her consideration about students of different linguistic backgrounds*" (lines 13-14), "*informed a lot in class management and activity design*" (line 15). Betsy also expressed particular appreciation of Gloria's "*way of joining students and strategically encouraging them to talk*" (lines 17-18). Besides making the current class more effective and productive, Betsy thought it "*reassuring to have a multilingual co-teacher in the class*" (lines 15-16). Obviously, Betsy and Gloria had positive, mutually beneficial interactions with each other. This kind of positive mentoring relationship, according to Beck and Kosnik (2000), helps student teachers reduce anxiety and free their creativity, nurturing an attitude of joint inquiry thereby providing multiple opportunities for the student teacher and mentor to co-construct knowledge in collaboration.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The close analysis of the extensive and varied data set in this chapter leads me to salient findings that I will discuss in Chapter 5. Practicum teaching, as a community of practice (Wenger, 1987), provides irreplaceable opportunities for student teachers to engage in social practice and reflect on their teaching beliefs and philosophies during interactions. While it is designed as a site

to integrate teaching knowledge and classroom practice, various factors may lead to unsatisfactory outcomes where the gap between theory and practice is widened rather than bridged. During the process, a positive mentoring relationship plays a crucial role in providing a supporting context for student teachers to navigate through the challenges and (re)construct their professional identity in practice. The welcoming attitudes, emotional and academic support, and constructive feedback from the mentor are key elements to facilitate student teachers to build their agency in the process of becoming a teacher. This is particularly the case for multilingual student teachers, who need more acknowledgement to (re)construct their professional identity as a legitimate language teacher. I will summarize these salient findings and discuss their implications on how to maximize the potential of practicum teaching in LTE in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5: TOWARD AN IDENTITY-ORIENTED LANGUAGE TEACHER EDUCATION: DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this ethnographic study, I explored four multilingual preservice language teachers' identity (LTI) (re)construction and (re)negotiation during the process of their coursework and teaching practicum in the MATESOL program in a university located in the Pacific Northwest in the U.S. Adopting a poststructuralist view of language and identity (e.g., Norton Peirce, 1995; Pennycook, 1990) and under the framework of narrative positioning (Bamberg, 1997; Davies & Harré, 1990), the study focused on the ongoing dynamic interaction of the preservice teachers' identity within teacher development. The collection of influences and effects from various factors were examined and discussed regarding their interwoven roles in identity (re)construction. In particular, the study examined the preservice teachers' language lives prior to the MATESOL program and their current coursework and teaching practicum experiences, with the aim to better understand how these preservice teachers made sense of themselves as language learners and teachers as they traverse across local and global contexts and various language teacher education experiences.

Identity formation is a complex, fluid, and ever-evolving process. One way to make sense of the preservice teachers' "shifting, multiple, constructed, contradictory, confusing, and cubistic" identity is "through the practice of narrative or the telling of [their] stories" (Rodget & Scott, 2008, p. 736) because these narratives allow for an analysis of spatial and temporal scenarios that go beyond the current space and moment (Barkhuizen, 2016). In order to capture the dynamic, constantly evolving aspects of LTI, the study analyzed the preservice teachers' narratives from two main sources: 1) their autobiographic narratives in the course-related assignments such as the

Language Learning Autobiography (LLA), the Language Teaching Autobiography (LTA), the Practicum Teaching Journal, the Teaching Philosophy Statement, etc.; and 2) their interactive narratives in interviews, group meetings and class discussions. Based on the Bakhtinian framework of “self” and “others” (Bakhtin, 1990) and Bamberg’s (1997) theory of positioning within narrative, the multilingual preservice teachers’ narratives were analyzed by using a dialogic approach (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). This approach addresses the nature of LTI as “both unitary and multiple, both continuous and discontinuous, and both individual and social” (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011, p. 308). It provides an insight into how these narratives “are embedded in conversational interaction and occasioned by situated discursive concerns” (Deppermann, 2013, p. 6), displaying the discursive ways in which preservice teachers’ professional identity is (re)constructed during their negotiation of self and others in changing settings.

Although much scholarship has insightfully (re)conceptualized LTI and explored its significance in LTE (e.g., Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard et al., 2004; Motha 2006; Olsen, 2011; Trent, 2012; Varghese et al., 2005, etc.), there are fewer studies specializing in more empirical ways to connect LTI and LTE. A holistic, critical reading and analysis of the narrative data in this study displayed two salient findings that could productively inform identity-oriented LTE in terms of educational tools and therefore could potentially become an important focus of teacher education programs. First, the conceptualization of critical autobiographies as a fecund site for negotiation and resistance could provide an important space for exploring the situatedness of LTI. Second, the need for a positive mentoring relationship which, as this study showed, is the essential core to maximize the potential of practicum teaching.

In the following two sections I will provide rich, thick descriptions of the main findings and their respective implications for identity-oriented LTE. They are followed by the discussion of the limitations of this study and its potential for further inquiry in the field of LTE.

5.2 SITUATEDNESS OF LTI IN CRITICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHIC NARRATIVES

The four preservice teachers' autobiographic narratives, garnered from their LLAs, LTAs, Teaching Journals, and Statements of Teaching Philosophy, were together used in this study as one of the main data sources for examining their narrated language lives. These narratives informed the understanding of how the preservice teachers made meaning of the events they lived or the worlds they imagined inhabiting. The findings indicated that by connecting to their past and present, and by envisioning their futures, the narrated stories powerfully enabled the preservice teachers to (re)interpret their experiences and (re)construct understandings of themselves as was also noted by Golombek and Johnson (2004) in their study. Since a form of narrative writing facilitated these pre-service teacher-authors' negotiating their identities in these discursive spaces, autobiographic narratives were found to be pedagogical tools that can help teacher educators to better understand the "dynamic, multiple, interconnected, subjectively conceived dimensions" (Mesaros, 2016, p. 10) of teacher identity (re)construction. At the same time, it is necessary to attend to the differentiations between subject reality, life reality, and text reality (Pavlenko, 2007). Therefore, I did not assume that the data from the preservice teachers' linguistic autobiographies and journals reflected some absolute "reality". Instead, drawing on Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning theory, I explored how the preservice teachers' selves were constructed "as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines" (p. 48) within broader sociocultural contexts. Adopting this analytic lens, in the upcoming sections I present the salient findings which emerged from a close reading and analysis of the preservice teachers' autobiographic narratives together with their pedagogical implications for teacher education programs such as the MATESOL program within which this study was located.

5.2.1 Autobiography as a site for negotiation

The analyses in Chapters 3 and 4 displayed an inseparable relationship between the preservice teachers' personal and professional selves. Their linguistic autobiographies such as LLAs and LTAs portrayed an important facet of personal selves pertaining to their language learning and teaching experiences, the associated emotions, and the institutional structures within which they were located, and a (re)constructing of their "knowledge, beliefs, and perceptions" of "what they know, and therefore what they do in their teaching" (Freeman, 1994, p. 182). While in the analysis I managed to keep the stories intact by "theorizing from the case rather than from component themes across cases", as Riessman (2008, p. 53) suggests, the findings did reveal recurring themes in the preservice teachers' narrated stories. One of them was the vulnerable feeling that permeated their EFL/ESL learning and teaching experiences.

Canagarajah (2012) points out that teachers' self-narratives can be utilized to explore their "hidden feelings, forgotten motivations, and suppressed emotions" (p. 261). These uncovered personal selves provide crucial understanding of their identity. In recording, (re)producing and analyzing their language lives in LLAs and LTAs, all the preservice teachers in my study expressed identity-related emotions such as anxiety, distress, powerlessness, etc. to different degrees. For example, when describing their EFL/ESL experiences, three preservice teachers used figurative language to depict their vulnerability. Hana, who started learning ESL in north American countries at an early age, portrayed her marginalized experience as akin to "*[being] thrown out in the space, where everyone was secured in their space suits and I would be the only one panicking as I discover a hole in mine*" (quoted from Hana's LLA, Winter 2019). Jing depicted her English learning in China and the U.S. as "*I believe I could never reach the mountain top – the native [speakers'] level*" (quoted from Jing's LLA, Winter 2019). For Gloria, her one-year study abroad experience in southern America suggested "*Alabamian English [...] would not open to me many doors to the rest of American English speakers*" (quoted from Gloria's LLA, Winter 2019). Similar emotions of powerlessness also emerged in the preservice teachers' practicum teaching journals,

where tensions could be discerned during their interactions with students, mentor teachers, practicum instructors, institutional administrations, etc. Gloria, for example, recorded an unhappy event of how a British student in her practicum class “*laughed at the way [she] pronounced a word*” and reflected that “there was no point of torturing me again for forces I cannot control, such as students’ reaction” (quoted from Gloria’s Teaching Journal, Winter 2019). Gloria’s powerless feeling in facing these marginalizing, uncontrollable forces while teaching echoes Nias’s (1996) finding that teaching practice can generate both novice teachers’ achievement as well as their vulnerability.

A poststructuralist view of LTI suggests that teachers’ emotions are not merely psychological qualities, but a construct with profound socio-political and sociocultural dimensions (Zembylas, 2003). A detailed analysis of the narrated stories as done in Chapters 3 and 4 indicated that the preservice teachers’ vulnerable emotions were embedded in the culture, ideology, and power relations in which the narratives were produced. Additionally, the analysis suggested that the vulnerability displayed in preservice teachers’ self-narratives was not a fixed, static emotion due to the dialogic and socially constructed nature of self-representation even in autobiographies (Johnson & Golombek, 2011). It is worthwhile to note that the preservice teachers demonstrated different levels of acceptance and/or resistance of their marginalized, powerless status in English learning and teaching across their different stories. For example, in their LLAs, where they affiliated more with the identity of an “EFL learner” rather than an “EFL teacher”, Jing, Chen, and Gloria displayed more vulnerability related to a conscious or unconscious consent to the dominant hegemony of English and native speakerism than in their LTA. This kind of discrepancy also existed within the same autobiography or across different autobiographies and other interactive narratives such as formal interviews and “small stories” (Bamberg, 2003) narrated in informal group meetings. As a space facilitating the display of various emotions as well as the communication among emotions, the preservice teachers’ autobiographies could provide a crucial

preliminary analytical step for teacher educators to explore how their narrated language lives interweave with and impact their professional identity (re)constructions and negotiations. However, the analysis of the autobiographic stories should focus not merely on the experiences themselves but on the discourse of experiences (Foucault, 1984) to see how the preservice teachers are located within the situated contexts of their teacher education programs and how their past, current, and imagined future contexts are implicated in their professional identity (re)constructions.

5.2.2 Autobiography as a site of resistance

The other salient theme that emerged in the dialogical analysis of the autobiographic narratives was resistance. As I have shown in Chapters 3 and 4 in this study, language learning and teaching within particular sociocultural contexts oftentimes became a main source of preservice teachers' positive and negative emotions. Reflexive recounting of their emotions in autobiographies enabled the preservice teachers to perceive of themselves as agentive rather than as passive or powerless (Zembylas, 2003) in the face of hegemonic discourses and pejorative dichotomies extant within TESOL. In the process of "doing" identities (Barkhuizen, 2011) and performing selves, the preservice teachers configured the "self-that-I-might-be" (Riessman, 2003, p. 7). While in their LLAs the preservice teachers presented their desire for English and English learning, and conscious or unconscious consent to the "received notions" (Atkinson, 1999) in TESOL, such as native speakerism and white primacy, they also displayed a critical language awareness and reflection on their pedagogical identities in their LTAs. For example, by connecting to her vulnerability in English learning, Hana reflected on how she tried to "*acknowledge, respect, and if possible, use students' L1 in the classroom to create an intimate atmosphere*" in her classrooms (quoted from Hana's LTA, Spring 2019). Gloria in her LTA presented various ESL teaching methods and approaches drawing on her multilingual learning and teaching experiences,

displaying her ownership of her multilinguality as a linguistic and pedagogical resource. In her weekly teaching journal produced as part of the Practicum Seminar requirement in Spring 2019, Chen expressed resistance to her imposed identity as an “*international student*” and an “*ESL learner*” designated by her mentor, which posed a stark contrast to her relatively passive and submissive stance in the teaching practicum class evidenced through her interactions with her mentor teacher and students (c.f. Section 3.3.2 in Chapter 3). These findings demonstrated the essential role of autobiographic narratives in the preservice teachers’ language lives as a safe space for them to construct strategies of power and resistance.

5.2.3 Implications for identity-oriented LTE

Although identity research has long been the focus of LTE in much scholarship (e.g., Reeves, 2018; De Costa & Norton, 2017; Varghese et al., 2016, etc.), there are fewer studies focusing on a more empirical dimension of how to integrate LTI into the practice of LTE. The discussion of the findings above provides an understanding of the need to critically utilize preservice teachers’ autobiographic narratives as a tool to promote identity-oriented LTE.

By emphasizing the critical utilization of autobiographic narratives, this empirical implication focuses not merely on narratives, but on how to encourage the authors to (re)construct their critical understanding of interactions between their self-narratives and local and global sociocultural structures. Only in this way can autobiographic narratives provide strong emotional support for preservice teachers as a site for resistance and transformation. In the program where my study was conducted, for example, autobiographic narratives were used in three core courses I observed as part of the required assignment. Reading the prompts for these assignments I realized that they displayed varying degrees of consideration to the reflexive, dialogical nature of narratives. The prompt of LLA produced for the course of Theory and Practice of TESOL made it an explicit evaluation criterion for authors to “*draw connections between your experiences, your beliefs about*

language, and your identity” and to “*reflect upon the significance of your experiences*” (quoted from Syllabus, Winter 2019). A close reading of the four preservice teachers’ LLA, however, reveals that though the authors did reflect on the positive or negative impact of specific experiences, many of the reflections were on the surface “feeling” level, such as “proud”, “lucky”, “disappointed”, and “ashamed”. Although these expressions of emotions might provide important emotional indicators for the teacher educator, the lack of explicit discussion of connections between stories, beliefs, and identity from the authors suggested they need more explicit guidance to navigate and negotiate their emotions within the sociocultural contexts.

A typical example I noticed is the absence of the reflection or theorization on desire in the preservice teachers’ autobiographic narratives, i.e., their desire for English and English learning in different areas of their lives. Despite its omnipresence in the preservice teachers’ narrated language lives (cf. Section 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 in Chapter 3), only Gloria reflected explicitly on her desire for the promise of English by quoting Motha and Lin’s comment (2014), “*English language carries enticing meanings and is connected to social advancement, opportunity, modernity, wealth, enlightenment, Whiteness, and cosmopolitanism*” (cited in Gloria’s LLA, Winter 2019). Other authors tended to take it as naturalized emotion related to motivation and investment. If the authors of autobiographies were encouraged to move beyond narrating their emotions, desires, expectations and to reflect in a “non-coercive context” on their state of mind, e.g., their desire for English in this case, as Motha and Lin (2014) suggest, it would enable them “to understand the (e.g., colonial, racist, sexist) origins of their desires, thus making it possible for them to choose how and what to desire, to make decisions about whether to resist, to be critical in their own ways” (p. 354). Creating such a possibility obviously requires much pedagogical creativity and efforts to construct educative approaches for critically using and assessing autobiographic narratives.

Besides the theoretical guidance for composing autobiographies, which I witnessed in the three core courses I observed, I suggest more pragmatic and emotional supports from professors.

For example, composing their own LLAs or LTAs and sharing them with student teachers could be an educative approach. As the experts in the TESOL field and as bi/multilingual speakers themselves (e.g., all three instructors whose course I observed speak more than two languages with English as their first or additional language), the TESOL instructors' language learning and teaching experiences and reflections would shed more light on student teachers' understanding of their professional identity (re)construction by creating a more transparent, equal, inclusive, and empathic curriculum. Another suggestion is to encourage more exploration of student teachers' multilinguality in autobiographic narratives. A holistic reading of the four preservice teachers' autobiographies in my study revealed a tendency to focus more on their supposed linguistic deficiency instead of their default multilingual proficiency. More empowering dimension of autobiographies could be constructed to transform the authors into competent multilingual speakers and multilingual pedagogy developers from mere "spectators and at times executioners of native speaker norms" (Llurda, 2009, p. 119).

Besides the course-based autobiographic narratives, LTE programs might also consider adopting a program-wide utilization of critical autobiographic narratives as part of their curricula. When preservice teachers (re)write and revise their living documents throughout their study in the program, they are not only recording their experiences, but creating spaces to construct and reconstruct their teacher identities. These autobiographies composed for different courses, at different stages of the program, and even in different languages (e.g., in authors' first language) would provide preservice teachers with valuable documents of "their trajectory of teacher learning and identity negotiation" (Yazan, 2018, p. 4). Preservice teachers could also be encouraged to keep journals of their evolving identities in a guided, systematic way as they progress through the program. Such documentation could be productively harnessed for autoethnographic research in one core course of the MATESOL programs, Research Methods of TESOL which often works as a capstone course where preservice teachers are introduced to research methods in applied

linguistics and required to conduct mini-research projects. The outcomes of these research projects could be used as preservice teachers' initial attempts at scholarly publication and as resources they can revisit after graduation and well into their teaching career.

5.3 MULTIPLICITY OF LTI IN PRACTICUM TEACHING

The teaching practicum was one of the main sites in this study where the process of preservice teachers' becoming someone who teaches was investigated. The teaching practicum provides student teachers with real classroom experiences, motivates their teaching agency, and informs the initial stage of teacher identity formation. Seen as a community of practice (Wenger, 1998), the teaching practicum not only provides opportunities for preservice teachers to learn and practice their pedagogical knowledge, but supports them to interact and express their identities as members of a mutual engagement group. The efficacy of the practicum teaching experience, therefore, depends on the complex interactions in the community between student teachers and "significant others" (Martel & Wang, 2014), i.e., their learners, colleagues, mentors, program faculties, institutional authorities, etc. The analysis of the extensive, multi-layered, and rich data in this study revealed that at the heart of these interactions lay the mentoring relationship between student teachers and their mentors. I will discuss in this section several salient findings emerging from my observations and interviews related to the preservice teachers' teaching practicum with a focus on conflicts in the mentoring relationships. The findings provide implications on how to maximize the potential of teaching practicum by wisely selecting the practicum site, promoting coursework-practicum collaboration, and providing praxis-based support to preservice teachers.

5.3.1 Conflicts between the "student" and "teacher" identity

Lave and Wenger (1991) in their situated learning theory point out that understanding and learning takes place through participation rather than within the individual's mind. The first step for preservice teachers to participate in teaching is through "legitimate periphery participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1991), i.e., the process by which newcomers gradually work their way toward a full participation in the community by undertaking small yet important tasks. In the teaching practicum, whether and how the student teachers gain access to participation and alignment impacts greatly their identity transformation from a "student" to a "teacher". As the on-site supervisors who provide guided participation, mentors play an essential role in this process by creating social spaces and flexible practices that empower student teachers' greater sense of agency.

In my first practicum class in MATESOL, my mentor introduced me as "an experienced bilingual ESL teacher". His acknowledgement of my legitimacy and ability to teach provided me with a great sense of belonging. Inspired by the experience, I put forward the question of "How did your mentor introduce you to the class?" to all the preservice teachers in the interviews. The findings revealed that not all preservice teachers were warmly welcomed as a member of the classroom community. While Jing and Gloria expressed appreciation of their mentors' efforts to include them in class teaching by addressing them on the syllabus as "co-instructor", Hana narrated her mentor's inconsistency regarding the issue. Her mentor addressed her as the "*second instructor*" in their meeting before the class as well as in the email interview with me, but she changed the term to "a teacher trainee" when introducing Hana to the class. Chen reported her mentor's ambiguous attitude toward her role in the class – her mentor did not introduce her formally in the first class except for merely mentioning her name. My analysis in Chapter 4 suggested that although mentors' welcoming or dismissive attitudes did not solely determine the efficacy of practicum teaching, they did affect how the preservice teachers positioned themselves and how they were positioned by students in the practicum class. For example, Chen's justification

of her mentor's ambiguous reception in our follow-up interview as "[...] *not a big deal. I'm not a real teacher*" (quoted from Interview 4 with Chen, 04/19/2019) displayed the close interaction between her mentors' other positioning and her own reflexive self-positioning. My observation that her directions were dismissed by students in the teaching practice suggested that the mentor's exclusive stance affected students' acceptance of this preservice teacher who was consequently deprived of a meaningful professional engagement in the teaching class (cf. Excerpt 21, Section 4.3.3.1, Chapter 4). Regarding this issue, Jing commented by citing the great Chinese philosopher Confucius's big idea of "rectification of names", "*if we are not given a right title, our speech will not be sound*" (quoted from Group Meeting 3, 03/27/2019). This "*rectification of names*" from mentors provides access, inclusiveness, and acknowledgement, promoting a trusting mentoring relationship in the practicum that fosters preservice teachers' positive self-image and self-positioning.

Besides the "*rectification of names*", mentors' supervisory approach is a key element to guarantee preservice teachers' agentive participation and reflection in the practicum. The findings in Chapter 4 suggested that the teaching opportunities, pedagogical guidance, flexibility for teaching approaches, and constructive feedback offered by mentors contributed to promoting the preservice teachers' identity transformation by helping them integrate knowledge into practice. For example, Gloria narrated in her teaching journal that despite her anxiety and diffidence in teaching an "out-of-field" subject in the practicum, she managed to (re)establish teaching confidence due to her mentor's emotional and pedagogical support. Not only did she share with Gloria the relevant teaching resources she collected, her mentor, Betsy, also provided great flexibility to Gloria regarding "*which part [of lesson] she felt comfortable with teaching, what kind of assignments she wanted to assign and grade, etc.*" (quoted from Interview 1 with Betsy, 03/07/2019). Besides Gloria's reflexive actions in the practicum teaching, her mentor's scaffolding was another essential factor that facilitated Gloria's navigation of the problematic placement

situation she encountered enabling her to reformulate her identity from an “*outsider*” (quoted from Interview 2 with Gloria, 02/21/2019) to an agentive, successful practitioner of her teaching craft.

In other cases, in contrast, the preservice teachers reported different conflicts that arose between their expectations and mentors’ practice. Chen mentioned the insufficient teaching opportunities and pedagogical guidance from her mentor. Jing suggested that her mentor “*didn’t like [her] to ‘teach’ too much*” and she interpreted it as a non-trusting stance, “*She must be afraid I would teach something in the wrong way*” (quoted from Group Meeting 3, 03/27/2019). Hana narrated her mentor’s interruption and attempt to act on her behalf when she answered the student’s questions. These examples provided a glimpse of the unequal power dynamic existing in the practicum classes, where preservice teachers were oftentimes ascribed an identity as a learner and thus were expected to closely follow the predetermined curriculum and even the mentors’ own styles. Although the preservice teachers utilized different affective and pedagogical strategies to negotiate these conflicts in their practicum teaching, findings showed that their teaching agency was negatively impacted and the transformation from a “student” to a “teacher” was slower and more challenging.

5.3.2 *Conflicts between the NNES and multilingual identities*

Analysis in Chapters 3 and 4 suggested that the multilingual preservice teachers encountered more internal and external challenges during the “process of becoming” because of their conventionally (self-)marginalized positions in the NES-dominant TESOL field. The analysis of the preservice teachers’ narrated language stories revealed their conscious or unconscious consent and resistance to the dominant ideology of native speakerism before and/or during MATESOL coursework. Teaching practicum, as a professional community to transform knowledge to practice, provided another an important site for the preservice teachers to further examine, reflect, embrace, or resist their marginalized multilingual identities. Their mentors’ beliefs and assumptions about

teaching and learning again played an essential role in the process of preservice teachers' transformation.

The findings from the analysis in Chapter 4 indicated that the lack of mutual affective and intellectual bonds in mentorship regarding the issue of "native speakerism" existed in three of four preservice teachers' teaching practice. The dominant language ideology that privileges monolingual teaching from NESTs and positions standard English as the only correct form of English was still held strongly among some mentors from the Language Learning Center. For example, Jing's mentor in our interview displayed her doubt for Jing's ability to teach "*a pronunciation course, especially vocabulary and idioms*" because of Jing's lack of "*automatic authority*" in this field as an NNEST though she acknowledged Jing's English proficiency as "*fluent*" and "*successful*" (quoted from Excerpt 7, Section 4.3.2.2). In a classroom observation of Chen's practicum teaching, I documented that her mentor commented on her "lack of confidence" in teaching and attributed it to the fact that "*you are too much alike, you and the students. You are young and also an international student*" (quoted from Excerpt 22, Section 4.3.3.1). While Jing and Chen displayed some critical reflection on these marginalizing native-speaker norms in their LLAs and LTAs, they both showed a far greater concern and considerable self-doubt about their legitimacy to teach in the practicum. Their conscious or unconscious consent to the ideological and pedagogical privilege of NESTs displayed in their narrated language stories was not challenged but further internalized at the practicum site. Therefore, their epistemic development, i.e., the process of coming to an increasingly mature conception of their professional identity was hindered by a socially constructed norm of LTI within the practicum teaching as Alsup (2006) suggests.

In contrast to Jing and Chen whose multilingual identity was devalued by themselves as well as their mentors, Gloria deliberately utilized her multilingual competence in the class discussion to establish connections with students. Her mentor in our interview expressed her appreciation for

having a multilingual speaker instructor like Gloria in the class because “[Gloria’s] consideration about students of different linguistic background informed me a lot in class management and activity design” (quoted from Interview 1 with Betsy, 03/28/2019). In a similar vein, Hana depicted her embracing attitude for her multilingual background and valued it as a “strength for a language teacher” when she narrated her teaching experience in a local community college where she volunteered, and where, as she stressed in our interview, her multilingual ability of speaking English, Korean, and Spanish was also highly valued by her supervisor and students alike.

Seen from the poststructuralist view, the (re)construction of LTI is a discursive practice that begins long before a pre-service teacher starts attending a teacher training program, evolves during the program and continues developing over successive years in the profession. However, the teaching practicum is a crucial part of the teacher education program and provides a critical social space where preservice teachers’ linguistic and cultural legitimacy issues can be acknowledged, expressed, and deconstructed in practice. These, as we know from extant literature in the area are significant in preservice teachers’ identity construction (Reis, 2012).

5.3.3 Maximizing practicum teaching by closing the gap between theory and practice

The findings presented and discussed above have important pedagogical implications for the enhancement of practicum teaching in language teacher education programs and outline several key areas where LTI development needs to be taken cognizance of. I discuss some of these areas below.

Practicum placement selection: The key findings above confirmed the important role of an empathetic, supportive, and encouraging mentor in practicum teaching in promoting preservice teachers’ agentive participation and facilitating their “identity-in-practice” (Varghese et al. 2005). However, it is too idealistic to solely require mentors to revise their beliefs and assumptions about teaching and learning and interrogate their own practices to create an effective mentoring

relationship. Along with adopting the suggestion of some scholars to recruit mentors who are passionate about their role as mentors and who align with the teaching philosophies of the teacher training program (e.g., Ditter, 2019), it is incumbent upon programs to select the practicum placement with care. Although the conflicts most of the preservice teachers in this study encountered in the teaching practicum seemingly related to the differing beliefs and expectations between the preservice teachers and their mentors, those conflicts actually originated from the dissonance between two “activity systems” (Engeström, 2001), i.e., the MATESOL program and the Language Learning Center (LLC) in this case. While the object of the practicum teaching as part of the program was to provide “*an opportunity for [preservice teachers] to learn and further develop their own style and philosophy of language teaching*” (quoted from Syllabus of Practicum in TESOL, Spring 2019), that of the LLC was their students’ “*success*”, “*to help [them] make those dreams a reality*” – “*to hold conversations with confidence, to get accepted into an American university or to be known for the memorable work presentations you deliver*” (quoted from the LLC’s website). These different and even conflicting goals of the two systems were the causes as well as results of their contradictory language ideology and corresponding language learning and teaching practices. Similar conflicts or dissonance exist in most MATESOL programs between their university-based coursework and school-based practicum placements (Tsui & Law, 2009). The discrepancies between the two in language ideology, teaching philosophy, pedagogies, and teaching approaches lead to asymmetrical power relations between student teachers, mentors, and the institutions they are placed at and thus make the preservice teachers’ negotiation of professional identities more complicated.

With the acknowledgement that practicum placement is logistically complicated, the teacher training programs should render more care to the selection of practicum sites. Besides the traditional university-school partnership, or as in the case of this study the MATESOL-LLC partnership, the administrations of TESOL programs could give more consideration to non-

government organizations and non-profit foundations serving marginalized language learners. During the process of helping students develop the skills needed to access education, the preservice language teachers, particularly multilingual ones, would also acquire opportunities to develop their professional identity in mutual engagement to seek education equity. It is also essential to make preservice teachers' needs analysis a part of the practicum placements. Rather than what can appear to students as random practicum placements, the program administrations could offer the student teachers as many as possible opportunities and flexibilities to make their practicum placement decisions to reduce potential mismatches. In ideal or appropriate placements, student teachers' language proficiency, teaching focus, teaching methods and approaches should be fully considered. Finally, with the paradigm shift witnessed in all educational fields including TESOL during the COVID-19 pandemic, it is suggested that language teacher education programs also need to develop digital collaboration spaces for student teachers to hone the necessary skills to be practitioners in a new, digitalized learning world.

Coursework-practicum dialogue: Grudnoff (2011) suggests that practicum is a “collaborative endeavor” in which student teachers, mentors, and teacher educators work together to establish “shared understandings regarding roles, responsibilities, and expectations” (p. 231). The findings in this study revealed that the lack of such shared understandings led to various conflicts between student teachers and mentors, ranging from contradictions in pedagogies, teaching methods and approaches, and classroom power relations. It also widened the gap between coursework-based knowledge and practicum teaching practices. Much scholarship has researched the importance of collaboration between student teachers and mentors (e.g., Atay, 2007; Farrell, 2008; Hudson, 2013; Tsui & Law, 2007), but little research focuses on the empirical ways of collaboration between university-based faculty and practicum-based mentor teachers. One suggestion is to launch constructive, transparent dialogues between the two sides regarding language ideology, teaching philosophies and methods in their respective working sites and their own teaching beliefs

and practices. Such dialogues would facilitate bridging the discrepancies between student teachers' TESOL knowledge and their on-site practice. They would also contribute to mediating the mentoring relationship between student teachers and mentors which oftentimes entails tensions and conflicts. Such shared understandings about the student teachers' and mentors' roles, responsibilities, and interning approaches implies less struggle and confusion from the student teachers' end. For example, if the practicum seminar professor and mentor can reach an agreement on the symbolic entity of student teachers' role in the practicum class as a "co-teacher" instead of a "MATESOL student" or a "teacher trainee" or a "learner", it would provide student teachers certain ideological status and thus more emotional and pragmatic access and ownership to the teaching resources in the class. To produce such frequent, overlapping dialogues requires efforts from multiple departments in both teacher education programs and practicum placement organizations, but they will yield fruitful outcomes in maximizing the potential of practicum teaching in the TESOL field.

Affective and cognitive support for student teachers: It has long been a practice in LTE to utilize reflexive practices in practicum teaching, such as teaching journals, collaborative video inquiry, etc. to encourage student teachers to reflect on and gain new insights of their practice. Findings in this study suggested that more affective support from mentors and coursework instructors during the reflexive practices would foster smoother knowledge transmission. For example, to encourage more explicit, critical discussion and analysis of the practicum classroom discourse systems in the teaching journal and seminar would familiarize student teachers with the "activity system" to which they are subjects and reduce preservice teachers' learning curves. While the preservice teachers used reflexive narratives to express their vulnerability such as fears, self-doubts, distress, etc., the findings in this study revealed that most of the negative emotions remained unanswered and unresolved. Regarding the concerns most preservice teachers displayed about their language proficiency, the discussion and criticism of "the native speaker fallacy"

without explicitly, pragmatically addressing the issue actually perpetuated the construct that “NNESTs are deficient language users”. My observation suggested that some preservice teachers did need systematic guidance to develop shared contextual language knowledge related to teaching practice, no matter whether they are NESs or NNESTs. A survey of 241 TESOL programs worldwide in 2016 (Stapleton & Shao, 2018) shows that few programs include the element of language for teaching in their syllabi. There is a great necessity for LTE to conduct a systematic analysis of the role of language proficiency on preservice teachers’ teaching effectiveness and develop critical teaching-related language courses that view language proficiency as contextual and aim at dismantling the “native-speaker norm”. This explicit linguistic support would foster preservice teachers’, particularly multilingual preservice teachers’ self-efficacy and ultimately a smoother transformation from a student teacher to a confident professional.

5.4 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

Despite its extensive data collection and insightful analysis, there are several limitations in this ethnographic study in terms of research time length, research sites, sample size, and my own role in the research.

I conducted this longitudinal research spanning three academic quarters (9 months) to explore the multilingual preservice teachers’ professional identity (re)construction in the MATESOL program. Despite the extensive data I acquired through long-time participant observations, in-depth interviews and collection of documentary artefacts, 9 months was insufficient to study the ever-evolving, fluid process of LTI. Preservice teachers’ professional identity (re)construction has started long before they enter teacher education programs and will expand to their job seeking and profession development periods. Since one of the foci of this study is preservice teachers’ identity related to their teaching profession, more data from their career planning and development would

add richness to reveal the complexities and fluidity of LTI in the context of local and global ELT market. By the time of my dissertation composition, one preservice teacher in this study had returned to China, her home country, immediately after graduation. Two other preservice teachers went back respectively to Spain and South Korea after one year of Optional Profession Training (OPT) in the U.S. The fourth preservice teacher stayed in the local city where the program was located without acquiring a language teaching job. Further exploration for a future study could investigate how preservice teachers' professional identities (re)construct or deconstruct at and after the turning point of being in a teacher education program as they move into their teaching careers.

Another limitation of the study is the narrow scope of its geographic location. The four preservice teachers in this study came from the same cohort of a MATESOL program at a university on the northwest coast of the U.S. The other non-focal participants, including the preservice teachers' course instructors, practicum mentors, and colleagues were from the same university or the Language Learning Center affiliated with the university. Situated within the same geographical and institutional context, their language teaching and learning philosophies and practices were inevitably marked with the language ideology, disciplines, rules, or conventions specific to the region and institution. This study does not aim to provide generalizable principles of the diverse yet unique process of LTI (re)construction of multilingual preservice teachers; the small-scale nature means it may not sufficiently reveal the complexity and multiplicity of other such preservice teachers' professional identity (re)constructions in different sociocultural settings.

Regarding the participant recruitment of this study, the holistic reading of the data showed two limitations in terms of their demographic composition. All the four preservice teachers in my study were female international students between the ages of 25 and 30. Their emotions, insights, interactions with others and the way they narrated all those experiences might differ greatly from other preservice teachers belonging to a different demographic with regards to nationality, age, and languages spoken. Besides, with the focus on multilingual preservice teachers' identity

(re)construction, the participants were recruited based on their linguistic, racial, and ethnic backgrounds. All the four preservice teachers were international students with English as their second or additional language. During the process of data collection and analysis, I realized a shortcoming of the narrow scope of the participants in terms of the lack of contrast groups/individuals, e.g., multilingual preservice teachers with English as their first or primary language. The presence of such participants of different genders, ages, or racial backgrounds would have provided me with more insights into the complex impact of sociocultural contexts on preservice teachers' professional identity evolutions. In addition, due to the research restrictions, I was not able to access the data from the students these preservice teachers worked with in their practicum placements. If possible, exploring preservice teachers' teaching performance from the students' perspective would provide a more holistic comprehension of student teachers' LTI. Although as an ethnographic study, the research is not to be leveraged by the traditional "validity" and "reliability" standards, the narrow scope and small size of participants may reduce the basic replicability of the research.

Finally, I need to rethink my role and its impact throughout the process of the research starting from research site selection, participant recruitment, data collection and analysis, to the final ethnography writing. My multiple identities as a MATESOL alumnus, a Ph.D. candidate, and a researcher provided me with both the "insider" and "outsider" stance in the research, which on the one hand offered me the geographic and institutional access to data resources, but on the other hand, may have hindered my perception of and insight into sensitive issues due to my close affinity with the participants and the program. Over time, all four preservice teachers developed a close relationship with me that went beyond that of researcher-participant. They treated me as a "sympathetic ear" and oftentimes confided their most honest emotions and feelings related to their learning and teaching in the program. This sometimes put me in an ethical dilemma, as I struggled between my role as a researcher and as these preservice teachers' close friend. I admit neither my

role as a researcher nor my role as a MATESOL alumnus and focal participants' "sympathetic ear" was neutral. With all these considerations in mind, I willingly adopted a subjective stance as a researcher which I kept interrogating during the process of data collection, data analysis and discussion, turning my research to a more critical orientation of "doing ethnography" (Gobo, 2008). The critical orientation meant that in this research project my role as a researcher and a producer was not to engage in a "crisis of representation" (Marcus & Fischer, 1987), but to write collective stories and interpret the stories as both an insider and outsider. But as Kincheloe and McLaren (1994) state, research and thought is "fundamentally mediated by power relations that are socially and historically located" (p. 139).

5.5 CONCLUSION

I would like to conclude this final chapter of my dissertation by referring back to the Introduction, where I narrated the strong motivation behind my research on multilingual preservice teachers' identity (re)construction:

I am a teacher.

I am an English teacher.

I am a non-native English speaker teacher.

Those potentially conflicted identities and their impact on my 15 years of teaching experience in my home country and in the U.S. motivated me to conduct this ethnographic study to examine the complex, discursive ways in which four preservice language teachers whose first language is not English formed, expressed, resisted, and negotiated their professional identities. Inspired by my own experiences – the numerous struggles, challenges, rewards and triumphs, this study explored how similar or different emotions are interwoven into the preservice teachers' winding journey to become a language teacher in the consistently changing local and global sociocultural

contexts. Under the framework of narrative positioning and identity (Bamberg, 1997; Davies & Harré, 1990), this study investigated the dialogical ways the preservice teachers' reflexive self-positioning and interactive other positioning work together to (re)construct their professional identities. I collected extensive and rich data from the participant classroom observations, written and multimodal artefacts, conducted in-depth individual and group interviews with the four preservice teachers and individual interviews with non-focal participants including their colleagues, course instructors, and mentors. Regarding the data analysis, I would use the term "synthesis" to refer to my efforts of employing whatever recourses available for the purpose of making sense of the data. Following Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) suggestion of "thinking not only about one's data, but also with and through the data (p. 168), I managed to establish conversations among the expansive data set and used rich, thick descriptions to convey the findings.

As part of the ethnographic record, I maintained a research journal in which I made entries every time while or after observing a class, conducting an interview, hosting a group meeting, and reading the preservice teachers' artifacts. Those scribbles, rough notes, or in-depth descriptions were stored on my laptop, iPad, cellphone, and notebooks in forms of handwriting, typing, and audio-recording in English or Chinese. This thick research journal is not merely a record of important findings in the research process; instead, it is a record of my professional activities, of my struggles and achievements, and of the processes whereby I (re)constructed my own professional identity. As witnessed in the findings from this longitudinal study, learning to teach involves complex negotiations of conflicts, disparagements, contests, and resistances. For multilingual preservice teachers whose linguistic and racial backgrounds are traditionally devalued and marginalized, this process of growth entails more struggles and needs more support to develop their critical awareness of identity (re)construction. Emphasizing the necessity of a liberating and empowering (re)conceptualization of LTI with the focus of dismantling the NEST/NNEST

dichotomy, I have proposed some empirically informed suggestions toward identity-oriented LTE in terms of curricula, pedagogy, syllabus, classroom, and institutional practices. Only by connecting LTI and LTE in an innovatively meaningful way, can preservice and in-service language teachers, language teacher educators and researchers establish collaboration to dismantle the symbolic power of English and decolonize LTI, as Varghese, Motha, Park, Reeves, and Trent (2016) suggest. Only with the support of numerous researchers and my own persistent reflection, can I confidently, loudly, and joyously announce:

I am a teacher.

I am an English teacher.

I am a proficient bilingual English teacher.

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